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HERODOTUS,

WITH

A COMMENTARY

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ʽΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ

ʽΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΠΕΜΠΤΗ.

ΤΕΡΨΙΧΟΡΗ.

ΟΙ δὲ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τῶν Περσέων καταλειφθέντες[1] *ὑπὸ Δαρείου, τῶν ὁ Μεγάβαζος*[2] *ἦρχε, πρώτους μὲν Περινθίους Ἑλλησποντίων, οὐ βουλομένους ὑπηκόους εἶναι Δαρείου, κατεστρέψαντο, περιεφθέντας πρότερον καὶ ὑπὸ Παιόνων τρηχέως. οἱ γὰρ ὦν ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος Παίονες, χρήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Περινθίους καὶ ἢν μὲν ἀντικατιζόμενοι ἐπικαλέσωνταί σφεας οἱ Περίνθιοι ὀνομαστὶ βώσαντες, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιχειρέειν, ἢν δὲ μὴ ἐπιβώσωνται, μὴ ἐπιχειρέειν*[3]*, ἐποίευν οἱ Παίονες ταῦτα· ἀντικατιζομένων δὲ τῶν Περινθίων ἐν τῷ προαστηΐῳ, ἐνθαῦτα μουνομαχίη τριφασίη ἐκ προκλήσιός σφι ἐγένετο· καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρα ἀνδρὶ, καὶ ἵππον ἵππῳ συνέβαλον, καὶ κύνα κυνί· νικώντων δὲ τὰ δύο τῶν Περινθίων, ὡς ἐπαιώνιζον κεχαρηκότες, συνεβάλοντο οἱ Παίονες τὸ χρηστήριον αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἶναι· καὶ εἰπάν κου παρὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι· "νῦν ἂν εἴη ὁ χρησμὸς ἐπιτελεόμενος ἡμῖν· νῦν ἡμέτερον τὸ ἔργον" οὕτω τοῖσι Περινθίοισι παιωνίσασι ἐπι-* 1

Megabazus proceeds to take *Perinthus*, which had previously suffered by an assault of the Pæonians.

[1] *καταλειφθέντες*. The narrative is resumed from iv. 143.

[2] *Μεγάβαζος*. One MS (*b*) has *Μεγάβυζος*. See the note 367 on iv. 143.

[3] *ἢν δὲ μὴ ἐπιβώσωνται, μὴ ἐπιχειρέειν.* These words are omitted in one MS (S). The presumption is that the omission arises from a whole line being left out by the transcriber, owing to his eye falling upon the second *ἐπιχειρέειν* instead of the first. But it is possible that there is here a real variation; for the sense will be a perfectly complete one without the words, although the construction will not be so symmetrical. See note 531 on ii. 173.

χειρέουσι οἱ Παίονες, καὶ πολλῷ[4] τε ἐκράτησαν καὶ ἔλιπόν σφεων
2 ὀλίγους. Τὰ μὲν δὴ ἀπὸ Παιόνων πρότερον γενόμενα ὧδε ἐγένετο·

He then attacks Thrace, and reduces the parts *near the sea* (§ 10).

τότε δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίης γινομένων τῶν Περινθίων, οἱ Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ Μεγάβαζος ἐπεκράτησαν πλήθεϊ. ὡς δὲ ἐχειρώθη[5] ἡ Πέρινθος, ἤλαυνε τὸν στρατὸν ὁ Μεγάβαζος διὰ τῆς Θρηΐκης, πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ πᾶν ἔθνος τῶν ταύτῃ οἰκημένων ἡμερούμενος βασιλέϊ· ταῦτα γάρ οἱ ἐντέταλτο ἐκ Δαρείου, Θρηΐκην καταστρέφεσθαι.

Magnitude of the Thracian race.

3 Θρηΐκων δὲ ἔθνος μέγιστόν ἐστι, μετά γε Ἰνδοὺς, πάντων ἀνθρώπων· εἰ δὲ ὑπ' ἑνὸς ἄρχοιτο ἢ φρονέοι κατὰ τὠυτὸ, ἄμαχόν τ' ἂν εἴη καὶ πολλῷ κράτιστον πάντων ἐθνέων, κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἐμήν[6]. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἄπορόν σφι καὶ ἀμήχανον μή κοτε ἐγγένηται, εἰσὶ δὴ[7] κατὰ τοῦτο ἀσθενέες.

Their customs are the same, except in the case of the *Getæ, Trau-*

οὐνόματα δὲ πολλὰ ἔχουσι κατὰ χώρας ἕκαστοι· νόμοισι δὲ οὗτοι παραπλησίοισι πάντες χρέωνται κατὰ πάντα, πλὴν Γετέων καὶ Τραυσῶν[8] καὶ τῶν κατ-
4 ύπερθε Κρηστωναίων[9] οἰκεόντων. Τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν Γέται οἱ

[4] πολλῷ. The majority of the MSS, which Gaisford follows, have πολλὸν, and in § 102, below, *all* have πολλὸν ἑσσώθησαν. But the more general form is πολλῷ, and this is probably latent here under πολλῶν, the reading of S.

[5] ἐχειρώθη. One manuscript (F) has ἐπεχειρώθη, which would be a fitting word if Perinthus was an addition to former conquests; and this was probably the case, although Perinthus was the first city attacked subsequently to the return of Darius (§ 1).

[6] κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἐμήν. THUCYDIDES, whose close connexion with Thrace gave him a right to form a judgment, takes a very different view of the matter: ἡ βασιλεία μεγίστη ἐγένετο χρημάτων προσόδῳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ· ἰσχύϊ δὲ μάχης καὶ στρατοῦ πλήθει πολὺ δευτέρα μετὰ τὴν Σκυθῶν (ii. 97). But the notion of Thrace formed by Herodotus was one of a more extensive territory.

[7] εἰσὶ δὴ, "they are, after all." See note 6 on i. 1.

[8] Τραυσῶν. If these are the inhabitants of the valley of the *Trauos*, the information relative to them would probably be derived from the Hellenic town *Dicæa*. See vii. 109, below.

[9] Κρηστωναίων. These persons appear to be the inhabitants of the town *Creston*, mentioned by Herodotus (above, i. 57) as inhabited by "Tyrrhenes," inland of whom were some "Pelasgians," apparently the same people that are here coupled with the Trausi and Getæ. Whether these are to be regarded as Thracians or Pelasgians, it would seem that they are a very anomalous people, retaining customs of an oriental character which, in the belief of the writer, are peculiar to themselves. It will be observed that he gives them no name (either here or in i. 57), and the account of their customs may very well have passed through two or three hands before it reached him. *Creston* is simply described by STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS as a Thracian town, and its local deity appears to have been exactly identical (even as regards his sacred symbol, the wolf) with the Roman *Mars*. LYCOPHRON speaks of τὸν Κρηστώνης θεὸν Κανδαῖον ἢ Μάμερτον, ὁπλίτην λύκον (937). And that Thracians, Crestonians, Pelasgians, and Tyrrhenes belonged to the same race, that is, were different waves of the great human flood which set westward from Asia and poured down into the Italian and Hellenic peninsulas, seems evident from the circumstance of their all being mixed up together in the peninsula of Mount Athos, where they formed a bilingual population. (See THUCYDIDES quoted in note 186 on i. 57.) The two languages were no doubt

ἀθανατίζοντες ποιεῦσι, εἴρηταί μοι. Τραυσοὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα κατὰ ταὐτὰ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι[10] Θρηξὶ ἐπιτελέουσι, κατὰ δὲ τὸν γινόμενόν σφι καὶ ἀπογινόμενον ποιεῦσι τοιάδε· τὸν μὲν γενόμενον περιϊζόμενοι οἱ προσήκοντες ὀλοφύρονται, ὅσα μιν δεῖ ἐπεί τε ἐγένετο ἀναπλῆσαι κακὰ, ἀνηγεόμενοι τὰ ἀνθρωπήϊα πάντα πάθεα· τὸν δ' ἀπογενόμενον παίζοντές τε καὶ ἡδόμενοι γῇ κρύπτουσι, ἐπιλέγοντες ὅσων κακῶν ἐξαπαλλαχθεὶς ἔστι ἐν πάσῃ εὐδαιμονίῃ[11]. Οἱ δὲ κατύπερθε Κρηστωναίων[12] ποιεῦσι 5 τοιάδε· ἔχει γυναῖκας ἕκαστος πολλάς· ἐπεὰν ὦν τις αὐτῶν ἀποθάνῃ, κρίσις γίνεται μεγάλη τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ φίλων σπουδαὶ ἰσχυραὶ περὶ τοῦδε, ἥτις αὐτέων ἐφιλέετο μάλιστα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρός· ἡ δ' ἂν κριθῇ καὶ τιμηθῇ, ἐγκωμιασθεῖσα ὑπό τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν σφάζεται ἐς τὸν τάφον ὑπὸ τοῦ οἰκηϊοτάτου ἑωυτῆς, σφαχθεῖσα δὲ συνθάπτεται τῷ ἀνδρί· αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι συμφορὴν μεγάλην ποιεῦνται· ὄνειδος γάρ σφι τοῦτο μέγιστον γίνεται.

si, and the tribes "above *Creston.*" Some peculiarities of these.

Τῶν δὲ δὴ ἄλλων Θρηΐκων ἐστὶ ὅδε ὁ νόμος· πωλεῦσι τὰ 6 τέκνα ἐπ' ἐξαγωγῇ· τὰς δὲ παρθένους οὐ φυλάσσουσι ἀλλ' ἐῶσι οἷσι αὐταὶ βούλονται ἀνδράσι μίσγεσθαι, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ἰσχυρῶς φυλάσσουσι· καὶ ὠνέονται τὰς γυναῖκας παρὰ τῶν γονέων χρη-

General customs of the race.

the Pelasgian (*i. e.* the common parent of Greek and Latin) and the Greek of commerce, arising from the mixture of Chalcidian settlers. The conjecture of Niebuhr (who would read Κροτῶνα instead of Κρηστῶνα in i. 57) seems quite irreconcileable with this passage. At the same time Dionysius of Halicarnassus found Κροτωνιᾶται there.

[10] ἄλλοισι. The manuscripts S and V omit this word.

[11] τὸν μὲν γενόμενον .... ἐν πάσῃ εὐδαιμονίῃ. Euripides, in his play of *Cresphontes*, had a sentiment of this kind:—

ἔδει γὰρ ἡμᾶς σύλλογον ποιουμένους
τὸν φύντα θρηνεῖν, εἰς ὅσ' ἔρχεται κακά·
τὸν δ' αὖ θανόντα καὶ πόνων πεπαυμένον
χαίροντας εὐφημοῦντας ἐκπέμπειν δόμων.

Strabo (xi. c. 12, p. 444), who quotes the three last of these lines, seems to attribute the practice described in them to *Asiatic* barbarians. But Euripides would be likely to hear of such habits at the Macedonian court; and in that case they would more probably be fathered on the race with whom the Macedonians had most to do, *i. e.* European Thracians. Doubtless the religious ideas connected with such a practice would come from the east; and in the time of Strabo instances of the practice itself might be known in Asia.

[12] οἱ δὲ κατύπερθε Κρηστωναίων. Stephanus Byzantinus (*v.* Γετία) states it to be a custom of the Getans: ἐπισφάζειν τὴν γυναῖκα τῷ ἀνδρί. The Hindu habit of *suttee* will occur to every reader. The practice of immolating wives at the funeral of their husbands was surpassed in barbarity by a custom which prevailed in Poland before it was Christianized, and of which Ditmar, who was bishop of Merseburg in the year 1008, speaks as existing in the generation before him. "Unaquæque mulier post viri exequias sui igne cremati decollata subsequitur: et si meretrix inveniebatur, in genitali suo, turpi et miserabili pœnâ, circumcidebatur, idque (si sic dici licet) præputium in foribus suspenditur." (*Chronic.* viii. *init.*, cited by Perizonius on Ælian, V. H. vii. 18.) See note 205 on iv. 73.

Their chiefs worship Hermes besides the popular deities, Ares, Dionysus, and Artemis. Mode of burial.

μάτων μεγάλων· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐστίχθαι εὐγενὲς κέκριται[13], τὸ δ' ἄστικτον ἀγεννές· ἀργὸν εἶναι κάλλιστον[14], γῆς δὲ ἐργάτην, ἀτιμότατον· τὸ ζῆν ἀπὸ πολέμου καὶ ληϊστύος κάλλιστον· οὗτοι μέν
7 σφεων οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι νόμοι εἰσί. Θεοὺς δὲ σέβονται μούνους τούσδε· Ἄρεα καὶ Διόνυσον καὶ Ἄρτεμιν[15]· οἱ δὲ βασιλέες αὐτῶν, πάρεξ τῶν ἄλλων πολιητέων, σέβονται Ἑρμῆν μάλιστα θεῶν· καὶ ὀμνύουσι μοῦνον τοῦτον, καὶ λέγουσι γεγονέναι ἀπὸ Ἑρμέω
8 ἑωυτούς[16]. Ταφαὶ δὲ τοῖσι εὐδαίμοσι αὐτῶν εἰσὶ αἵδε· τρεῖς μὲν ἡμέρας προτιθέασι τὸν νεκρὸν, καὶ παντοῖα σφάξαντες ἱρήϊα εὐωχέονται, προκλαύσαντες πρῶτον· ἔπειτα δὲ θάπτουσι κατακαύσαντες, ἢ ἄλλως[17] γῇ κρύψαντες· χῶμα δὲ χέαντες, ἀγῶνα τιθεῖσι παντοῖον, ἐν τῷ τὰ μέγιστα ἄεθλα τίθεται κατὰ λόγον μουνομαχίης[18]. ταφαὶ μὲν δὴ Θρηΐκων εἰσὶ αὗται.

The northern parts of Thrace are uncertain.

9 Τὸ δὲ πρὸς βορέω τῆς χώρης ἔτι ταύτης[19] οὐδεὶς ἔχει φράσαι τὸ ἀτρεκὲς, οἵτινές εἰσι ἀνθρώπων οἱ οἰκέοντες αὐτήν· ἀλλὰ τὰ πέρην ἤδη τοῦ Ἴστρου ἐρῆμος χώρη φαίνεται ἐοῦσα καὶ ἄπειρος. μούνους δὲ δύναμαι πυθέσθαι οἰκέοντας πέρην τοῦ Ἴστρου ἀνθρώ-

[13] τὸ μὲν ἐστίχθαι εὐγενὲς κέκριται. This apparently has reference to a custom of tatowing; in which case nobility would of course be denoted by peculiar (and probably superabundant) marks,—a practice that might easily be described as in the text, by a Greek trader.

[14] ἀργὸν εἶναι κάλλιστον. This maxim, a natural one in the case of a warlike race wholly or mainly pastoral, is noticed by TACITUS as prevailing among the Germans of his time. (*Germ.* § 14.)

[15] Ἄρεα καὶ Διόνυσον καὶ Ἄρτεμιν. The combination of the deities here mentioned will be easier understood, if we consider that Herodotus is probably following an account received from Hellespontine traders, who would compare the Thracian deities with those that *they* were familiar with in Pontus and Asia. Dionysus therefore is not the rustic deity, the god of the vine-dressers, but the oriental conqueror with his army of bacchants, prophesying amid the inspiration of his orgies. *This* Dionysus was, in a Lydian legend (STEPH. BYZ. *v.* Μάσταυρα), made the reputed son of *Ares*, with whom he is associated in the text. So too the Artemis of the Thracians is not the huntress goddess, the sister of the Dorian Apollo, but analogous to the cruel Tauric Artemis, the Artemis ὀρθία and ταυροπόλος of Taygetum, and the Artemis Brauronia of Attica. The identity of the first of these with the Latin *Bellona* and the Hellenic *Enyo* is decisively proved by the great temple of Enyo at Comana in Cappadocia; the orgies of which were said to be brought by Orestes and his sister Iphigenia from the Tauric Chersonese. (STRABO, xii. c. 2. p. 5.)

[16] λέγουσι γεγονέναι ἀπὸ Ἑρμέω ἑωυτούς. The chieftains were probably the representatives of a race originally different from that of their subjects, and hence had a different tutelary deity.

[17] ἄλλως, "simply." The use of the word is like that in iii. 139, δίδωμι δ' ἄλλως, "but I offer it as a gift," *i. e.* simply, without conditions.

[18] κατὰ λόγον μουνομαχίης, "in the way of single combat." This expression would lead one to believe that the different contests which were rewarded with a prize were conducted on the principle of one champion challenging the field; not in the way which would be usual in Greece, by selecting as the victor the best out of a number of competitors.

[19] τῆς χώρης ἔτι ταύτης, "still within the limits of this country."

Across the Ister dwell the *Sigynnes*, a nation with small hardy horses, said to be of Median origin.

πους, τοῖσι οὔνομα εἶναι Σιγύννας[20] ἐσθῆτι δὲ χρεωμένους Μηδικῇ· τοὺς δὲ ἵππους αὐτῶν εἶναι λασίους ἅπαν τὸ σῶμα ἐπὶ πέντε δακτύλους τὸ βάθος τῶν τριχῶν, μικροὺς δὲ καὶ σιμοὺς[21] καὶ ἀδυνάτους ἄνδρας φέρειν· ζευγνυμένους δὲ ὑπ' ἅρματα, εἶναι ὀξυτάτους[22]· ἁρματηλατέειν δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους. κατήκειν δὲ τούτων τοὺς οὔρους ἀγχοῦ Ἐνετῶν[23] τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀδρίῃ· εἶναι δὲ Μήδων σφέας ἀποίκους λέγουσι. ὅκως δὲ οὗτοι Μήδων ἄποικοι[24] γεγόνασι, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἔχω ἐπιφράσασθαι· γένοιτο δ' ἂν πᾶν ἐν τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ. (Σιγύννας δ' ὦν καλέουσι Λίγυες οἱ ἄνω ὑπὲρ Μασσαλίης οἰκέοντες τοὺς καπήλους· Κύπριοι δὲ τὰ δόρατα[25].)
Ὡς δὲ Θρήϊκες λέγουσι, μέλισσαι κατέχουσαι τὰ 10
πέρην τοῦ Ἴστρου εἰσι[a]· καὶ ὑπὸ τουτέων οὐκ εἶναι διελθεῖν τὸ προσωτέρω. ἐμοὶ μέν νυν, ταῦτα λέγοντες δοκέουσι λέγειν οὐκ οἰκότα· τὰ γὰρ ζῷα ταῦτα φαίνεται εἶναι δύσριγα· ἀλλά μοι τὰ ὑπὸ τὴν ἄρκτον ἀοίκητα δοκέει εἶναι διὰ τὰ ψύχεα. ταῦτα μέν

The Thracians say that *bees* occupy the country beyond the Ister.

[20] Σιγύννας. Later writers seem to have placed this race further east. STRABO speaks of them as Asiatics (xi. c. 12, p. 444). This is easily to be accounted for. See note 24, below.

[21] μικροὺς δὲ καὶ σιμούς. These are the *ponies* (*polnische pferde*) which no doubt in the time of Herodotus ran wild in the forests of Hungary and Transylvania.

[22] ὀξυτάτους. Some MSS, including S, have ὠκυτάτους.

[23] κατήκειν δὲ τούτων τοὺς οὔρους ἀγχοῦ Ἐνετῶν. The Eneti may be regarded as spreading over Carinthia, or at least conducting the traffic a considerable way inland from the coast. See note 320, *a*, on iii. 115. There appears to have been a line of communication between the Adriatic and the Euxine by the medium of some entrepôt on the Danube, perhaps not far above the point to which vessels from the Euxine might ascend. There is a vague and exaggerated description in the Aristotelian treatise περὶ θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων, which indicates the existence of commercial intercourse by this route. From Delphium, a high peak in the mountains overhanging Istria, it was said that a view might be obtained of the ships sailing into the Euxine. Corcyrean wine jars are said to have been an important article in this traffic (§§ 104, 105).

[24] Μήδων ἄποικοι. The mode in which these races were descended from the Medes is to be explained on the principle stated in the note 336 on i. 94. From i. 196 it will be seen that a practice undoubtedly Asiatic existed among the Eneti, their neighbours. The custom of *suttee* too which prevailed among οἱ κατύπερθε Κρηστωναίων,—distinctly points to an eastern origin of the tribes inhabiting this region. See note 20, above.

[25] Σιγύννας δ' ὦν καλέουσι, κ.τ.λ. This clause has been considered by some as a gloss of a scholiast interpolated into the text. This may probably be the case; for although the name σιγύννες, given by the Ligurians to merchants, may bear upon the question of the Median origin of the race, the Cyprian word certainly would not. But on the other hand there are so many parts of the MSS as they exist at present which look like later additions, that it appears unjustifiable to consider the clause as an interpolation in the proper sense of the word. It seems possible that the word *zigeuner* is etymologically connected with Sigynnes.

[a] μέλισσαι κατέχουσαι τὰ πέρην τοῦ Ἴστρου εἰσί. The foundation for this story perhaps is the enormous swarms of *gnats* which are found in the depths of the unpenetrated forests of Poland and Russia. The mistake may be a similar one to that in iv. 7, where see the note 22.

νυν τῆς χώρης ταύτης πέρι λέγεται· τὰ παραθαλάσσια δ' ὧν αὐτῆς Μεγάβαζος[26] Περσέων κατήκοα ἐποίεε.

11 Darius on arriving at Sardis grants to Histiæus *Myrcinus* in Edonis, and makes Coës tyrant of Mytilene.

Δαρεῖος δὲ, ὡς διαβὰς τάχιστα τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀπίκετο ἐς Σάρδις, ἐμνήσθη[27] τῆς ἐξ Ἱστιαίου τε τοῦ Μιλησίου εὐεργεσίης, καὶ τῆς παραινέσιος τοῦ Μυτιληναίου Κώεω· μεταπεμψάμενος δέ σφεας ἐς Σάρδις, ἐδίδου αὐτοῖσι αἵρεσιν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἱστιαῖος, ἅτε τυραννεύων τῆς Μιλήτου τυραννίδος μὲν οὐδεμιῆς προσέχρηζε[28]· αἰτέει δὲ Μύρκινον τὴν Ἠδωνίδα, βουλόμενος ἐν αὐτῇ πόλιν κτίσαι. οὗτος μὲν δὴ ταύτην αἱρέεται· ὁ δὲ Κώης, οἷά τε οὐ τύραννος[29] δημότης τε ἐὼν, αἰτέει Μυτιλήνης τυραννεῦσαι. τελεωθέντων δὲ ἀμφοτέροισι, οὗτοι μὲν κατὰ τὰ εἵλοντο ἐτράποντο.

12 Circumstances under which he first hears of the *Pæonians* of the Strymon.

Δαρεῖον δὲ συνήνεικε, πρῆγμα τοιόνδε ἰδόμενον ἐπιθυμῆσαι ἐντείλασθαι Μεγαβάζῳ, Παίονας ἑλόντα ἀνασπάστους ποιῆσαι ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. ἦν Πίγρης[30] καὶ Μαντύης[31], ἄνδρες Παίονες· οἵ, ἐπεί τε Δαρεῖος διέβη ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, αὐτοὶ ἐθέλοντες Παιόνων τυραννεύειν ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδις, ἅμα ἀγόμενοι ἀδελφεὴν μεγάλην τε καὶ εὐειδέα· φυλάξαντες δὲ Δαρεῖον προκατιζόμενον ἐς τὸ προάστειον τὸ τῶν Λυδῶν, ἐποίησαν τοιόνδε· σκευάσαντες τὴν ἀδελφεὴν ὡς εἶχον ἄριστα, ἐπ' ὕδωρ ἔπεμπον ἄγγος ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἔχουσαν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ βραχίονος ἵππον ἐπέλκουσαν καὶ κλώθουσαν λίνον[32]· ὡς δὲ παρεξήϊε ἡ γυνὴ, ἐπιμελὲς τῷ Δαρείῳ ἐγένετο· οὔτε γὰρ Περσικὰ ἦν οὔτε Λύδια[33] τὰ ποιεύμενα ἐκ τῆς γυναικὸς, οὔτε πρὸς τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης οὐδαμῶν·

[26] Μεγάβαζος. See the note 367 on iv. 143.

[27] ἐμνήσθη. See iv. 97 and 137.

[28] τυραννίδος οὐδεμιῆς προσέχρηζε. See the note 354 on iv. 138.

[29] οὐ τύραννος. He is described in iv. 97 as the στρατηγὸς of the Mytileneans. Apparently the constitution of Mytilene at the time was the one established by Pittacus when dictator (αἰσυμνήτης). ARISTOTLE, *Polit.* iii., p. 1285.

[30] Πίγρης. One MS has Τίγρης, and another Πύγρης.

[31] Μαντύης. S and V have Μαστίης.

[32] καὶ κλώθουσαν λίνον. DR. HUNT describes the women of the neighbourhood of Acanthus as very hardy and industrious, and performing all agricultural labours except ploughing. Their dress (he says) resembles that of the women in the Highlands of Scotland, except as to the head ornaments. They wear short petticoats without trousers, shoes, or stockings; and those who are mothers carry their young children slung in a square piece of cloth behind their shoulders while they are working in the fields. In going from place to place they not only carry their infants in this manner, but often have a lofty jar or pitcher upon their heads, and a rack and spindle in their hands with which they spin as they walk. He adds that they are Albanian colonists (*ap. Walpole's Turkey*, p. 227).

[33] Λύδια. The manuscripts S and V have Λυδικά.

ἐπιμελὲς δὲ ὥς οἱ ἐγένετο, τῶν δορυφόρων τινὰς πέμπει κελεύων φυλάξαι ὅ τι χρήσεται[34] τῷ ἵππῳ ἡ γυνή· οἱ μὲν δὴ ὄπισθεν εἵποντο, ἡ δὲ ἐπεί τε ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν, ἦρσε[35] τὸν ἵππον· ἄρσασα δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄγγος τοῦ ὕδατος ἐμπλησαμένη, τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν παρεξήϊε φέρουσα τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ ἐπέλκουσα ἐκ τοῦ βραχίονος τὸν ἵππον καὶ στρέφουσα τὸν ἄτρακτον. Θωμάζων δὲ 13
ὁ Δαρεῖος τά τε ἤκουσε ἐκ τῶν κατασκόπων καὶ τὰ αὐτὸς ὥρα, ἄγειν αὐτὴν ἐκέλευε ἑωυτῷ ἐς ὄψιν· ὡς δὲ ἄχθη, παρῆσαν καὶ οἱ ἀδελφεοὶ αὐτῆς οὔ κῃ πρόσω σκοπιὴν ἔχοντες τούτων· εἰρωτέωντος δὲ τοῦ Δαρείου ὁποδαπὴ εἴη; ἔφασαν οἱ νεηνίσκοι εἶναι Παίονες καὶ ἐκείνην εἶναι σφέων ἀδελφεήν· ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο, τίνες δὲ οἱ Παίονες ἄνθρωποί εἰσι, καὶ κοῦ γῆς οἰκημένοι, καὶ τί κεῖνοι ἐθέλοντες ἔλθοιεν ἐς Σάρδις; οἱ δέ οἱ ἔφραζον, ὡς ἔλθοιεν μὲν ἐκείνῳ δώσοντες σφέας αὐτοὺς, εἴη δὲ ἡ Παιονίη ἐπὶ τῷ Στρυμόνι ποταμῷ πεπολισμένη· ὁ δὲ Στρυμὼν οὐ πρόσω τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου· εἴησαν δὲ Τευκρῶν τῶν ἐκ Τροίης ἄποικοι[36]· οἱ μὲν δὴ αὐτὰ ἕκαστα ἔλεγον· ὁ δὲ εἰρώτα εἰ καὶ πᾶσαι εἴησαν αὐτόθι αἱ γυναῖκες οὕτω ἐργάτιδες; οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἔφασαν προθύμως οὕτω ἔχειν· αὐτοῦ γὰρ ὧν τούτου εἵνεκα καὶ ἐποιέετο.

Ἐνθαῦτα Δαρεῖος γράφει γράμματα πρὸς Μεγάβαζον, τὸν 14
ἔλιπε ἐν τῇ Θρηΐκῃ στρατηγὸν, ἐντελλόμενος ἐξαναστῆσαι ἐξ ἠθέων Παίονας, καὶ παρ' ἑωυτὸν ἀγαγεῖν καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τέκνα τε καὶ γυναῖκας αὐτῶν. αὐτίκα δὲ ἱππεὺς ἔθεε[37] φέρων τὴν ἀγγελίην ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον· περαιωθεὶς δὲ διδοῖ τὸ βιβλίον[38] τῷ

He orders Megabazus to transport the population to Asia.

[34] χρήσεται. The manuscripts S, V, *a*, *d* have χρήσαιτο. See however note on vii. 213, by which the uncertainty of the documentary evidence will appear.

[35] ἦρσε. This word, in its ordinary use, is applied to the irrigation of land, the proper phrase for giving water to an animal being ποτίζειν.

[36] εἴησαν δὲ Τευκρῶν τῶν ἐκ Τροίης ἄποικοι. STRABO (xiii. c. 1, p. 95) remarks on the extensive correspondence of Thracian and Teucrian names. Thus *Arisbe*, a town mentioned in the Homeric poems in connexion with Practium, Sestos, and Abydos, and therefore in their neighbourhood, is paralleled by *Arisbos*, a river in Thrace, a tributary of the Hebrus, on the banks of which are the *Cebrenii*, a Thracian tribe. The *Scæi* and *Xanthii* are two other Thracian tribes, and there is also a river *Scæus*, and a Σκαιὸν τεῖχος in that country. *Rhesus* again is a Thracian king; while on the other hand at Troy there are the Σκαιαὶ πύλαι, the rivers *Xanthus* and *Rhesus*, and the district *Cebrenia*. All these circumstances contribute with the tradition in the text to prove the *ethnical identity* of Teucrians and Thracians,—which, in the language of Herodotus's time, could hardly be described in other terms than making the one a colony from the other. See note 336 on i. 94.

[37] αὐτίκα δὲ ἱππεὺς ἔθεε. This was the ἀγγαρήϊος. See note 348 on iii. 126.

[38] τὸ βιβλίον, "the firman," the written document containing formal instructions for the expedition. The use of the

Μεγαβάζῳ· ὁ δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος, καὶ λαβὼν ἡγεμόνας ἐκ τῆς Θρηΐκης, ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Παιονίην.

15 Megabazus overruns Pæonia, and transports some of the tribes.

Πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Παίονες τοὺς Πέρσας ἐπὶ σφέας ἰέναι, ἁλισθέντες ἐξεστρατεύσαντο πρὸς θαλάσσης· δοκέοντες ταύτῃ ἐπιχειρήσειν[39] τοὺς Πέρσας ἐμβάλλοντας. οἱ μὲν δὴ Παίονες ἦσαν ἑτοῖμοι τὸν Μεγαβάζου στρατὸν ἐπιόντα ἐρύκειν· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πυθόμενοι συναλίσθαι τοὺς Παίονας καὶ τὴν πρὸς θαλάσσης ἐσβολὴν φυλάσσοντας, ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνας, τὴν ἄνω ὁδὸν τράπονται· λαθόντες δὲ τοὺς Παίονας ἐσπίπτουσι ἐς τὰς πόλιας αὐτῶν, ἐούσας ἀνδρῶν ἐρήμους· οἷα δὲ κεινῇσι ἐπιπεσόντες, εὐπετέως κατέσχον. οἱ δὲ Παίονες ὡς ἐπύθοντο ἐχομένας τὰς πόλιας, αὐτίκα διασκεδασθέντες κατ' ἑωυτοὺς ἕκαστοι ἐτράποντο, καὶ παρεδίδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι· οὕτω δὴ Παιόνων Σιροπαίονές[40] τε καὶ Παιόπλαι καὶ οἱ μέχρι τῆς Πρασιάδος λίμνης, ἐξ ἠθέων ἐξαναστάντες, ἤγοντο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

16 Others successfully resist for the time. Description of a fishing town built in the lake *Prasias*, near Mount Orbelus.

Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον οὖρος καὶ Δόβηρας καὶ Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ Ὀδομάντους καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν λίμνην τὴν Πρασιάδα, οὐκ ἐχειρώθησαν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Μεγαβάζου. ἐπειρήθη δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ ἐξαιρέειν, ὧδε κατοικημένους[41]· ἰκρία ἐπὶ σταυρῶν ὑψηλῶν ἐζευγμένα ἐν μέσῃ ἕστηκε τῇ λίμνῃ, ἔσοδον ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου στεινὴν ἔχοντα μιῇ γεφύρῃ· τοὺς δὲ σταυροὺς τοὺς ὑπεστεῶτας τοῖσι ἰκρίοισι τὸ μέν κου ἀρχαῖον ἔστησαν κοινῇ πάντες οἱ

article indicates the technical character of the proceeding, and that this was generally known. It seems not unlikely that much of this technicality was a part of Darius's system, to check the arbitrary power of the great satraps, and prevent their furthering their own ambitious views under the cover of the king's authority. It would appear that these rescripts were, in each case, at least bilingual,—one language being a dialect of the Assyrian, and the other that of the people among whom the decree was to be put into execution,—that they were *both* drawn up by officials of the central government, dated from thence, and authenticated by the king's signet. (See *Esther* iii. 12, 13; viii. 8—14, compared with *Ezra* iv. 7.) That they were also letters "patent," seems to follow both from the story told in iii. 128, and from the Pæonians being made aware of the intended expedition.

[39] δοκέοντες ταύτῃ ἐπιχειρήσειν. The impression of the Pæonians apparently was, that the attack would be made upon them through the Hellenic maritime states. See § 10, *ad finem*.

[40] Σιροπαίονες. The Pæonians of Siris, a town which is called by the author Siris of Pæonia (viii. 115), to distinguish it from Siris in Italy, likewise mentioned (viii. 62).

[41] τοὺς ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ ἐξαιρέειν, ὧδε κατοικημένους. The MSS have τοὺς ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ κατοικημένους ἐξαιρέειν ὧδε, which Gaisford retains. But if that order be genuine, it would seem that the text here must have undergone a great change, and that the existing description of the habits of the people of the town on the lake, must have been substituted for one of the manner in which Megabazus attempted to conquer them.

A precisely similar description to that in the text, is given by Heliodorus of the habits of the population living in the marshes of the Nile. (*Æthiopica*, i. 11.)

πολιῆται· μετὰ δὲ, νόμῳ χρεώμενοι ἱστᾶσι τοιῷδε· κομίζοντες ἐξ οὔρεος τῷ οὔνομά ἐστι Ὄρβηλος, κατὰ γυναῖκα ἑκάστην ὁ γαμέων τρεῖς σταυροὺς ὑπίστησι· ἄγεται δὲ ἕκαστος συχνὰς γυναῖκας. οἰκεῦσι δὲ τοιοῦτον τρόπον, κρατέων ἕκαστος ἐπὶ τῶν ἰκρίων καλύβης τε ἐν ᾗ διαιτᾶται, καὶ θύρης καταπακτῆς διὰ τῶν ἰκρίων κάτω φερούσης ἐς τὴν λίμνην· τὰ δὲ νήπια παιδία δέουσι τοῦ ποδὸς σπάρτῳ, μὴ κατακυλισθῇ δειμαίνοντες· τοῖσι δὲ ἵπποισι καὶ τοῖσι ὑποζυγίοισι παρέχουσι χόρτον ἰχθῦς[42]· τῶν δὲ πλῆθός ἐστι τοσοῦτον, ὥστε ὅταν τὴν θύρην τὴν καταπακτὴν ἀνακλίνῃ, κατίει σχοίνῳ σπυρίδα[43] κεινὴν ἐς τὴν λίμνην, καὶ οὐ πολλόν τινα χρόνον ἐπισχὼν, ἀνασπᾷ πλήρεα ἰχθύων. τῶν δὲ ἰχθύων ἐστὶ γένεα δύο, τοὺς καλέουσι πάπρακάς τε καὶ τίλωνας. Παιόνων μὲν δὴ οἱ χειρωθέντες ἤγοντο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

17 Μεγάβαζος δὲ ὡς ἐχειρώσατο τοὺς Παίονας, πέμπει ἀγγέλους ἐς Μακεδονίην ἄνδρας ἑπτὰ Πέρσας, οἳ μετ' αὐτὸν κεῖνον ἦσαν δοκιμώτατοι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ· ἐπέμποντο δὲ οὗτοι παρ' Ἀμύντην[44] αἰτήσοντες γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ Δαρείῳ βασιλέϊ. ἔστι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Πρασιάδος λίμνης σύντομος κάρτα ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίην· πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ ἔχεται τῆς λίμνης τὸ μέταλλον, ἐξ οὗ ὕστερον τούτων τάλαντον ἀργυρίου Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἡμέρης ἑκάστης ἐφοίτα· μετὰ δὲ τὸ μέταλλον, Δύσωρον καλεόμενον οὖρος ὑπερβάντα εἶναι ἐν Μακεδονίῃ[45].

Megabazus sends an embassy to Amyntas, king of Macedonia, which is easily accessible from the lake Prasias.

18 Οἱ ὦν Πέρσαι οἱ πεμφθέντες οὗτοι παρὰ τὸν Ἀμύντην ὡς ἀπίκοντο, αἴτεον ἐλθόντες ἐς ὄψιν τὴν Ἀμύντεω Δαρείῳ βασιλέϊ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ· ὁ δὲ ταῦτά τε ἐδίδου, καί σφεας ἐπὶ

They are well received and feasted,

[42] τοῖσι δὲ ἵπποισι . . . χόρτον . ἰχθῦς. MARCO POLO asserts the existence of a similar practice on the coast of Hadramaut. Very small fishes, he says, are caught there during the months of March, April, and May, in enormous quantities. These are dried, laid up, and given to the sheep, oxen, and camels, throughout the year. There is no grass there, it being the most arid place in the world (p. 350).

[43] κατίει σχοίνῳ σπυρίδα. This probably refers to the mode of taking fish by pots of basket-work, which would be unfamiliar to the Greeks of the Hellespont.

[44] παρ' Ἀμύντην. The court of Amyntas would be at *Æge* (or Edessa), which was high up in the mountains, near the sources of the principal of the streams which fell into the lake at Pella. The kings of Macedonia were buried there as long as the kingdom lasted, even after Pella became the residence. (PLINY, *N. H.* iv. 10.)

[45] εἶναι ἐν Μακεδονίῃ. At the time of SCYLAX's work being compiled, the boundary of Macedonia was the river Strymon (§ 67, p. 27, Hudson). But considerable changes seem to have taken place at or immediately after the invasion under Xerxes. See note on vii. 127. The mine from which the large revenue was derived perhaps passed over to Alexander at that time.

ξείνια[46] καλέει· παρασκευασάμενος δὲ δεῖπνον μεγαλοπρεπὲς, ἐδέκετο τοὺς Πέρσας φιλοφρόνως. ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἐγένοντο, διαπίνοντες εἶπαν οἱ Πέρσαι τάδε· "ξεῖνε Μακεδὼν, ἡμῖν νόμος ἐστὶ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι, ἐπεὰν δεῖπνον προτιθώμεθα μέγα, τότε καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς καὶ τὰς κουριδίας γυναῖκας[47] ἐσάγεσθαι παρέδρους[48]· σύ νυν, ἐπείπερ προθύμως μὲν ἐδέξαο μεγάλως δὲ ξεινίζεις, διδοῖς τε βασιλέϊ Δαρείῳ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, ἕπεο νόμῳ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ·" εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα Ἀμύντης· "ὦ Πέρσαι, νόμος μὲν ἡμῖν γέ ἐστι οὐκ οὗτος, ἀλλὰ κεχωρίσθαι ἄνδρας γυναικῶν· ἐπεί τε δὲ ὑμεῖς ἐόντες δεσπόται προσχρήζετε τουτέων, παρέσται ὑμῖν καὶ ταῦτα." εἴπας τοσαῦτα ὁ Ἀμύντης μετεπέμπετο τὰς γυναῖκας· αἱ δ' ἐπεί τε καλεόμεναι ἦλθον, ἐπεξῆς ἀντίαι ἵζοντο τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι· ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Πέρσαι ἰδόμενοι γυναῖκας εὐμόρφους, ἔλεγον πρὸς Ἀμύντην φάμενοι "τὸ ποιηθὲν τοῦτο οὐδὲν εἶναι σοφόν· κρέσσον γὰρ εἶναι ἀρχῆθεν μὴ ἐλθεῖν τὰς γυναῖκας, ἢ ἐλθούσας καὶ μὴ παριζομένας ἀντίας ἵζεσθαι ἀλγηδόνας σφι ὀφθαλμῶν[49]." ἀναγκαζόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀμύντης ἐκέλευε παρίζειν· πειθομενέων δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν, αὐτίκα οἱ Πέρσαι μαστῶν[50] τε ἅπτοντο, οἷα πλεύνως οἰνωμένοι, καί κου τις καὶ φιλέειν ἐπειρᾶτο·

but insulting the women whom they had caused to be brought to table,

19 Ἀμύντης μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὁρέων ἀτρέμας εἶχε καί περ δυσφορέων, οἷα ὑπερδειμαίνων τοὺς Πέρσας· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ Ἀμύντεω παρεών τε καὶ ὁρέων ταῦτα, ἅτε νέος τε ἐὼν καὶ κακῶν ἀπαθὴς, οὐδαμῶς ἔτι κατέχειν οἷός τε ἦν· ὥστε δὲ βαρέως φέρων εἶπε πρὸς Ἀμύντεα τάδε· "σὺ μὲν, ὦ πάτερ, εἶκε τῇ ἡλικίῃ ἀπιών τε ἀναπαύεο, μηδὲ λιπάρεε τῇ

46 ἐπὶ ξείνια. The MSS vary here and elsewhere between the forms ἐπὶ ξείνια and ἐπὶ ξεινίᾳ. Schweighäuser considers that both are common to Ionic Greek, but that the latter is appropriate to Attic. Such a distinction appears as purely accidental as that between the two phrases of 'asking a person to come and dine' and 'asking him to come to dinner.'

47 κουριδίας γυναῖκας. See note 463 on i. 135, and 405 on iv. 155.

48 ἐσάγεσθαι παρέδρους. See *Esther* i. 10, 11.

49 ἀλγηδόνας ὀφθαλμῶν. The unfavourable criticism of LONGINUS (*De Subl.* § 4) upon this expression is well known. But after all it seems not unlikely to be the Greek equivalent of a Persian phrase, intended as a high compliment,—and meaning something the same as the English expression of "a dazzling beauty." Alexander the Great applied the same expression in pleasantry to the Persian ladies (εἰσὶν ἀλγηδόνες ὀμμάτων αἱ Περσίδες, PLUTARCH, *Alex.* § 21); and when it is considered that the sun and moon are the usual objects of comparison with female beauty at the present time in the east, it seems far from improbable that the Persians were employing the staple phrases of court gallantry in what they said to Amyntas.

50 μαστῶν. This is the reading of all the MSS except one (*b*), which has μασθῶν. See note 516 on iv. 202.

πόσει· ἐγὼ δὲ προσμένων αὐτοῦ τῇδε, πάντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεα παρέξω
τοῖσι ξείνοισι.” πρὸς ταῦτα συνιεὶς ὁ Ἀμύντης ὅτι νεώτερα
πρήγματα πρήξειν μέλλει Ἀλέξανδρος, λέγει· “ὦ παῖ, σχεδὸν
γάρ σευ ἀνακαιομένου συνίημι τοὺς λόγους, ὅτι ἐθέλεις ἐμὲ
ἐκπέμψας ποιέειν τι νεώτερον· ἐγὼ ὦν σευ χρηΐζω μηδὲν
νεοχμῶσαι κατ᾽ ἄνδρας τούτους[51], ἵνα μὴ ἐξεργάσῃ ἡμέας[52]· ἀλλὰ
ἀνέχευ ὁρέων τὰ ποιεύμενα· ἀμφὶ δὲ ἀπόδῳ τῇ ἐμῇ πείσομαί τοι.”
Ὡς δὲ ὁ Ἀμύντης χρήσας τούτων οἰχώκεε, λέγει ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος 20
πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας· “γυναικῶν τουτέων, ὦ ξεῖνοι, πολλή ἐστι
ὑμῖν εὐπετείη, καὶ εἰ πάσῃσι βούλεσθε μίσγεσθαι καὶ ὁκόσῃσι ὦν
αὐτέων· τούτου μὲν πέρι αὐτοὶ ἀποσημανέετε· νῦν δὲ, σχεδὸν γὰρ
ἤδη τῆς κοίτης ὥρη προσέρχεται ὑμῖν καὶ καλῶς ἔχοντας ὑμέας
ὁρέω μέθης, γυναῖκας ταύτας, εἰ ὑμῖν φίλον ἐστὶ, ἄφετε λούσασθαι·
λουσαμένας δὲ, ὀπίσω προσδέκεσθε.” εἴπας ταῦτα, συνέπαινοι
γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ Πέρσαι, γυναῖκας μὲν ἐξελθούσας ἀπέπεμπε ἐς τὴν
γυναικηΐην· αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἴσους τῇσι γυναιξὶ ἀριθμὸν
ἄνδρας λειογενείους τῇ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐσθῆτι σκευάσας, καὶ ἐγχει-
ρίδια δοὺς, παρῆγε ἔσω. παράγων δὲ τούτους ἔλεγε τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι
τάδε· “ὦ Πέρσαι, οἴκατε πανδαισίῃ τελέῃ εἱστιῆσθαι· τά τε γὰρ
ἄλλα ὅσα εἴχομεν, καὶ πρὸς, τὰ οἷά τε ἦν ἐξευρόντας παρέχειν,
πάντα ὑμῖν πάρεστι· καὶ δὴ καὶ τόδε τὸ πάντων μέγιστον τάς τε
ἑωυτῶν μητέρας καὶ τὰς ἀδελφεὰς ἐπιδαψιλευόμεθα[53] ὑμῖν· ὡς
παντελέως μάθητε τιμεώμενοι πρὸς ἡμέων τῶν πέρ ἐστε ἄξιοι,
πρὸς δὲ καὶ βασιλέϊ τῷ πέμψαντι ἀπαγγείλητε, ὡς ἀνὴρ Ἕλλην
Μακεδόνων ὕπαρχος[54] εὖ ὑμέας ἐδέξατο καὶ τραπέζῃ καὶ κοίτῃ.” are assassinated by
ταῦτα εἴπας Ἀλέξανδρος, παρίζει Πέρσῃ ἀνδρὶ ἄνδρα Μακεδόνα, Alexander,
ὡς γυναῖκα τῷ λόγῳ· οἱ δὲ, ἐπεί τέ σφεων οἱ Πέρσαι ψαύειν the son of Amyntas.
ἐπειρῶντο, διεργάζοντο αὐτούς. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τούτῳ τῷ μόρῳ 21
διεφθάρησαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἡ θεραπηΐη αὐτῶν· εἵπετο γὰρ δή σφι All their attendants

[51] κατ᾽ ἄνδρας τούτους. See note 515 on iv. 201.

[52] ἵνα μὴ ἐξεργάσῃ ἡμέας, “that you be not the destruction of us.” Compare Euripides, *Hippol.* 607: ὦ πρός σε γονάτων, μηδαμῶς μ᾽ ἐξεργάσῃ. *Helen.* 1104: Κούρη Διώνης Κύπρι, μή μ᾽ ἐξεργάσῃ.

[53] ἐπιδαψιλευόμεθα. This word is copiously illustrated by Hemsterhuis on Lucian's Dialogues of the Dead, xxx. 2, εὖγε, ὦ Μίνως, ὅτι καὶ ἐπιδαψιλεύῃ τῷ παραδείγματι. It is applied to a prodigal expenditure over and above what the circumstances of the case require.

[54] Μακεδόνων ὕπαρχος. The use of the word ὕπαρχος instead of βασιλεὺς is to be remarked. Alexander speaks of his father as the “satrap” of Macedonia, he having done homage to Darius the “king.”

are slain with them.

καὶ ὀχήματα, καὶ θεράποντες, καὶ ἡ πᾶσα πολλὴ παρασκευή· πάντα δὴ ταῦτα ἅμα πᾶσι κείνοισι ἠφάνιστο. μετὰ δὲ, χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, ζήτησις τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων μεγάλη ἐκ τῶν Περσέων ἐγίνετο· καί σφεας Ἀλέξανδρος κατέλαβε σοφίῃ [55], χρήματά τε δοὺς πολλὰ καὶ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ἀδελφεὴν, τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Γυγαίη· δοὺς δὲ ταῦτα κατέλαβε ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος Βουβάρῃ, ἀνδρὶ Πέρσῃ, τῶν διζημένων τοὺς ἀπολομένους τῶν στρατηγῶν [56]. ὁ μέν νυν τῶν Περσέων τούτων θάνατος οὕτω καταλαμφθεὶς ἐσιγήθη.

Alexander gets the matter hushed up.

22 Ἕλληνας δὲ εἶναι τούτους τοὺς ἀπὸ Περδίκκεω γεγονότας, κατάπερ αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, αὐτός τε οὕτω τυγχάνω ἐπιστάμενος (καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ὄπισθε λόγοισι [57] ἀποδέξω ὥς εἰσι Ἕλληνες), πρὸς δὲ, καὶ οἱ τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ διέποντες ἀγῶνα Ἑλλήνων οὕτω ἔγνωσαν εἶναι. Ἀλεξάνδρου γὰρ ἀεθλεύειν ἑλομένου [58] καὶ καταβάντος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οἱ ἀντιθευσόμενοι Ἑλλήνων ἐξεῖργόν μιν, φάμενοι οὐ βαρβάρων ἀγωνιστέων εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἀλλὰ Ἑλλήνων· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἀπέδεξε ὡς εἴη Ἀργεῖος, ἐκρίθη τε εἶναι Ἕλλην καὶ ἀγωνιζόμενος στάδιον συνεξέπιπτε τῷ πρώτῳ.

The Macedonian kings belong to the Hellenic race.

23 Ταῦτα μέν νυν οὕτω κῃ ἐγένετο. Μεγάβαζος δὲ ἄγων τοὺς Παίονας ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ διαπεραιωθεὶς ἀπίκετο ἐς Σάρδις. ἅτε δὲ τειχέοντος ἤδη Ἱστιαίου τοῦ Μιλησίου τὴν παρὰ Δαρείου αἰτήσας ἔτυχε δωρεὴν, μισθὸν [59] φυλακῆς τῆς σχεδίης, ἐόντος δὲ τοῦ χώρου τούτου παρὰ Στρυ-

Megabazus, on arriving at Sardis with the Pæonians, opens the

[55] κατέλαβε σοφίῃ, "quashed the investigation by intrigue." So Crœsus (i. 46) endeavoured καταλαβεῖν αὐξανομένην τὴν δύναμιν τῶν Περσῶν, to crush the power of the Persians while growing. καταλαμβάνειν is to get complete hold over an object, and so have the mastery of it.

[56] τῶν στρατηγῶν. This is the reading of all the MSS, and it is obviously corrupt. Gaisford adopts the emendation of Valckenaer τῷ στρατηγῷ. But here the article would be out of place. I should rather be inclined to transpose, and read τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν διζημένων τοὺς ἀπολομένους. The facts seem to have been that enquiries were instituted in various quarters by the commandants of Persian garrisons, and Bubares (son of Megabazus, vii. 22) was of these the one whose position brought him into contact with the Macedonian court. The relation in which Alexander stood to the Persian court was in after times a very different one. See viii. 136, and the notes on vi. 44 and vii. 127.

[57] ἐν τοῖσι ὄπισθε λόγοισι. This promise is redeemed in viii. 137, seqq. The Hellenic blood of the Macedonian kings was a point sufficiently doubtful to allow Demosthenes (in spite of the authority of the Hellanodicæ at Olympia) to deny it. He says of Philip: οὐ μόνον οὐχ Ἕλληνος ὄντος οὐδὲ προσήκοντος οὐδὲν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀλλ' . . . ὀλέθρου Μακεδόνος (*Philipp.* iii.). But of the liberties taken with historical (not to say mythical) evidence by the orators, see a striking example in the note 213 on i. 63. The judgment of Thucydides (ii. 99; v. 80) coincides with that of Herodotus.

[58] Ἀλεξάνδρου γὰρ ἀεθλεύειν ἑλομένου. Some MSS have here βουλομένου γὰρ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀεθλεύειν.

[59] δωρεὴν μισθόν. The MSS all have

μόνα ποταμὸν, [τῷ οὔνομά ἐστι Μύρκινος[60].] μαθὼν ὁ Μεγάβαζος τὸ ποιεύμενον ἐκ τοῦ Ἱστιαίου, ὡς ἦλθε τάχιστα ἐς τὰς Σάρδις ἄγων τοὺς Παίονας, ἔλεγε Δαρείῳ τάδε· "ὦ βασιλεῦ, κοῖόν τι χρῆμα ἐποίησας ἀνδρὶ Ἕλληνι δεινῷ τε καὶ σοφῷ δοὺς ἐγκτήσασθαι πόλιν ἐν Θρηΐκῃ; ἵνα ἴδῃ τε ναυπηγήσιμός ἐστι ἄφθονος καὶ πολλοὶ κωπέες[61], καὶ μέταλλα ἀργύρεα· ὅμιλός τε πολλὸς μὲν Ἕλλην περιοικέει πολλὸς δὲ βάρβαρος, οἳ προστάτεω ἐπιλαβόμενοι, ποιήσουσι τοῦτο τὸ ἂν κεῖνος ἐξηγέηται καὶ ἡμέρης καὶ νυκτός. σύ νυν τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα παῦσον ταῦτα ποιεῦντα, ἵνα μὴ οἰκηΐῳ πολέμῳ συνέχηαι[62]· τρόπῳ δὲ ἠπίῳ μεταπεμψάμενος παῦσον· ἐπεὰν δὲ αὐτὸν περιλάβῃς, ποιέειν ὅκως μηκέτι κεῖνος ἐς Ἕλληνας ἀπίξεται." Ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Μεγάβαζος εὐπετέως 24
ἔπειθε Δαρεῖον, ὡς εὖ προορέων τὸ μέλλον γίνεσθαι. μετὰ δὲ, ἄγγελον πέμψας ὁ Δαρεῖος ἐς τὴν Μύρκινον ἔλεγε τάδε· "Ἱστιαῖε, βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος τάδε λέγει· ἐγὼ φροντίζων εὑρίσκω ἐμοί τε καὶ τοῖσι ἐμοῖσι πρήγμασι οὐδένα εἶναι σεῦ ἄνδρα εὐνοέστερον· τοῦτο δὲ οὐ λόγοισι, ἀλλ' ἔργοισι οἶδα μαθών. νῦν ὦν, ἐπινοέω γὰρ πρήγματα μεγάλα κατεργάσασθαι, ἀπικνέο μοι πάντως, ἵνα τοι αὐτὰ ὑπερθέωμαι·" τούτοισι τοῖσι ἔπεσι πιστεύσας ὁ Ἱστιαῖος, καὶ ἅμα μέγα ποιεύμενος βασιλέος σύμβουλος γενέσθαι, ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Σάρδις· ἀπικομένῳ δέ οἱ ἔλεγε Δαρεῖος τάδε· "Ἱστιαῖε, ἐγώ σε μετεπεμψάμην τῶνδε εἵνεκεν· ἐπεί τε τάχιστα ἐνόστησα ἀπὸ Σκυθέων

eyes of Darius to the rashness of having given Myrcinus to Histiæus.

Darius conceals his apprehensions, and summoning Histiæus to him,

μισθὸν δωρεὴν, which Gaisford retains. Schaefer considers μισθὸν to be a gloss of δωρεήν. The reading of Gaisford and the MSS is perhaps defensible on the supposition that μισθὸν is used as an adjective, and that μισθὸν δωρεὴν are equivalent to ἀντάλλαγμα. But by a simple transposition a plain sense is produced.

[60] [τῷ οὔνομά ἐστι Μύρκινος]. These words appear to be a marginal note which has crept into the text. Herodotus had just before (§ 11) described the place by calling it Μύρκινον τὴν Ἠδωνίδα. The MSS here vary between Μύρκινος, Μύρκιος, and Μύρκιννος, although unanimous in § 11.

[61] πολλοὶ κωπέες. Hesychius: κωπεῖς· τὰ εἰς κώπας εὔθετα ξύλα.

[62] ἵνα μὴ οἰκηΐῳ πολέμῳ συνέχηαι. The apprehensions of Megabazus seem extraordinary if the resources of Histiæus are to be considered as confined to Miletus, but well founded if the conjecture put forward in the note 354 on iv. 138 be adopted, and if he is to be considered as a kind of satrap over all the Ionian cities which still remained unimpaired in their resources, with the solitary exception of Chios. Miletus is presently called τῆς Ἰωνίης πρόσχημα,—a phrase which suggests something of the nature of a ἡγεμονία (§ 28). See too notes on § 33 and vi. 7. Naxos too, or at least the aristocracy (οἱ παχέες) within it, was in a state of alliance with Histiæus (below, § 30); and Naxos could bring 8000 hoplites into the field (§ 31). A man so powerful in resources and in intellect seems just to have missed the establishing a dominion which would perhaps have forestalled Alexander.

καὶ σύ μοι ἐγένεο ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν, οὐδέν κω ἄλλο χρῆμα οὕτω ἐν βραχέϊ ἐπεζήτησα ὡς σὲ ἰδέειν τε καὶ ἐς λόγους μοι ἀπικέσθαι· ἐγνωκὼς ὅτι κτημάτων πάντων ἐστὶ τιμιώτατον ἀνὴρ φίλος συνετός τε καὶ εὔνοος· τά τοι ἐγὼ καὶ ἀμφότερα συνειδὼς ἔχω μαρτυρέειν ἐς πρήγματα τὰ ἐμά. νῦν ὦν, εὖ γὰρ ἐποίησας ἀπικόμενος, τάδε τοι ἐγὼ προτείνομαι· Μίλητον μὲν ἔα καὶ τὴν νεόκτιστον ἐν Θρηΐκῃ πόλιν· σὺ δ' ἐμοὶ ἑπόμενος ἐς Σοῦσα, ἔχε τάπερ ἂν ἐγὼ ἔχω, ἐμός τε σύσσιτος ἐὼν καὶ σύμβουλος."

carries him with him to Susa,

25 Ταῦτα Δαρεῖος εἴπας, καὶ καταστήσας Ἀρταφέρνεα[63] ἀδελφεὸν ἑωυτοῦ ὁμοπάτριον ὕπαρχον εἶναι Σαρδίων, ἀπήλαυνε ἐς Σοῦσα, ἅμα ἀγόμενος Ἱστιαῖον· Ὀτάνεα δὲ ἀποδέξας στρατηγὸν εἶναι τῶν παραθαλασσίων ἀνδρῶν[64]· τοῦ τὸν πατέρα Σισάμνην βασιλεὺς Καμβύσης γενόμενον τῶν βασιληΐων δικαστέων, ὅτι ἐπὶ χρήμασι δίκην ἄδικον ἐδίκασε, σφάξας ἀπέδειρε πᾶσαν τὴν ἀνθρωπηΐην· σπαδίξας δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ δέρμα, ἱμάντας ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἔταμε καὶ ἐνέτεινε τὸν θρόνον ἐς τὸν ἵζων ἐδίκαζε· ἐντανύσας δὲ ὁ Καμβύσης ἀπέδεξε δικαστὴν εἶναι ἀντὶ τοῦ Σισάμνεω, τὸν ἀποκτείνας ἀπέδειρε, τὸν παῖδα τοῦ Σισάμνεω, ἐντειλάμενός οἱ μεμνῆσθαι ἐν τῷ κατίζων θρόνῳ δικάζει.

after leaving Otanes, son of Sisamnes, in the Hellespont, and Artaphernes, his own brother, satrap of Sardis.

Story of Sisamnes, father of Otanes.

26 Οὗτος ὦν ὁ Ὀτάνης ὁ ἐγκατιζόμενος ἐς τοῦτον τὸν θρόνον, τότε διάδοχος γενόμενος Μεγαβάζῳ τῆς στρατηγίης[65],

Otanes takes Byzantium,

[63] Ἀρταφέρνεα. Some MSS have the form Ἀρταφρένεα both here and in vi. 94, and also in vii. 74. The latter form had a recommendation with the Greeks, as it allowed them better scope for an etymology. ÆSCHYLUS avails himself of this in the *Persæ* (769), where he says of the son of Darius's brother, φρένες γὰρ αὐτοῦ θυμὸν ᾠακοστρόφουν. It is quite clear that all the Persian names whose Greek equivalents end either in φερνης or φρενης themselves terminated in *frana*; which doubtless was significant in Persian, as it appears in the beginnings as well as the ends of names, e. g. *Pharnuchus, Pharnaspes*, and *Pharnabazus*, as well as *Tissaphernes, Intaphernes, Artaphernes, Megaphernes*, &c.

[64] Ὀτάνεα δὲ ἀποδέξας στρατηγὸν εἶναι τῶν παραθαλασσίων ἀνδρῶν. This Otanes is not to be confused with the father-in-law of Darius, whose father's name was *Pharnaspes* according to Herodotus (iii. 68), and *Socres* (Thukra) according to the Behistun Inscription.

[65] διάδοχος γενόμενος Μεγαβάζῳ τῆς στρατηγίης. From this time the old system of leaving a very large jurisdiction in the hands of one person, which seems to have prevailed in the time of Cyrus (see notes 331 and 350 on iii. 120 and 127), no longer appears to be the policy of the Persian court. Darius has apparently carried out his plan to a considerable extent. His own brother is placed in Sardis as viceroy, but another great officer, with an independent command and a large army, has his head-quarters in the Hellespont. The satrapy too of which Dascyleum was the centre has been again filled up by Œbares, son of Megabazus (vi. 33). We hear nothing more of Otanes, *the son of Pharnaspes*, subsequently to the restoration of Syloson to Samos (iii. 149), except the solitary fact that at *some* subsequent time (ὑστέρῳ μέντοι χρόνῳ) he recolonized Samos, a proceeding involving the possession of considerable power. But Herodotus leaves no hint as to what became of him, having apparently now got

Βυζαντίους τε εἷλε καὶ Καλχηδονίους· εἷλε δὲ Ἄντανδρον τὴν ἐν τῇ Τρωάδι γῇ· εἷλε δὲ Λαμπώνιον· λαβὼν δὲ παρὰ Λεσβίων νέας εἷλε Λῆμνόν τε καὶ Ἴμβρον, ἀμφοτέρας ἔτι τότε ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν οἰκεομένας[66]. *Chalcedon, Antandros in Troas, Lamponium, and,*

27 Οἱ μὲν δὴ Λήμνιοι καὶ ἐμαχέσαντο εὖ καὶ ἀμυνόμενοι ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐκακώθησαν· τοῖσι δὲ περιεοῦσι αὐτῶν οἱ Πέρσαι ὕπαρχον ἐπιστᾶσι Λυκάρητον, τὸν Μαιανδρίου τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος Σάμου ἀδελφεόν[67]. (οὗτος ὁ Λυκάρητος ἄρχων ἐν Λήμνῳ τελευτᾷ[68].) Αἰτία δὲ τούτου ἥδε· πάντας ἠνδραποδίζετο καὶ κατεστρέφετο, τοὺς μὲν λιποστρατίης ἐπὶ Σκύθας αἰτιώμενος, τοὺς δὲ σίνεσθαι τὸν Δαρείου στρατὸν ἀπὸ Σκυθέων ὀπίσω ἀποκομιζόμενον· οὗτος μέν νυν τοσαῦτα ἐξεργάσατο στρατηγήσας. *by the help of the Lesbians, Lemnos and Imbros.*

28 Μετὰ δέ, οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον ἄνεσις κακῶν ἦν[69], καὶ ἤρχετο τὸ δεύτερον ἐκ Νάξου τε καὶ Μιλήτου Ἴωσι γίνεσθαι κακά. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἡ Νάξος εὐδαιμονίῃ τῶν νήσων προέφερε[70], τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἡ Μίλητος αὐτή τε ἑωυτῆς μάλιστα δὴ τότε ἀκμάσασα, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς Ἰωνίης ἦν πρόσχημα[71]· κατύπερθε δὲ τούτων, ἐπὶ δύο γενεὰς ἀνδρῶν νοσήσασα ἐς τὰ μάλιστα στάσι, Flourishing state of *Naxos* and *Miletus* at this time.

into a cycle of traditions derived entirely from the intercourse between the Ionians and Hellespontines and the Persian officials with whom they came into contact. Possibly he is the Otanes whose daughter Amestris married Xerxes (vii. 61); and if so, her malice against a son of Darius and his wife (ix. 108. 111) may have been partly hereditary. And considering his great personal power and high connexions, there can be little doubt that the Otanes here spoken of, and the Otanes of v. 116, and of vii. 40, were at least near relatives of his, whether or not identical with one another.

66 *ἔτι τότε ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν οἰκεομένας.* See note 179 on i. 56. It seems not impossible that this remark is added as a sort of salvo for the Lesbians having assisted the Persians in their subjection of Greek islands. In the time of Herodotus to have assisted the barbarian against any portion of the Hellenic race was a foul stain. But it is very doubtful whether this feeling exercised any wide sway before the time assigned to Darius's Scythian expedition.

67 *οἱ μὲν δὴ Λήμνιοι .... τελευτᾷ.* Schweighäuser considers that the whole of this passage is an addition by the author to his work subsequently to its completion. But there seems no reason to believe this of more than the last sentence, *οὗτος ὁ Λυκάρητος ἄρχων ἐν Λήμνῳ τελευτᾷ.* No doubt the word *τούτου* in the next sentence cannot refer to the death of Lycaretus; and the subject of *ἠνδραποδίζετο* must be Otanes. But the expression *τούτου* seems to be a more appropriate mode of reference to the *act* of appointing Lycaretus satrap of Lemnus than to the series of operations just enumerated. That appointment was only one instance of a policy universally carried out, and consequently mention of it naturally led to the statement of what that policy was.

68 *Μαιανδρίου τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος Σάμου ἀδελφεόν.* See note 392 on iii. 142.

69 *ἄνεσις κακῶν ἦν.* This is the reading of Gaisford, who adopts the conjecture of Reiske, *ἄνεσις*, for *ἄνεος* or *ἄνεως*, which the MSS give. It is to me very unsatisfactory; but I can suggest nothing better.

70 *εὐδαιμονίῃ τῶν νήσων προέφερε.* See note on § 31.

71 *Ἰωνίης πρόσχημα,* "the head and front of Ionia." For the power of Miletus, as a single state, see note 64 on i. 17. For its *probable* influence at this time as the head of a number of kindred states, note 354 on iv. 138.

Former dissensions of Miletus for two generations how finally composed by the Parians.

29 μέχρι οὗ μιν Πάριοι κατήρτισαν[72]· τούτους γὰρ καταρτιστῆρας ἐκ πάντων Ἑλλήνων εἵλοντο οἱ Μιλήσιοι. Κατήλλαξαν δέ σφεας ὧδε οἱ Πάριοι[73]. ὡς ἀπίκοντο αὐτῶν ἄνδρες οἱ ἄριστοι ἐς τὴν Μίλητον, ὥρεον γὰρ δή σφεας δεινῶς οἰκοφθορημένους, ἔφασαν αὐτῶν βούλεσθαι διεξελθεῖν τὴν χώρην· ποιεῦντες δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ διεξιόντες πᾶσαν τὴν Μιλησίην, ὅκως τινὰ ἴδοιεν ἐν ἀνεστηκυίῃ τῇ χώρῃ ἀγρὸν εὖ ἐξεργασμένον, ἀπεγραφέατο τὸ οὔνομα τοῦ δεσπότεω τοῦ ἀγροῦ· διεξελάσαντες δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν χώρην καὶ σπανίους εὑρόντες τούτους, ὡς τάχιστα κατέβησαν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, ἁλίην ποιησάμενοι, ἀπέδεξαν τούτους μὲν τὴν πόλιν νέμειν τῶν εὗρον τοὺς ἀγροὺς εὖ ἐξεργασμένους· δοκέειν γὰρ ἔφασαν καὶ τῶν δημοσίων οὕτω δή σφεας ἐπιμελήσεσθαι ὥσπερ τῶν σφετέρων· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Μιλησίους τοὺς πρὶν στασιάζοντας τούτων ἔταξαν

30 πείθεσθαι. Πάριοι μέν νυν οὕτω Μιλησίους κατήρτισαν. Τότε δὲ ἐκ τουτέων τῶν πολίων ὧδε ἤρχετο κακὰ γίνεσθαι τῇ Ἰωνίῃ. ἐκ Νάξου ἔφυγον ἄνδρες τῶν παχέων ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου[74]· φυγόντες

Exiles from Naxos arrive at Miletus, where

[72] κατήρτισαν. The meaning of this word has been somewhat mistaken by the commentators. The καταρτιστὴρ is not a person 'who brings together what is forcibly separated,' but one 'who arranges in order that which is in confusion.' The great cause of trouble in the ancient states was the question of the assignment of the offices; and the quality of mind which constituted a good καταρτιστὴρ would, in Hellenic apprehension, be what Aristotle calls 'distributive justice,' ἡ διανεμητικὴ δικαιοσύνη. Thus the service of Demonax at Cyrene was shown in his judicious arrangement of the citizens in their tribes (iv. 161), for upon this arrangement their share of public offices would mainly depend. The misapprehension of the fundamental idea of καταρτίζειν has led to a bad translation of *Matth. Evang.* iv. 21. The apostles were assisting their father in 'stowing,' not in 'mending' their nets.

[73] κατήλλαξαν δέ σφεας ὧδε οἱ Πάριοι. It is curious, and illustrative of the nature of the materials used by Herodotus, that from this account not the least information can be gained of the nature of the Milesian troubles,—or even of the time when they occurred,—although the political importance of Miletus then was probably at least equal to that of Athens at the time of the expedition to Sicily. Yet nothing is given of events spreading over two generations, except the story of a piece of shrewd observation on the part of the Parians. It is as if in a modern narrative the whole series of events which terminated in the expulsion of the Stuart dynasty from England should remain unnoticed, except for the purpose of introducing the *mot* of Rochester, that 'Charles II. never said a foolish thing and never did a wise one.' See note 494 on ii. 160.

[74] ἔφυγον ἄνδρες τῶν παχέων ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου. This revolution must not be confounded in any way with that one which terminated in making Lygdamis tyrant of Naxos. (See note 214 on i. 64.) Under no circumstances could Lygdamis have *become* dynast at Naxos *later* than B.C. 527: for in that year Pisistratus died, eighteen years before the expulsion of his sons from Athens. (See CLINTON on that year.) And it is an assumption that Herodotus, in the passage in which he represents him as owing his success to Pisistratus (i. 64), means to place the alleged conquest of Naxos in the third period of Pisistratus's dynasty at Athens. Lygdamis *may* have become tyrant of Naxos forty or fifty years before the event mentioned in the text; and it is more in accordance with the account of Aristotle, and not less so with that of Herodotus (see note 214 on i. 64), to suppose that he was so at

δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς Μίλητον. τῆς δὲ Μιλήτου ἐτύγχανε ἐπίτροπος ἐὼν Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μολπαγόρεω, γαμβρός τε ἐὼν καὶ ἀνεψιὸς Ἱστιαίου τοῦ Λυσαγόρεω, τὸν ὁ Δαρεῖος ἐν Σούσοισι κατεῖχε· ὁ γὰρ Ἱστιαῖος τύραννος ἦν Μιλήτου[75], καὶ ἐτύγχανε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐὼν ἐν Σούσοισι ὅτε οἱ Νάξιοι ἦλθον, ξεῖνοι πρὶν ἐόντες τῷ Ἱστιαίῳ· ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οἱ Νάξιοι ἐς τὴν Μίλητον, ἐδέοντο τοῦ Ἀρισταγόρεω, εἴ κως αὐτοῖσι παράσχοι δύναμίν τινα, καὶ κατέλθοιεν ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῶν· ὁ δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος ὡς ἢν δι' ἑωυτοῦ κατέλθωσι ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἄρξει τῆς Νάξου, σκῆψιν δὲ ποιεύμενος τὴν ξεινίην τὴν Ἱστιαίου, τόνδε σφι λόγον προσέφερε· "αὐτὸς μὲν ὑμῖν οὐ φερέγγυός εἰμι δύναμιν τοσαύτην παρασχεῖν, ὥστε κατάγειν ἀεκόντων τῶν τὴν πόλιν ἐχόντων Ναξίων· πυνθάνομαι γὰρ ὀκτακισχιλίην ἀσπίδα Ναξίοισι εἶναι, καὶ πλοῖα μακρὰ πολλά· μηχανήσομαι δὲ πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ποιεύμενος· ἐπινοέω δὲ τῇδε· Ἀρταφέρνης μοι τυγχάνει ἐὼν φίλος· ὁ δὲ Ὑστάσπεω μέν ἐστι παῖς Δαρείου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέος ἀδελφεὸς, τῶν δ' ἐπιθαλασσίων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ[76] ἄρχει πάντων, ἔχων στρατιήν τε πολλὴν καὶ πολλὰς νέας· τοῦτον ὦν δοκέω τὸν ἄνδρα ποιήσειν τῶν ἂν χρηΐζωμεν." ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Νάξιοι προσέθεσαν τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ πρήσσειν ᾗ δύναιτο ἄριστα· καὶ ὑπίσχεσθαι δῶρα ἐκέλευον καὶ δαπάνην τῇ στρατιῇ, ὡς αὐτοὶ διαλύσοντες· ἐλπίδας πολλὰς ἔχοντες, ὅταν ἐπιφανέωσι ἐς τὴν Νάξον πάντα ποιήσειν τοὺς Ναξίους τὰ ἂν αὐτοὶ κελεύωσι, ὡς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νησιώ-

Aristagoras, son-in-law of Histiæus, is left viceroy.

He proposes to enlist Artaphernes in their cause,

and they agree to find funds.

least thirty. In this case, following the analogy of the known progress of events in other Hellenic states, we should conceive of the revolution of Lygdamis as one overthrowing an hereditary oligarchy; but of the one which led to the expulsion of the παχέες, as similar to those of Corcyra and other places in later times, where the contending parties were a timocratic aristocracy, and a poor, but yet free commonalty. The tyranny of Lygdamis must have fallen before the commencement of the second revolution.

[75] τύραννος ἦν Μιλήτου. It seems very strange that Herodotus, after the account he has given in the last book of the prominent part played by Histiæus, should now drily mention this. There would be no inappropriateness, however, if the account of Darius's expedition to Thrace were an addition to an earlier draft of the work.

[76] τῶν δ' ἐπιθαλασσίων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ. The province of Otanes (whose head-quarters appear to have been at Sestos) was the παραθαλάσσιοι ἄνδρες (§ 25). Assuming the two narratives to belong to the same cycle of accounts (which is not quite certain; see the last note), the principle upon which to reconcile them seems not to be to suppose that Artaphernes had the command in Asia, and Otanes in Europe,—for the operations of the latter were in Asia also, § 26,—but to regard Otanes as employed on the shores of the Hellespont, and specially in securing the means of uninterrupted transit between the continents.

τας· τῶν γὰρ νήσων τουτέων τῶν Κυκλάδων οὐδεμία κω ἦν ὑπὸ Δαρείῳ.

31 Ἀπικόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἐς τὰς Σάρδις λέγει πρὸς τὸν Ἀρταφέρνεα, ὡς Νάξος εἴη νῆσος μεγάθεϊ μὲν οὐ μεγάλη, ἄλλως δὲ καλή τε καὶ ἀγαθὴ καὶ ἀγχοῦ Ἰωνίης, χρήματα δὲ ἔνι πολλά, καὶ ἀνδράποδα. "σὺ ὦν ἐπὶ ταύτην τὴν χώρην στρατηλάτεε κατάγων ἐς αὐτὴν τοὺς φυγάδας ἐξ αὐτῆς· καί τοι ταῦτα ποιήσαντι τοῦτο μέν ἐστι ἑτοῖμα παρ' ἐμοὶ χρήματα μεγάλα πάρεξ τῶν ἀναισιμωμάτων τῇ στρατιῇ· (ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ δίκαια ἡμέας τοὺς ἄγοντας παρέχειν·) τοῦτο δὲ νήσους προσκτήσεαι βασιλέϊ αὐτήν τε Νάξον καὶ τὰς ἐκ ταύτης ἠρτημένας, Πάρον τε καὶ Ἄνδρον καὶ ἄλλας, τὰς Κυκλάδας καλευμένας[77]· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὁρμεώμενος, εὐπετέως ἐπιθήσεαι Εὐβοίῃ, νήσῳ μεγάλῃ τε καὶ εὐδαίμονι, οὐκ ἐλάσσονι Κύπρου καὶ κάρτα εὐπετέϊ αἱρεθῆναι. ἀποχρῶσι δὲ ἑκατὸν νέες ταύτας πάσας χειρώσασθαι." ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο αὐτὸν τοῖσδε· "σὺ ἐς οἶκον τὸν βασιλέος ἐξηγητὴς[78] γίνεαι πρηγμάτων ἀγαθῶν, καὶ ταῦτα εὖ παραινέεις πάντα πλὴν τῶν νεῶν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ· ἀντὶ δὲ ἑκατὸν νεῶν, διηκόσιαί τοι ἑτοῖμοι ἔσονται ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι. δεῖ δὲ τούτοισι καὶ αὐτὸν βασιλέα συνέπαινον γίνεσθαι[79]."

32 Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀρισταγόρης ὡς ταῦτα ἤκουσε περιχαρὴς ἐὼν, ἀπήϊε ἐς Μίλητον· ὁ δὲ Ἀρταφέρνης, ὥς οἱ πέμψαντι ἐς

Aristagoras goes to Sardis, and persuades Artaphernes to undertake the expedition.

On Darius giving his

[77] τὰς ἐκ ταύτης ἠρτημένας . . . . τὰς Κυκλάδας καλευμένας. The possession of all these dependencies, with the naval force implied by them, and a land army of 8000 hoplites, shows an amount of power very unfavourable to the notion that Pisistratus had conquered Naxos, and committed it to Lygdamis as a sort of province. (See note 214 on i. 64.) After its subjection to Persia, and the annihilation of its resources, described by Herodotus (vi. 96), the case was very different, and such a statement would not be obviously absurd. The contingent of ships furnished by Naxos at the time of the battle of Salamis is only *four* (viii. 46). And in the year B.C. 466 it was taken, and the inhabitants reduced to slavery by the Athenians (THUCYD. i. 98), apparently without any resistance worthy of mention.

[78] ἐξηγητής. This word is peculiarly appropriate. (See note 138 on ii. 49.) Aristagoras had not merely spoken to Artaphernes in general terms of a favourable opportunity for advancing the king's interests, but he had gone through his plan step by step, showing him what power for advancing further each would give him as it was taken.

[79] δεῖ δὲ τούτοισι καὶ αὐτὸν βασιλέα συνέπαινον γίνεσθαι. The caution of Artaphernes in not taking this step without previously intimating it to Darius is striking when compared with the conduct of Aryandes, who sent the whole Egyptian army to the assistance of Pheretime (iv. 167), or that of Otanes, the son of Pharnaspes, who exterminated the whole population of Samos in direct contradiction to Darius's orders (iii. 147. 149). It adds an illustration to the points mentioned in note 38 on § 14 and 65 on § 26. See also note on § 123, ἐτάχθησαν.

Σοῦσα καὶ ὑπερθέντι τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρισταγόρεω λεγόμενα συνέπαινος καὶ αὐτὸς Δαρεῖος ἐγένετο, παρεσκευάσατο μὲν διηκοσίας τριήρεας, πολλὸν δὲ κάρτα ὅμιλον Περσέων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων· στρατηγὸν δὲ τουτέων ἀπέδεξε Μεγαβάτην ἄνδρα Πέρσην τῶν Ἀχαιμενιδέων, ἑωυτοῦ τε καὶ Δαρείου ἀνεψιόν· τοῦ Παυσανίης ὁ Κλεομβρότεω Λακεδαιμόνιος, εἰ δὴ ἀληθής γε ἐστὶ ὁ λόγος [80], ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ τούτων ἡρμόσατο θυγατέρα, ἔρωτα σχὼν τῆς Ἑλλάδος τύραννος γενέσθαι. ἀποδέξας δὲ Μεγαβάτην στρατηγὸν Ἀρταφέρνης, ἀπέστειλε τὸν στρατὸν παρὰ τὸν Ἀρισταγόρεα.

consent, Artaphernes despatches Megabates with 200 ships.

This Megabates is said to be father-in-law of Pausanias the Lacedæmonian.

33 Παραλαβὼν δὲ ὁ Μεγαβάτης ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου τόν τε Ἀρισταγόρεα καὶ τὴν Ἰάδα στρατιὴν [81] καὶ τοὺς Ναξίους, ἔπλεε πρόφασιν ἐπ' Ἑλλησπόντου. ἐπεί τε δὲ ἐγένετο ἐν Χίῳ, ἔσχε τὰς νέας ἐς Καύκασα, ὡς ἐνθεῦτεν βορέῃ ἀνέμῳ ἐς τὴν Νάξον διαβάλοι· καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἔδεε τούτῳ τῷ στόλῳ Ναξίους ἀπολέσθαι, πρῆγμα τοιόνδε συνηνείχθη γενέσθαι· περιϊόντος Μεγαβάτεω τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν φυλακὰς, ἐπὶ νεὸς Μυνδίης ἔτυχε οὐδεὶς φυλάσσων· ὁ δὲ δεινόν τι ποιησάμενος, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐξευρόντας τὸν ἄρχοντα ταύτης τῆς νεὸς, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Σκύλαξ, τοῦτον δῆσαι διὰ θαλαμίης διελόντας τῆς νεὸς, κατὰ τοῦτο, ἔξω μὲν κεφαλὴν ποιεῦντας ἔσω δὲ τὸ σῶμα [82]. δεθέντος δὲ τοῦ Σκύλακος, ἐξαγγέλλει τις τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ ὅτι τὸν ξεῖνόν οἱ τὸν Μύνδιον Μεγαβάτης δήσας λυμαίνοιτο· ὁ δ' ἐλθὼν παραιτέετο τὸν Πέρσην, τυγχάνων δὲ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐδέετο αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν ἔλυσε· πυθόμενος δὲ κάρτα δεινὸν ἐποιήσατο ὁ Μεγαβάτης, καὶ ἐσπέρχετο τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ· ὁ δὲ εἶπε·

The fleet sails as for the Hellespont, and makes Chios, where a quarrel between Aristagoras and Megabates induces the latter to give secret information to the Naxians,

[80] εἰ δὴ ἀληθής γε ἐστὶ ὁ λόγος. THUCYDIDES (i. 128) speaks of the distinct proposition made by Pausanias, in a letter to Xerxes, to subject Sparta and the whole of Hellas to him on condition of receiving his daughter in marriage; but, according to his account, the plot was detected before any of the conditions were fulfilled. Pausanias, at the time of making the offer, had his head-quarters in Byzantium as the commander-in-chief of the operations against Persia.

[81] τὴν Ἰάδα στρατιήν. This is probably the contingent from the several Asiatic cities, making up altogether the 200 ships required, and assembled at Miletus in virtue of the ἡγεμονία of that city. See note 62, above. They were not all *Ionian*. See § 37, below, and notes 269 and 354 on iv. 98. 137. One MS (F) reads τόν τε Ἀρισταγόρεα ἐκ Μιλήτου καὶ τὴν Ἰάδα στρατιήν.

[82] κατὰ τοῦτο, ... τὸ σῶμα. These words appear to be an explanation of the expression διὰ θαλαμίης δῆσαι διελόντας, and although it is true that they express *something* more than is included in it, yet I cannot help thinking they are a *subsequent* explanation. It is not likely that the punishment inflicted by the Persian officer was an extemporaneous one, and therefore its nature would be well understood. The novelty consisted in its being inflicted on a person in the position of Scylax.

"σοὶ δὲ καὶ τούτοισι τοῖσι πρήγμασι τί ἐστι; οὐ σὲ ἀπέστειλε Ἀρταφέρνης ἐμέο πείθεσθαι, καὶ πλέειν τῇ ἂν ἐγὼ κελεύω; τί πολλὰ πρήσσεις;" ταῦτα εἶπε Ἀρισταγόρης· ὁ δὲ θυμωθεὶς τούτοισι, ὡς νὺξ ἐγένετο, ἔπεμπε ἐς Νάξον πλοίῳ ἄνδρας φράσοντας
34 τοῖσι Ναξίοισι πάντα τὰ παρεόντα σφι πρήγματα· Οἱ γὰρ ὦν Νάξιοι οὐδὲν πάντως προσεδέκοντο ἐπὶ σφέας τὸν στόλον τοῦτον ὁρμήσεσθαι· ἐπεὶ μέν τοι ἐπύθοντο, αὐτίκα μὲν ἐσενείκαντο τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος παρεσκευάσαντο δὲ ὡς πολιορκησόμενοι· καὶ σῖτα καὶ ποτὰ τὸ τεῖχος[83] ἐσάξαντο. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν παρεσκευάδατο ὡς παρεσομένου σφι πολέμου, οἱ δ' ἐπεί τε διέβαλον ἐκ τῆς Χίου τὰς νέας ἐς τὴν Νάξον, πρὸς πεφραγμένους προσεφέροντο· καὶ ἐπολιόρκεον μῆνας τέσσερας· ὡς δὲ τά τε ἔχοντες ἦλθον χρήματα οἱ Πέρσαι ταῦτα καταδεδαπάνητό σφι καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ προσαναισίμωτο πολλά, τοῦ πλεῦνός τε ἐδέετο ἡ πολιορκίη, ἐνθαῦτα τείχεα τοῖσι φυγάσι τῶν Ναξίων οἰκοδομήσαντες ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον, κακῶς πρήσσοντες.

and the expedition fails for want of funds to maintain a prolonged siege.

35 Ἀρισταγόρης δὲ οὐκ εἶχε τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν τῷ Ἀρταφέρνεϊ ἐκπληρῶσαι· ἅμα δὲ ἐπίεζέ μιν ἡ δαπάνη τῆς στρατιῆς ἀπαιτεομένη, ἀρρώδεέ τε τοῦ στρατοῦ πρήξαντος κακῶς καὶ Μεγαβάτῃ διαβεβλημένος· ἐδόκεέ τε τὴν βασιληΐην τῆς Μιλήτου ἀπαιρήσεσθαι· ἀρρωδέων δὲ τούτων ἕκαστα ἐβουλεύετο ἀπόστασιν· συνέπιπτε γὰρ καὶ τὸν ἐστιγμένον τὴν κεφαλὴν[84] ἀπῖχθαι ἐκ Σουσέων παρὰ Ἱστιαίου, σημαίνοντα ἀπίστασθαι Ἀρισταγόρῃ ἀπὸ βασιλέος· ὁ γὰρ Ἱστιαῖος, βουλόμενος τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ σημῆναι ἀποστῆναι, ἄλλως μὲν οὐδαμῶς εἶχε ἀσφαλέως σημῆναι, ὥστε φυλασσομενέων τῶν ὁδῶν· ὁ δὲ τῶν δούλων τὸν πιστότατον ἀποξυρήσας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔστιξε, καὶ ἀνέμεινε ἀναφῦναι τὰς τρίχας· ὡς δὲ ἀνέφυσαν τάχιστα, ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Μίλητον ἐντειλάμενος αὐτῷ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν, ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπίκηται ἐς Μίλητον,

Aristagoras contemplates rebellion, and is confirmed by a message from Histiæus.

[83] τὸ τεῖχος. The MSS are divided between καὶ τὸ τεῖχος and καὶ τεῖχος. Gaisford reads τὸ τεῖχος. Schaefer considers the words an interpolation. But it is as difficult to conceive how they should come there as a corruption of the text, as to explain the use of them.

[84] τὸν ἐστιγμένον τὴν κεφαλήν, "*the man with the tatowed head.*" The article appears to be used from the general notoriety of the story; although Herodotus still goes on to give an account of the particulars. See notes 206, 222, and 232 on Book ii.

κελεύειν Ἀρισταγόρην ξυρήσαντά μιν τὰς τρίχας κατιδέσθαι ἐς τὴν κεφαλήν· τὰ δὲ στίγματα ἐσήμαινε, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, ἀπόστασιν. ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Ἱστιαῖος ἐποίεε, συμφορὴν ποιεύμενος μεγάλην τὴν ἑωυτοῦ κατοχὴν τὴν ἐν Σούσοισι· ἀποστάσιος ὦν γινομένης, πολλὰς εἶχε ἐλπίδας μετήσεσθαι ἐπὶ θάλασσαν· μὴ δὲ νεώτερόν τι ποιεύσης τῆς Μιλήτου οὐδαμὰ ἐς αὐτὴν ἥξειν ἔτι ἐλογίζετο. Ἱστιαῖος μέν νυν ταῦτα διανοεύ- 36
μενος, ἀπέπεμπε τὸν ἄγγελον· Ἀρισταγόρῃ δὲ συνέπιπτε τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου πάντα ταῦτα συνελθόντα. ἐβουλεύετο ὦν μετὰ τῶν στασιωτέων, ἐκφήνας τήν τε ἑωυτοῦ γνώμην καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Ἱστιαίου ἀπιγμένα· οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι πάντες γνώμην κατὰ τὠυτὸ ἐξεφέροντο, κελεύοντες ἀπίστασθαι· Ἑκαταῖος δὲ ὁ λογοποιὸς[85] πρῶτα μὲν οὐκ ἔα πόλεμον βασιλέϊ τῶν Περσέων ἀναιρέεσθαι, καταλέγων τά τε ἔθνεα πάντα τῶν ἦρχε Δαρεῖος καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ· ἐπεί τε δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε, δεύτερα συνεβούλευε ποιέειν ὅκως ναυκράτεες τῆς θαλάσσης[86] ἔσονται· ἄλλως μέν νυν οὐδαμῶς ἔφη λέγων[87] ἐνορᾶν ἐσόμενον τοῦτο· ἐπίστασθαι γὰρ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν Μιλησίων ἐοῦσαν ἀσθενέα[88]· εἰ δὲ τὰ χρήματα καταιρεθείη τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ τοῦ ἐν Βραγχίδῃσι τὰ Κροῖσος ὁ

He broaches his design.

Hecatæus's advice is not followed.

85 Ἑκαταῖος ὁ λογοποιός. Herodotus mentions this person again with the same title in ii. 143, and below, § 125. It is to be observed that he gives the same title to Æsop (ii. 134). See the note 5 on i. 1 for the wide signification of the word λόγιος at this time, at which it is highly unlikely that Æsop's productions existed in a written form. ARRIAN (*Exped. Alex.* v. 6) couples Herodotus himself together with Hecatæus as οἱ λογοποιοί.

86 ναυκράτεες τῆς θαλάσσης, "in command of the sea." In vi. 9 he uses the expression ναυκράτορες in the same signification. THUCYDIDES (viii. 83) adopts the more expressive compound θαλασσοκράτορες.

87 ἔφη λέγων. See note 414 on i. 118.

88 ἐπίστασθαι γὰρ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν Μιλησίων ἐοῦσαν ἀσθενέα. It is at first sight difficult to reconcile this assertion with what has just before been said, that Miletus was at this time at the *acme* of its prosperity (§ 28). But there is no real contradiction. There was no accumulation of ready money,—which was the thing wanted for the purpose of taking up a large number of seamen. The same necessity was felt by Pericles at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war; and he contemplated a similar proceeding to that of Hecatæus with the gold in the temple of Athene. (THUCYD. ii. 13.) It should be remembered that public credit, on the strength of which large sums may be readily procured at any time, is a creation of modern days. The ancient states had no means whatever of acquiring a large fund of ready money except by hoarding, and no means of doing this safely except by dedication in some temple. The procedure of Crœsus (i. 50) and that of Periander (v. 92) are illustrative of the difficulty of suddenly procuring any considerable amount of specie. Compare, too, the negotiation between Polycrates and Orœtes (iii. 122, 3), where the possession of only *eight* chests of gold was considered as enough to turn the scale of probable success in the event of revolt against Persia.

Λυδὸς ἀνέθηκε, πολλὰς εἶχε ἐλπίδας ἐπικρατήσειν τῆς θαλάσσης· καὶ οὕτω αὐτούς τε ἕξειν χρήμασι χρᾶσθαι καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους οὐ συλήσειν αὐτά. τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἦν ταῦτα μεγάλα, ὡς δεδήλωταί μοι ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν λόγων[89]. *αὕτη μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἐνίκα ἡ γνώμη· ἐδόκεε δὲ ὅμως ἀπίστασθαι, ἕνα τε αὐτῶν πλώσαντα ἐς Μυοῦντα ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς Νάξου ἀπελθὸν, ἐὸν ἐνθαῦτα, συλλαμβάνειν πειρᾶσθαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν ἐπιπλέοντας στρατηγούς.*

The rebellion breaks out.

37 *Ἀποπεμφθέντος δὲ Ἰητραγόρεω κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, καὶ συλλαβόντος δόλῳ Ὀλίατον Ἰβανώλιος Μυλασέα*[90], *καὶ Ἱστιαῖον Τύμνεω Τερμερέα*[91], *καὶ Κώην Ἐρξάνδρεω*[92], *τῷ Δαρεῖος Μυτιλήνην ἐδωρήσατο, καὶ Ἀρισταγόρην Ἡρακλείδεω*[93] *Κυμαῖον, καὶ*

Aristagoras establishes popular governments throughout Ionia,

ἄλλους συχνοὺς, οὕτω δὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἀπεστήκεε; πᾶν ἐπὶ Δαρείῳ μηχανώμενος. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν λόγῳ μετεὶς τὴν τυραννίδα ἰσονομίην ἐποίεε τῇ Μιλήτῳ, ὡς ἂν ἑκόντες αὐτῷ οἱ Μιλήσιοι συναπισταίατο· μετὰ δὲ, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἰωνίῃ τὠυτὸ τοῦτο ἐποίεε, τοὺς μὲν ἐξελαύνων τῶν τυράννων, τοὺς δ' ἔλαβε τυράννους ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν τῶν συμπλευσασέων ἐπὶ Νάξον, τούτους δὲ φίλα βουλόμενος ποιέεσθαι[94] *τῇσι πόλισι ἐξεδίδου, ἄλ-*
38 *λον ἐς ἄλλην πόλιν παραδιδοὺς ὅθεν εἴη ἕκαστος. Κώην μέν νυν*

and sets out for Lace-

Μυτιληναῖοι ἐπεί τε τάχιστα παρέλαβον, ἐξαγαγόντες κατέλευ-

[89] *ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν λόγων.* The allusion is to i. 92, where see the note 327, from whence it will appear that Hecatæus's apprehensions were not ill-founded. In fact, one may doubt whether the priests at Branchidæ were not more attached to the Median than the Hellenic interest. See note 527 on i. 157.

[90] *Μυλασέα.* It is rather curious that a Mylasean, likewise son of an Ibanolis, is the leader of a body of Carians who entirely destroyed a Persian force in the course of the war thus begun (§ 121). Yet just after the fall of the Lydian monarchy Harpagus appears to have succeeded in overrunning Caria without any important resistance (i. 174). The Carians are represented (i. 28) as forming a part of the subjects of Crœsus. There was a certain affinity between the Lydians and them, evinced by the common use of the ancient temple at Mylasa. (See note 577 on i. 171.)

[91] *Τερμερέα.* Steph. Byzant. *sub v.* makes *Τέρμερα* a city of Lycia, and Strabo (xiv. c. 2, p. 202) puts it in Caria, —the promontory *Termerion* being just opposite to a corresponding headland in the island Cos, and with an interval of no more than forty stades. That the boundaries of Caria and Lycia were not very accurately defined seems to follow from the remains of the ancient Lycians (Termilæ) found in Carian cities. (See note 585 on i. 173.) It is worth while to remark that Termera (if near to the *Termerion* of Strabo) was close to Myndus, the town of Scylax, who had just been so grossly insulted by the Persian commissioner (§ 33). Histiæus, the son of Tymnes, appears in the list of the Carian naval commanders in the flotilla of Xerxes (vii. 98).

[92] *Κώην Ἐρξάνδρεω.* See note 29 on § 11, above.

[93] *Ἀρισταγόρην Ἡρακλείδεω.* See iv. 138.

[94] *φίλα βουλόμενος ποιέεσθαι.* See note 466 on ii. 152.

σαν· Κυμαῖοι δὲ τὸν σφέτερον αὐτῶν ἀπῆκαν· ὡς δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ πλεῦνες ἀπίεσαν. τυράννων μέν νυν κατάπαυσις ἐγένετο ἀνὰ τὰς πόλιας.

Ἀρισταγόρης δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιος ὡς τοὺς τυράννους κατέπαυσε στρατηγοὺς ἐν ἑκάστῃ τῶν πολίων κελεύσας ἑκάστους καταστῆσαι, δεύτερα αὐτὸς ἐς Λακεδαίμονα[95] τριήρεϊ ἀπόστολος ἐγίνετο· ἔδεε γὰρ δὴ συμμαχίης τινός οἱ μεγάλης ἐξευρεθῆναι.

dæmon to negotiate an alliance if possible.

Τῆς δὲ Σπάρτης[96] Ἀναξανδρίδης μὲν ὁ Λέοντος οὐκέτι περιεὼν 39
ἐβασίλευε, ἀλλὰ ἐτετελευτήκεε· Κλεομένης δὲ ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδεω εἶχε τὴν βασιληΐην, οὐ κατὰ ἀνδραγαθίην σχὼν ἀλλὰ κατὰ γένος. Ἀναξανδρίδῃ γὰρ ἔχοντι γυναῖκα ἀδελφεῆς ἑωυτοῦ θυγατέρα, καὶ ἐούσης ταύτης οἱ καταθυμίης, παῖδες οὐκ ἐγίνοντο· τούτου δὲ τοιούτου ἐόντος, οἱ ἔφοροι εἶπαν ἐπικαλεσάμενοι αὐτὸν, "εἴ τοι σύ γε σεωυτοῦ μὴ προορᾷς, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν τοῦτό ἐστι οὐ περιοπτέον γένος τὸ Εὐρυσθένεος γενέσθαι ἐξίτηλον. σύ νυν τὴν μὲν ἔχεις γυναῖκα, ἐπεί τε τοι οὐ τίκτει, ἔξεο[97], ἄλλην δὲ γῆμον· καὶ ποιέων ταῦτα, Σπαρτιήτῃσι ἁδήσεις·" ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο φὰς τούτων οὐδέτερα ποιήσειν· ἐκείνους τε οὐ καλῶς συμβουλεύειν παραινέοντας τὴν ἔχει γυναῖκα, ἐοῦσαν ἀναμάρτητον ἑωυτῷ, ταύτην ἀπέντα ἄλλην ἐσαγαγέσθαι· οὐδέ σφι πείσεσθαι. Πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ οἱ 40
γέροντες βουλευσάμενοι, προσέφερον Ἀναξανδρίδῃ τάδε· "ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τοι περιεχόμενόν σε ὁρέομεν τῆς ἔχεις γυναικὸς, σὺ δὲ ταῦτα ποίεε καὶ μὴ ἀντίβαινε τούτοισι, ἵνα μή τι ἀλλοῖον περὶ σεῦ οἱ Σπαρτιῆται βουλεύσωνται· γυναικὸς μὲν τῆς ἔχεις οὐ προσδεόμεθά σευ τῆς ἐξέσιος· σὺ δὲ ταύτῃ τε πάντα ὅσα νῦν παρέχεις πάρεχε, καὶ ἄλλην πρὸς ταύτῃ ἐσάγαγε γυναῖκα τεκνοποιόν·" ταῦτά κῃ λεγόντων, συνεχώρησε ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδης· μετὰ δὲ, γυναῖκας ἔχων δύο διξὰς ἱστίας οἴκεε, ποιέων οὐδαμῶς Σπαρτιητικά. Χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος, ἡ ἐσύστερον ἐπελθοῦσα 41
γυνὴ τίκτει τὸν δὴ Κλεομένεα τοῦτον[98]. καὶ αὕτη τε ἔφεδρον

History of Sparta resumed from the reign of Anaxandrides and Ariston.

Anaxandrides marries a second wife during the lifetime of his first,

who bears Cleomenes,

[95] ἐς Λακεδαίμονα. These words are governed by a word the *equivalent* of ἀπόστολος ἐγίνετο. See note 72 on i. 21.

[96] τῆς δὲ Σπάρτης. The thread of the Lacedæmonian history is resumed from i. 68.

[97] ἔξεο, "discard." This is the extremely ingenious emendation of Schaefer from ἐκ σέο, the reading of most of the MSS, from which no sense resulted. The substantive ἔξεσις appears in the next section.

[98] τὸν δὴ Κλεομένεα τοῦτον. See note 6 on i. 1.

after which the first bears Dorieus, Leonidas, and Cleombrotus.

βασιλέα[99] Σπαρτιήτῃσι ἀπέφαινε, καὶ ἡ προτέρη γυνὴ τὸν πρότερον χρόνον ἄτοκος ἐοῦσα τότε κως ἐκύησε, συντυχίῃ ταύτῃ χρησαμένη· ἔχουσαν δὲ αὐτὴν ἀληθεϊ λόγῳ οἱ τῆς ἐπελθούσης γυναικὸς οἰκήϊοι πυθόμενοι ὤχλεον, φάμενοι αὐτὴν κομπέειν ἄλλως βουλομένην ὑποβαλέσθαι· δεινὰ δὲ ποιεύντων αὐτῶν, τοῦ χρόνου συντάμνοντος, ὑπ' ἀπιστίης οἱ ἔφοροι τίκτουσαν τὴν γυναῖκα περιϊζόμενοι ἐφύλαξαν· ἡ δὲ ὡς ἔτεκε Δωριέα[100] ἰθέως ἴσχει Λεωνίδην, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ἰθέως ἴσχει Κλεόμβροτον· οἱ δὲ καὶ διδύμους λέγουσι[101] Κλεόμβροτόν τε καὶ Λεωνίδην γενέσθαι· ἡ δὲ Κλεομένεα τεκοῦσα καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἐπελθοῦσα γυνή, ἐοῦσα θυγάτηρ Πρινητάδεω[102] τοῦ Δημαρμένου, οὐκέτι ἔτικτε τὸ δεύτερον.

42 On the death of Anaxandrides, Cleomenes succeeds as king.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ Κλεομένης, ὡς λέγεται, ἦν τε οὐ φρενήρης ἀκρομανής[103] τε, ὁ δὲ Δωριεὺς ἦν τῶν ἡλίκων πάντων πρῶτος· εὖ τε ἐπίστατο κατ' ἀνδραγαθίην αὐτὸς σχήσων τὴν βασιληΐην· ὥστε ὢν οὕτω φρονέων, ἐπειδὴ ὅ τε Ἀναξανδρίδης ἀπέθανε καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι χρεώμενοι τῷ νόμῳ ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα τὸν πρεσβύτατον Κλεομένεα, ὁ Δωριεὺς δεινόν τε ποιεύμενος καὶ οὐκ ἀξιῶν ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος βασιλεύεσθαι, αἰτήσας λαὸν Σπαρτιήτας

[99] ἔφεδρον βασιλέα, "a successor to the crown." The metaphor is taken from the practice in the games, illustrated in note 423 on i. 123. It is to be remarked that all the MSS without exception agree in this form, while in § 65 they are equally unanimous for ἐπέδρην.

[100] Δωριέα. A suspicion arises out of the subsequent conduct of Cleomenes that his mother was not of Heraclide, but of Achæan blood. (See note on § 72.) If this was the case, the choice of the name Dorieus for the son of the original wife was probably determined by a wish to put his Heraclide descent prominently forward. By his father's side Cleomenes was pure Dorian. (See the pedigree, vii. 204.)

[101] οἱ δὲ καὶ διδύμους λέγουσι. For the uncertain character of the Lacedæmonian history down to comparatively recent times see note 217 on i. 65. With regard to this particular point see note on vii. 205.

[102] Πρινητάδεω. This is the reading of the majority of the MSS. Aldus gives the form Περινητάδεω.

[103] ἀκρομανής. It has been considered that this word is to be interpreted "half-mad;" and this version has been defended by the case of some words compounded of ἄκρος, which have pretty much the same force with others compounded with ἡμι and the same root. A list of these is collected by Coray on Xenocrates, p. 180. But there is a fallacy in supposing that because, for instance, a preparation of salt fish, where the seasoning was confined to the upper side, might either be called ὀψάρια ἀκρόπαστα or ὀψάρια ἡμίπαστα, the force of the elements ἀκρο and ἡμι is the same; the fallacy consisting (as pointed out in note 520 on iv. 203) in mistaking an inferential meaning growing out of the circumstances of the individual case for one essentially resident in the word. The use of ἀκρομανής (raving mad) in this passage is rather to be explained by its having reference to the subsequent condition of Cleomenes, which seemingly, in great measure, occasioned his notoriety throughout Hellas. See the history of his case as given in vi. 75. In his early life he was ὑπομαργότερος, the same expression which is applied to Cambyses (iii. 29) and to Charilaus (iii. 145), but at a particular period αὐτὸν ὑπέλαβε μανίη νοῦσος. (vi. 75.)

ἄγε ἐς ἀποικίην· οὔτε τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι χρηστηρίῳ χρησάμενος ἐς ἥντινα γῆν κτίσων ἴῃ, οὔτε ποιήσας οὐδὲν τῶν νομιζομένων οἷα δὲ βαρέως φέρων, ἀπίει ἐς τὴν Λιβύην τὰ πλοῖα· κατηγέοντο δέ οἱ ἄνδρες Θηραῖοι. ἀπικόμενος δ' ἐς Κίνυπα [104], οἴκισε χῶρον κάλλιστον τῶν Λιβύων παρὰ ποταμόν· ἐξελασθεὶς δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν τρίτῳ ἔτεϊ ὑπὸ Μακέων τε καὶ Λιβύων [105] καὶ Καρχηδονίων, ἀπίκετο ἐς Πελοπόννησον.

Dorieus heads a private enterprise to *Cinyps* in Libya, from whence he is expelled, and returns home.

43 Ἐνθαῦτα δέ οἱ Ἀντιχάρης, ἀνὴρ Ἐλεώνιος [106], συνεβούλευσε ἐκ τῶν Λαΐου χρησμῶν Ἡρακλείην τὴν ἐν Σικελίῃ κτίζειν, φὰς τὴν Ἔρυκος χώρην πᾶσαν εἶναι Ἡρακλειδέων, αὐτοῦ Ἡρακλέος κτησαμένου. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐς Δελφοὺς οἴχετο χρησόμενος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ, εἰ αἱρέει ἐπ' ἣν στέλλεται χώρην; ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρᾷ αἱρήσειν· παραλαβὼν δὲ ὁ Δωριεὺς τὸν στόλον τὸν καὶ ἐς Λιβύην ἦγε, ἐκομίζετο παρὰ τὴν Ἰταλίην.

He next proposes to found *Heraclea* in Sicily, and sailing along the coast of Italy,

44 Τὸν χρόνον δὲ τοῦτον, ὡς λέγουσι Συβαρῖται, σφέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ Τῆλυν τὸν ἑωυτῶν βασιλέα [107] ἐπὶ Κρότωνα μέλλειν

lands at *Crotona*,

[104] ἐς Κίνυπα. For the fertility of the region here, which bore the same name as the river, see iv. 198.

[105] Μακέων τε καὶ Λιβύων. In the topographical description given in iv. 175, the Macæ are represented as one of the many tribes to which in the aggregate the name Libyans would be given. Here however the "Libyans" must be regarded as some special portion of the whole. Perhaps the Nasamones may be what the narrator has in his eye. These appear (from iv. 172 and 182) to have had in their hands the caravan traffic between the date-country (Augila) and the coast. The three parties to the attack upon the new colony will no doubt each in some way have considered their interests affected by its establishment. The Macæ would of course suffer, as their land would be seized, and they themselves reduced to the condition of periœcians. The Carthaginians naturally were jealous of commercial rivals; and the most obvious third interest is that of the carriers to the existing settlements.

[106] ἀνὴρ Ἐλεώνιος. This individual appears to have been a native of Eleon, a hamlet in the neighbourhood of Tanagra, so called (according to STRABO, ix. § 1, p. 254) from its marshy situation. It is not easy to suggest how Dorieus should have been brought into connexion with him as described in the text. It is possible, that as he was a possessor of certain professed oracles of Laïus, he may have been in some way connected with the Lacedæmonian temple mentioned by Herodotus as dedicated to the Ἐρίνυες Λαΐου τε καὶ Οἰδιπόδεω. See the note 384 on iv. 149.

[107] Τῆλυν τὸν ἑωυτῶν βασιλέα. HERACLIDES PONTICUS (*De Justitiâ*) gave a very different account of the circumstances leading to the destruction of Sybaris. According to him, the revolution *in which Telys was dethroned* was followed up in such a spirit of fury, that his partizans were butchered at the very altars. In the course of these horrors the image of Hera averted its eyes, and a fountain of blood burst up from the base, to stop which they covered the floor in the neighbourhood with a pavement of brass. The entire destruction of the Sybarites was a judgment for this offence. (Compare the passage of ARISTOTLE, cited in the next note.) But the origin of their impiety lay further back. They wilfully fixed the time in which the Olympian festival was held for a similar one at Sybaris, and endeavoured to draw away the athletes from the former by the value of the rewards they offered (*ap. Athenæum*, xii. p. 522). PHYLARCHUS made the sacrilegious act of the Sybarites to consist in their destroying thirty ambassadors who had come from Crotona, and casting their bodies to the wild animals (*ap. Athenæum*, l. c.). He

And takes part in the capture of Sybaris. Varying accounts of the Sybarites and Crotoniates.

στρατεύεσθαι· τοὺς δὲ Κροτωνιήτας περιδεέας γενομένους, δεηθῆναι Δωριέος σφίσι τιμωρῆσαι καὶ τυχεῖν δεηθέντας· συστρατεύεσθαι τε δὴ ἐπὶ Σύβαριν Δωριέα καὶ συνελεῖν τὴν Σύβαριν[108]. ταῦτα μέν νυν Συβαρῖται λέγουσι ποιῆσαι Δωριέα τε καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ· Κροτωνιῆται δὲ οὐδένα σφίσι φασὶ ξεῖνον προσεπιλαβέσθαι τοῦ πρὸς Συβαρίτας πολέμου, εἰ μὴ Καλλίην τῶν Ἰαμιδέων μάντιν Ἠλεῖον μοῦνον, καὶ τοῦτον τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· παρὰ Τήλυος τοῦ Συβαριτέων τυράννου ἀποδράντα ἀπικέσθαι παρὰ σφέας, ἐπεί τε οἱ τὰ ἱρὰ οὐ προεχώρεε χρηστὰ θυομένῳ ἐπὶ Κρότωνα. ταῦτα δὲ ὦν οὗτοι λέγουσι.

Evidence which they respectively produce.

45 Μαρτύρια δὲ τούτων ἑκάτεροι ἀποδεικνύουσι τάδε· Συβαρῖται μέν, τέμενός τε καὶ νηὸν ἐόντα παρὰ τὸν ξηρὸν[109] Κράστιν[110], τὸν ἱδρύσασθαι συνελόντα τὴν πόλιν Δωριέα λέγουσι Ἀθηναίῃ ἐπωνύμῳ Κραστίῃ[111]· τοῦτο δέ,

also mentioned the fountain of blood and the wrath of Hera, although this last was shown in a dream seen on the same night by all the officials.

[108] συνελεῖν τὴν Σύβαριν, "contributed to the capture of Sybaris." By this the oracle which he received at Delphi was fulfilled. In taking part against Sybaris, Dorieus may perhaps have sought a gratification of his spite against his half brother Cleomenes, who boasted himself to be 'not a Dorian, but an *Achæan*' (§ 72). The *Achæans* became predominant in the population of Sybaris, and, taking advantage of this circumstance, expelled their fellow-citizens, who were of Trœzenian origin. By doing this they brought an ἄγος upon themselves, for which the capture of the city was considered a divine punishment. (Aristotle, *Polit.* v. p. 1303.)

[109] παρὰ τὸν ξηρὸν Κράστιν, "by the side of the dry Crastis." This phrase, I apprehend, describes a dry channel of the river,—its bed having shifted. The commentators assume that an opposition is intended between the Crathis in Achaia, which had a perennial stream (see the next note) and the river in Sybaris, which they conceive was dry in the summer. This theory involves the necessity of an arbitrary alteration of the text, which I have endeavoured to show (see next note) is not justifiable.

[110] παρὰ τὸν ξηρὸν Κράστιν. Wesseling proposes to read Κρᾶθιν, because in i. 145 Herodotus, speaking of Ægæ in Achaia, says, ἐν τῇ Κρᾶθις ποταμὸς ἀέναός ἐστι, ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ποταμὸς τὸ οὔνομα ἔσχε. There is no question that the same river is meant, and that in subsequent times this was called Crathis. But here all the MSS (with the exception of S, which has Κράστον) read Κράστιν, and in the other passage they are unanimous in favour of Κρᾶθιν. Assuming that passage not to be an addition to the text subsequent to the time of Herodotus, I should be rather disposed to explain the difference between the forms by the change which language is perpetually undergoing. If at the time of the first settlement of Sybaris the word was pronounced *Crasthis*, there would be nothing strange that in process of time this should change in the one case to *Crastis*, and in the other to *Crathis*. Herodotus is in this passage professedly following a Sybarite tradition, which in the other he certainly is not.

[111] ἐπωνύμῳ Κραστίῃ. In dedicating this temple to Athene, Dorieus, both as an Heraclide and as an adventurer, would probably have regard to the characteristic of the goddess which makes her the guide and protectress of heroes upon their adventures, of whom Heracles is the most complete type. It is to be remarked that this is *not* the form which her ritual assumed in Lacedæmon, where, as in Athens, she was associated with Poseidon;—that is to say, she belonged not to the Dorian, but the Achæan cycle of deities. (See this point further elucidated in the note on § 72.)

αὐτοῦ Δωριέος τὸν θάνατον μαρτύριον μέγιστον ποιεῦνται, ὅτι παρὰ τὰ μεμαντευμένα ποιέων διεφθάρη· εἰ γὰρ δὴ μὴ παρέπρηξε μηδὲν ἐπ' ᾧ δὲ ἐστάλη ἐποίεε, εἷλε ἂν τὴν Ἐρυκίνην χώρην καὶ ἑλὼν κατέσχε, οὐδ' ἂν αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὴ διεφθάρη. οἱ δ' αὖ Κροτωνιῆται ἀποδεικνῦσι Καλλίῃ μὲν τῷ Ἠλείῳ ἐξαίρετα ἐν γῇ τῇ Κρωτωνιήτιδι πολλὰ δοθέντα, (τὰ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι ἐνέμοντο οἱ Καλλίεω ἀπόγονοι,) Δωριέϊ δὲ καὶ τοῖσι Δωριέος ἀπογόνοισι οὐδέν· καίτοι εἰ συνεπελάβετό γε τοῦ Συβαριτικοῦ πολέμου Δωριεὺς, δοθῆναι ἂν οἱ πολλαπλάσια ἢ Καλλίῃ. ταῦτα μέν νυν ἑκάτεροι αὐτῶν μαρτύρια ἀποφαίνονται· καὶ πάρεστι ὁκοτέροισί τις πείθεται αὐτῶν, τούτοισι προσχωρέειν. Συνέπλεον δὲ Δωριέϊ 46
καὶ ἄλλοι συγκτίσται Σπαρτιητέων, Θεσσαλὸς καὶ Παραιβάτης καὶ Κελέης καὶ Εὐρυλέων· οἳ ἐπεί τε ἀπίκοντο παντὶ στόλῳ ἐς τὴν Σικελίην, ἀπέθανον μάχῃ ἑσσωθέντες ὑπό τε Φοινίκων καὶ Ἐγεσταίων· μοῦνος δέ γε Εὐρυλέων τῶν συγκτιστέων περιεγένετο τούτου τοῦ πάθεος· συλλαβὼν δὲ οὗτος τῆς στρατιῆς τοὺς περιγενομένους ἔσχε Μινώην τὴν Σελινουσίων ἀποικίην, καὶ συνελευθέρου Σελινουσίους τοῦ μουνάρχου Πειθαγόρεω [112]. μετὰ δὲ, ὡς τοῦτον κατεῖλε, αὐτὸς τυραννίδι ἐπεχείρησε Σελινοῦντος, καὶ ἐμουνάρχησε χρόνον ἐπ' ὀλίγον· οἱ γάρ μιν Σελινούσιοι ἐπαναστάντες ἀπέκτειναν καταφυγόντα ἐπὶ Διὸς ἀγοραίου βωμόν.

On arriving in Sicily, the expedition is defeated by the *Carthaginians* and *Segestans*. Euryleon, the only surviving commander, becomes for a short time tyrant of *Selinus*.

Συνέσπετο δὲ Δωριέϊ καὶ συναπέθανε Φίλιππος ὁ Βουτακίδεω, 47
Κροτωνιήτης ἀνήρ· ὃς ἁρμοσάμενος Τήλυος τοῦ Συβαρίτεω θυγατέρα ἔφυγε ἐκ Κρότωνος· ψευσθεὶς δὲ τοῦ γάμου οἴχετο πλέων ἐς Κυρήνην· ἐκ ταύτης δὲ ὁρμεώμενος συνέσπετο οἰκηΐῃ τε τριήρεϊ καὶ οἰκηΐῃ ἀνδρῶν δαπάνῃ, ἐών τε Ὀλυμπιονίκης καὶ κάλλιστος Ἑλλήνων τῶν κατ' ἑωυτόν. διὰ δὲ τὸ ἑωυτοῦ κάλλος ἐνείκατο παρὰ Ἐγεσταίων τὰ οὐδεὶς ἄλλος· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ ἡρώϊον ἱδρυσάμενοι θυσίῃσι αὐτὸν ἱλάσκονται.

Philip, a Crotoniate, who fell with Dorieus, is venerated as a hero by the Segestans.

Δωριεὺς μέν νυν 48
τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἐτελεύτησε· εἰ δὲ ἠνέσχετο βασιλευόμενος ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος καὶ κατέμενε ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἐβασίλευε ἂν Λακεδαίμονος. οὐ γάρ τινα πολλὸν χρόνον ἦρξε ὁ Κλεομένης, ἀλλ' ἀπέθανε ἄπαις θυγατέρα μούνην λιπὼν τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Γοργώ.

Cleomenes reigned but a few years, and left no male issue.

Ἀπικνέεται δ' ὦν ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος ἐς τὴν 49

[112] Πειθαγόρεω. Some MSS have Πυθαγόρεω.

This Cleomenes is king of Sparta at the time of the arrival of Aristagoras, who explains his views to him with the aid of a chart.

Σπάρτην, Κλεομένεος ἔχοντος τὴν ἀρχήν· τῷ δὴ ἐς λόγους ἤϊε, ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, ἔχων χάλκεον πίνακα[113] ἐν τῷ γῆς ἁπάσης περίοδος ἐνετέτμητο, καὶ θάλασσά τε πᾶσα καὶ ποταμοὶ πάντες· ἀπικνεόμενος δὲ ἐς λόγους ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτὸν τάδε· "Κλεόμενες, σπουδὴν μὲν τὴν ἐμὴν μὴ θωμάσῃς τῆς ἐνθαῦτα ἀπίξιος· τὰ γὰρ κατήκοντά ἐστι τοιαῦτα[114]. Ἰώνων παῖδας δούλους εἶναι ἀντ' ἐλευθέρων ὄνειδος καὶ ἄλγος μέγιστον μὲν αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν, ἔτι δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ὑμῖν, ὅσῳ προέστατε τῆς Ἑλλάδος. νῦν ὦν, πρὸς θεῶν τῶν Ἑλληνίων, ῥύσασθε Ἴωνας ἐκ δουλοσύνης, ἄνδρας ὁμαίμονας. εὐπετέως δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα οἷά τε χωρέειν ἐστί[115]· οὔτε γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι ἄλκιμοί εἰσι, ὑμεῖς τε τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ἀνήκετε ἀρετῆς πέρι· ἥ τε μάχη αὐτῶν ἐστὶ τοιήδε, τόξα καὶ αἰχμὴ βραχέα· ἀναξυρίδας δὲ ἔχοντες[116] ἔρχονται ἐς τὰς μάχας καὶ κυρβασίας ἐπὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι· οὕτω εὐπετέες χειρωθῆναί εἰσι. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὰ τοῖσι τὴν ἤπειρον ἐκείνην νεμομένοισι, ὅσα οὐδὲ τοῖσι συνάπασι ἄλλοισι· ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ ἀρξαμένοισι, ἄργυρος καὶ χαλκὸς καὶ ἐσθὴς ποικίλη καὶ ὑποζύγιά τε καὶ ἀνδράποδα· τὰ θυμῷ βουλόμενοι[117] αὐτοὶ ἂν ἔχοιτε. κατοίκηνται δὲ ἀλλήλων ἐχόμενοι, ὡς ἐγὼ φράσω. Ἰώνων μὲν τῶνδε οἵδε Λυδοί, οἰκέοντές τε χώρην ἀγαθὴν καὶ πολυαργυρώτατοι ἐόντες·" δεικνὺς δὲ ἔλεγε ταῦτα ἐς τῆς γῆς τὴν περίοδον τὴν ἐφέρετο ἐν τῷ πίνακι ἐντετμημένην· "Λυδῶν δέ," ἔφη λέγων ὁ

[113] ἔχων χάλκεον πίνακα. The nature of this tablet is a matter which has been frequently referred to by writers upon the history of physical philosophy, it being generally considered the first recorded instance of any attempt to represent to the eye the distribution of the several parts of the earth's surface. It is important to observe that Herodotus does not speak himself of having seen it, but distinctly states that the Lacedæmonians *related* Aristagoras to have had such a one at the time of his interview with Cleomenes. Under these circumstances it is certainly not safe to press the terms of the description too closely, and infer from it that Aristagoras brought to Sparta any thing like what we understand (or what even Eratosthenus would have understood) by a chart of the known world. That certain attempts at this existed in the time of Herodotus is plain from what he says in iv. 36; but the arbitrary character of the positions laid down in them appears from the same passage.

[114] τὰ γὰρ κατήκοντά ἐστι τοιαῦτα, "for the matters which touch us are such as I will explain." See the note 344 on i. 97.

[115] εὐπετέως δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα οἷά τε χωρέειν ἐστί, "and easily by you may these results be accomplished." Compare iii. 39, πάντα οἱ ἐχώρεε εὐτυχέως.

[116] ἀναξυρίδας ἔχοντες. See note 239 on i. 71.

[117] θυμῷ βουλόμενοι. This expression is significant of more than βουλόμενοι, which would simply mean "at your option." But the addition of θυμῷ, "with strong determination," implies that the Lacedæmonians would have to fight for these good things Aristagoras promised to them.

Ἀρισταγόρης, "οἵδε ἔχονται Φρύγες, οἱ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ [118], πολυπροβατώτατοί τε ἐόντες ἁπάντων τῶν ἐγὼ οἶδα καὶ πολυκαρπότατοι. Φρυγῶν δὲ ἔχονται Καππαδόκαι, τοὺς ἡμεῖς Συρίους καλέομεν [119]. τούτοισι δὲ πρόσουροι Κίλικες, κατήκοντες ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τήνδε ἐν ᾗ ἥδε Κύπρος νῆσος κέεται· οἳ πεντακόσια τάλαντα [120] βασιλέϊ τὸν ἐπέτειον φόρον ἐπιτελεῦσι. Κιλίκων δὲ τῶνδε ἔχονται Ἀρμένιοι οἵδε, καὶ οὗτοι ἐόντες πολυπρόβατοι. Ἀρμενίων δὲ Ματιηνοὶ [121], χώρην τήνδε ἔχοντες. ἔχεται δὲ τούτων γῆ ἥδε Κισσίη· ἐν τῇ δὴ παρὰ ποταμὸν τόνδε Χοάσπην κείμενά ἐστι τὰ Σοῦσα ταῦτα [122], ἔνθα βασιλεύς τε μέγας δίαιταν ποιέεται καὶ τῶν χρημάτων οἱ θησαυροὶ ἐνθαῦτά εἰσι. ἑλόντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν πόλιν, θαρσέοντες ἤδη τῷ Διῒ πλούτου πέρι ἐρίζετε. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν χώρης ἄρα οὐ πολλῆς οὐδὲ οὕτω χρηστῆς, καὶ οὔρων σμικρῶν, χρεόν ἐστι ὑμέας μάχας ἀναβάλλεσθαι [123] πρός τε Μεσσηνίους ἐόντας ἰσοπαλέας,

[118] *Φρύγες, οἱ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ.* Gaisford prints these words without a stop after Φρύγες, in which case a distinction seems to be intended between these Phrygians and some others. Perhaps an opposition may be intended to the Phrygians which came nearer to the coast, and possibly even to some kindred races in the European continent. (See note on vii. 73.) But an easier solution of the passage seems to be to conceive Aristagoras as following the line of the great road which ran through Tyanitis. (See note 243 on i. 72.) At Cydra (or Cydrara) on this line, a column had been erected by Crœsus marking the confines of Lydia and Phrygia. This would no doubt appear on Aristagoras's chart; for at that point the road divided, two branches (the one from Caria, the other from Sardis) meeting there and continuing through Phrygia (vii. 31). Translate: "And next to the Lydians," proceeded Aristagoras, "here join on the Phrygians,—these as you go eastward—the greatest flock-masters of all men I know, and likewise richest in the products of the soil."

[119] *τοὺς ἡμεῖς Συρίους καλέομεν.* STRABO (xvi. c. 1, p. 333) says that *both* the Cappadocians, *οἵ τε πρὸς τῷ Ταύρῳ καὶ οἱ πρὸς τῷ Πόντῳ*, up to his day were called White Syrians. Probably the term *Λευκόσυροι* was substituted for *Σύριοι* when the Greeks became familiar with the inhabitants of Assyria, whose complexions would be of a swarthier cast. The wide extent of the Cappadocian race explains the text. The *Pontine* Cappadocians are conterminous to the Phrygians, the *Taurine* Cappadocians to the Cilicians,—formerly not confined to the south side of Taurus: see LEAKE, cited in the note on i. 72,—and *these* Cilicians to the Armenians. (See note 132, below.)

[120] *πεντακόσια τάλαντα.* The particulars of the Cilician tribute are more fully given in iii. 90.

[121] *Ματιηνοί.* See, for an attempt to explain Herodotus's notions of the site of these people, note 681 on i. 202.

[122] *παρὰ ποταμὸν τόνδε Χοάσπην κείμενά ἐστι τὰ Σοῦσα ταῦτα.* RENNELL (*Geography of Herodotus*, p. 203) says: "The Choaspes is the only river of Susiana spoken of by our author, and this being a *country of rivers*, in effect, the drain of Media, Elymais, Cossæa, &c., and formed chiefly from alluvions, it may be collected from his silence that the Greeks knew little concerning it." The truer hypothesis perhaps is that the author derives his information from persons who gathered theirs only from travellers or from road-books. For the site of Susa see note 234 on iv. 83.

[123] *ἀναβάλλεσθαι.* The main difficulty in this passage is the use of the middle voice instead of the active *ἀναβάλλειν*. But this is certainly not sufficient to justify an arbitrary change of the reading of

καὶ Ἀρκάδας τε καὶ Ἀργείους· τοῖσι οὔτε χρυσοῦ ἐχόμενόν ἐστι
οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀργύρου, τῶν πέρι καί τινα ἐνάγει προθυμίη μαχόμενον
ἀποθνήσκειν· παρέχον δὲ τῆς Ἀσίης πάσης ἄρχειν εὐπετέως, ἄλλο
τι αἱρήσεσθε;" Ἀρισταγόρης μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε. Κλεομένης δὲ
ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε· "ὦ ξεῖνε Μιλήσιε, ἀναβάλλομαί τοι ἐς τρίτην
50 ἡμέρην ἀποκρινέεσθαι." Τότε μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτον ἤλασαν. ἐπεί τε
δὲ ἡ κυρίη ἡμέρη ἐγίνετο τῆς ἀποκρίσιος καὶ ἦλθον ἐς τὸ συγ-
κείμενον, εἴρετο ὁ Κλεομένης τὸν Ἀρισταγόρην ὁκοσέων ἡμερέων
ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῆς Ἰώνων ὁδὸς εἴη παρὰ βασιλέα; ὁ δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης, τἆλλα ἐὼν σοφὸς καὶ διαβάλλων ἐκεῖνον εὖ[124], ἐν τούτῳ ἐσφάλη· χρεὸν γάρ μιν μὴ λέγειν τὸ ἐὸν βουλόμενόν γε Σπαρτιήτας ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, λέγει δ' ὦν τριῶν μηνῶν φὰς εἶναι τὴν ἄνοδον· ὁ δὲ ὑπαρπάσας τὸν ἐπίλοιπον λόγον τὸν ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ὥρμητο λέγειν περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ, εἶπε· "ὦ ξεῖνε Μιλήσιε, ἀπαλλάσσεο ἐκ Σπάρτης πρὸ δύντος ἡλίου· οὐδένα γὰρ λόγον εὐεπέα[125] λέγεις Λακεδαιμονίοισι, ἐθέλων σφέας ἀπὸ θαλάσσης
51 τριῶν μηνῶν ὁδὸν ἀγαγεῖν." Ὁ μὲν δὴ Κλεομένης ταῦτα εἴπας, ἤιε ἐς τὰ οἰκία. ὁ δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης λαβὼν ἱκετηρίην ἤιε ἐς τοῦ Κλεομένεος, ἐσελθὼν δὲ εἴσω ἅτε ἱκετεύων, ἐπακοῦσαι ἐκέλευε τὸν Κλεομένεα ἀποπέμψαντα τὸ παιδίον· προσεστήκεε γὰρ δὴ τῷ Κλεομένεϊ ἡ θυγάτηρ, τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Γοργώ· τοῦτο δέ οἱ καὶ μοῦνον

Cleomenes defers giving him an answer till the third day afterwards, when on learning the distance of Susa from the coast, he orders Aristagoras to quit Sparta before sunset.

Aristagoras attempts to bribe him.

Anecdote of

all the MSS. *ἀναβάλλειν μάχας* would be equivalent to *κίνδυνον ἀναβάλλειν μαχομένους*,—an expression which would be appropriate to the combatants who take part in the actual fray. But the nation which adopts a policy of this description and employs its soldiers in perpetual battles, would more properly be said *ἀναβάλλεσθαι*, just as a parent would be said *διδάσκεσθαι*, not *διδάσκειν*, if he employed a third person to instruct his son. The expression *ἀναβάλλειν κίνδυνον* is used by ÆSCHYLUS (*Theb.* 1030); and the phrase *ἀναρρίπτειν κίνδυνον* is well known. The fundamental idea seems to be the distraction of a person from the contemplation of the real merits of a case by directing his attention to something beside the matter. Thus Aristagoras, in this case, put Cleomenes on a wrong scent by assuming that the real obstacle to success in an expedition to Asia would be the *resistance* of the enemy, not the enormous distance to which he would have to be followed. Similarly Histiæus persuaded Darius that the revolt in Ionia arose from his own absence.

[124] *διαβάλλων ἐκεῖνον εὖ*, "mystifying him successfully." See below, § 97, *πολλοὺς γὰρ οἶκε εἶναι εὐπετέστερον διαβάλλειν ἢ ἕνα*, an expression however which may perhaps be taken from this one, and be by a later hand. (See the note on it.) In § 107, *Ἱστιαῖος μὲν δὴ λέγων ταῦτα διέβαλλε*, "Histiæus now in saying these things was mystifying him."

[125] *λόγον εὐεπέα.* It has been proposed to change the word *εὐεπέα* into *εὐπέτεα*, But *λόγος εὐεπὴς* is a proposal which carries a good omen in the language in which it is couched,—and consequently "an advantageous proposal." The habit which was universal among the ancients of looking in every thing for an augury easily explains the transition from one sense to the other.

τέκνον ἐτύγχανε ἐὸν ἐτέων ὀκτὼ ἢ ἐννέα ἡλικίην· Κλεομένης δὲ λέγειν μιν ἐκέλευε τὰ βούλεται, μηδὲ ἐπισχεῖν τοῦ παιδίου εἵνεκα. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἄρχετο ἐκ δέκα ταλάντων ὑπισχνεόμενος, ἤν οἱ ἐπιτελέσῃ τῶν ἐδέετο· ἀνανεύοντος δὲ τοῦ Κλεομένεος, προέβαινε τοῖσι χρήμασι ὑπερβάλλων ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἐς οὗ πεντήκοντά τε τάλαντα ὑποδέδεκτο, καὶ τὸ παιδίον ηὐδάξατο· "πάτερ, διαφθερέει σε ὁ ξεῖνος, ἢν μὴ ἀποστὰς ἴῃς." ὅ τε δὴ Κλεομένης, ἡσθεὶς τοῦ παιδίου τῇ παραινέσει ἤϊε ἐς ἕτερον οἴκημα[126], καὶ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἀπαλλάσσετο τὸ παράπαν ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης· οὐδέ οἱ ἐξεγένετο ἐπιπλέον ἔτι σημῆναι περὶ τῆς ἀνόδου τῆς παρὰ βασιλέα. *his daughter Gorgo.*

52 Ἔχει γὰρ ἀμφὶ τῇ ὁδῷ ταύτῃ ὧδε· σταθμοί τε πανταχῇ εἰσι βασιλήϊοι, καὶ καταλύσιες κάλλισται[127], διὰ οἰκεομένης τε ἡ ὁδὸς ἅπασα καὶ ἀσφαλέος. διὰ μέν γε Λυδίης καὶ Φρυγίης σταθμοὶ τείνοντες[128] εἴκοσί εἰσι, παρασάγγαι δὲ τέσσερες καὶ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ ἥμισυ. ἐκδέκεταί δ' ἐκ τῆς Φρυγίης ὁ Ἅλυς ποταμός[129]· ἐπ' ᾧ πύλαι τε ἔπεισι, τὰς διεξελάσαι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη[130] καὶ οὕτω διεκπερᾶν τὸν ποταμὸν, καὶ φυλακτήριον μέγα ἐπ' αὐτῷ. διαβάντι δὲ ἐς τὴν Καππαδοκίην καὶ ταύτῃ πορευομένῳ μέχρι οὔρων τῶν Κιλικίων, σταθμοὶ δυῶν δέοντές εἰσι τριήκοντα, παρασάγγαι δὲ τέσσερες καὶ ἑκατόν[131]· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖσι τούτων οὔροισι διξάς τε πύλας διεξελᾶς, *Itinerary of the road between Sardis and Susa.*

126 *ἤϊε ἐς ἕτερον οἴκημα.* The superiority of Cleomenes to bribery is shown not merely by this anecdote, but by some others. See iii. 148.

127 *καταλύσιες κάλλισται.* "Excellent caravanserais." The varying distances between the several stations might arise from the different facilities of obtaining water, or other similar causes. It will be observed that the average distance between the stations in Lydia and Phrygia is considerably greater than the average in the whole journey. Here perhaps the roads were particularly good, and travellers could push on rapidly.

128 *σταθμοὶ τείνοντες.* "A series of stations." Perhaps there was greater regularity in their distances in this part of the route than elsewhere.

129 *ἐκδέκεται δὲ ἐκ τῆς Φρυγίης ὁ Ἅλυς ποταμός.* That the river spoken of here is not the Halys which flows into the Black Sea seems to me quite certain. See, for an attempt to explain Herodotus's statements concerning the Halys, note 243 on i. 72.

130 *τὰς διεξελάσαι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη.* This was the boundary of the Lydian empire, to the passage of which the oracle given to Crœsus referred. It will be observed that a barrier appears to have been erected on the Lydian side, and a *fort* upon the Cappadocian. The former, a Lydian work, probably was intended for the collection of transit tolls; the latter doubtless had a military purpose, and was probably Persian. On the Cappadocian side was *Critalla*, the frontier town at which the army of Xerxes was concentrated when he commenced his expedition against Athens (vii. 26). Possibly the name *Critalla* (as well as *Archalla*, of which LEAKE supposes Erclè to be a corruption) is significant; *crit* containing the root of *certa* (castra) and *alla* that of *Halys*. See note 243 on i. 72.

131 *διαβάντι δὲ ἐς τὴν Καππαδοκίην . . . τέσσερες καὶ ἑκατόν.* I am altogether unable to reconcile this distance with

καὶ διξὰ φυλακτήρια παραμείψεαι. ταῦτα δὲ διεξελάσαντι καὶ διὰ τῆς Κιλικίης ὁδὸν ποιευμένῳ[132] *τρεῖς εἰσι σταθμοί, παρασάγγαι δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ ἥμισυ. οὖρος δὲ Κιλικίης καὶ τῆς*

any probable route through Cappadocia. Strabo, describing the course which in his time appears to have been universally taken from Ephesus towards the interior of Asia, gives the following distances from *Carura*, which he places on the frontier between Phrygia and Caria:—

	STADES
To *Holmi*, which was regarded as the beginning of Phrygia Paroreus (through Laodicea on the Lycus, Apamea, and Metropolis)	920
Thence to *Tyriæum*, the frontier of Lycaonia	500
Thence to *Coropassus* (which is still in Lycaonia)	840
Thence to *Garsaüra* (a village of Cappadocia)	120
Thence to *Mazaca*	680
Thence to *Tomisum* (considered as the frontier of Cappadocia) . .	1440
From *Tomisum* to *Samosata*, which was in the immediate neighbourhood of the bridge or ferry over the Euphrates (Ζεῦγμα) . . .	450

The first part of this route is the same with that taken by Xerxes in his expedition, and the presumption would be that the latter part also was. But Herodotus is clear in making the Halys the boundary of Cappadocia (both here and in vii. 26), and in calling the frontier town of Cappadocia *Critalla*, and not *Garsaüra*. It seems therefore certain that there must have been a divergence some where near *Holmi*. But if so, this could not (I conceive) have been to the north, but must have been to the south of the route laid down by Strabo above. That there was such a road running through the central plains of Lycaonia and Tyanitis is quite certain. It was by it that the younger Cyrus invaded Asia (Xenophon, *Anab.* i. 2, seqq.). See also note 243 on i. 73. But if this road be the one intended in the text, it would not have conducted to the banks of the Halys, but by way of Dana (Tyana) to the Cilician Gates. Neither would it have conducted through Cilicia to Armenia, or any where near it.

In such a state of confusion it is rash to offer any conjectural explanation as more than a mere temporary stop-gap. It is quite plain that the views of the author are altogether indistinct; and probably the numbers he sets down are taken from some current itinerary. If however we suppose that in such a one *all* the main routes lying within Cappadocia were set down, the one described by Strabo,—the one from *Critalla* (of which see note 243 on i. 72) to the Cilician Gates,—and also a third by which *Tyana* was certainly in later times united to *Mazaca*, the aggregate length of these will not be very far off the numbers given in the text. We shall have

	STADES
From Garsaüra to Mazaca . . .	680
From Mazaca to Tomisum . . .	1440
From Mazaca to Critalla, and from thence to the Cilician Gates (say six days)	1050
	3170

Strabo elsewhere (xii. c. 2, p. 11) gives the distance from Mazaca to the Cilician Gates through Tyana as six days' journey; and as Critalla, if near Erclè (see the last note), must have been in the immediate neighbourhood of Tyana, the route will have been nearly the same. The southernmost half being very steep, it seems reasonable to take for the whole distance from Mazaca 175 stades (the mean between 150 and 200) as the day's journey.

The sum of 104 parasangs converted into stades, at the rate of 30 to the parasang, will come so near to 3170,—being in fact 3120,—as to be in substantial agreement with it. The statement in the text will, on this hypothesis, have arisen from the aggregate of the branch roads contained in a given district being mistaken for the direct road through it, —an analogous error to that which seems to have been committed in the pedigree of Xerxes. See *Excursus* on iii. 74, p. 427, 428.

132 *διὰ τῆς Κιλικίης ὁδὸν ποιευμένῳ.* The Cilicia here spoken of cannot be the maritime province, but is probably the portion of Mount Taurus *over which* from Tomisum to Samosata, was a distance of 450 stades. (Strabo, xiv. c. 2, p. 212.)

Ἀρμενίης ἐστὶ ποταμὸς νηυσιπέρητος, τῷ οὔνομα Εὐφρήτης· ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀρμενίῃ σταθμοὶ μέν εἰσι καταγωγέων πεντεκαίδεκα, παρασάγγαι δὲ ἓξ καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἥμισυ· καὶ φυλακτήριον ἐν αὐτοῖσι[133]. ποταμοὶ δὲ νηυσιπέρητοι τέσσερες διὰ ταύτης ῥέουσι, τοὺς πᾶσα ἀνάγκη διαπορθμεῦσαί ἐστι· πρῶτος μὲν Τίγρις· μετὰ δὲ, δεύτερός τε καὶ τρίτος ὡυτὸς οὐνομαζόμενος, οὐκ ὡυτὸς[134] ἐὼν ποταμὸς οὐδὲ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ῥέων· (ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρότερος αὐτῶν καταλεχθεὶς ἐξ Ἀρμενίων ῥέει, ὁ δ' ὕστερον, ἐκ Ματιηνῶν·) ὁ δὲ τέταρτος τῶν ποταμῶν οὔνομα ἔχει Γύνδης[135], τὸν Κῦρος διέλαβέ κοτε ἐς διώρυχας ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης τῆς Ἀρμενίης ἐσβάλλοντι ἐς τὴν Ματιηνὴν γῆν, σταθμοί εἰσι τέσσερες[136]. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἐς τὴν Κισσίην χώρην μεταβαίνοντι, ἕνδεκα σταθμοὶ, παρασάγγαι δὲ δύο καὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ ἥμισύ ἐστι ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Χοάσπην, ἐόντα καὶ τοῦτον νηυσιπέρητον· ἐπ' ᾧ Σοῦσα πόλις πεπόλισται. οὗτοι οἱ πάντες σταθμοί εἰσι ἕνδεκα καὶ ἑκατόν[137]. καταγωγαὶ μέν νυν σταθμῶν τοσαῦταί εἰσι ἐκ Σαρδίων ἐς Σοῦσα ἀναβαίνοντι. Εἰ δὲ ὀρθῶς μεμέτρηται ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ βασιληΐη τοῖσι 53
παρασάγγησι, καὶ ὁ παρασάγγης δύναται τριήκοντα στάδια[138], ὥσπερ οὗτός γε δύναται ταῦτα, ἐκ Σαρδίων στάδιά ἐστι ἐς τὰ βασιλήϊα τὰ Μεμνόνια καλεόμενα πεντακόσια καὶ τρισχίλια καὶ μύρια, παρασαγγέων ἐόντων πεντήκοντα καὶ τετρακοσίων[139]· πεν-

133 φυλακτήριον ἐν αὐτοῖσι. This can hardly mean a single fort some where or other in the course of the fifteen days' journey. I should rather take it as a small military post at each station,—perhaps a necessary precaution to secure the safety of travellers from the predatory tribes inhabiting the neighbourhood. For the sense of νηυσιπέρητος see note 639 on i. 189.

134 ὡυτὸς οὐνομαζόμενος οὐκ ὡυτὸς ἐών. So Gaisford prints without any notice of MS variation. But in ii. 79 there is an equal unanimity for ὡυτὸς, without the aspirate.

135 Γύνδης. This river is, according to Rennell, to be looked for in the *Diyeleh*, which falls into the Tigris between Baghdad and Modain (the ancient Ctesiphon). See note 636 on i. 189.

136 τέσσερες. Bekker supposes a lacuna here, which, if supplied, might bring the text of the Itinerary into conformity with the calculation in § 53. And De la Barre, in a paper in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, vol. viii., does not hesitate to supply the words καὶ τριήκοντα, παρασάγγαι δὲ ἑπτὰ καὶ τριήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν, purely from conjecture for this purpose. He also considers that the name *Matiene* is significant, and was applied by the Persians to any large tract of country bounded on the one side by a river and the other by mountains. But there seems no ground for this bold conjecture, except the use he makes of it in reconciling with one another the various passages in which Matiene is mentioned, and avoiding the alternative of setting down the geographical views of the author as obscure and incorrect.

137 ἕνδεκα καὶ ἑκατόν. The number of stations which are given in the MSS as they exist amounts only to eighty-one. See the last note.

138 καὶ ὁ παρασάγγης δύναται τριήκοντα στάδια. See note on vi. 42.

139 παρασαγγέων ἐόντων πεντήκοντα

τήκοντα δὲ καὶ ἑκατὸν στάδια ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἑκάστῃ διεξιοῦσι[140],
54 ἀναισιμοῦνται ἡμέραι ἀπαρτὶ ἐννενήκοντα. Οὕτω τῷ Μιλησίῳ Ἀρισταγόρῃ, εἴπαντι πρὸς Κλεομένεα τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον εἶναι τριῶν μηνῶν τὴν ἄνοδον τὴν παρὰ βασιλέα, ὀρθῶς εἴρητο. εἰ δέ τις τὸ ἀτρεκέστερον τούτων ἔτι δίζηται, ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο σημανέω· τὴν γὰρ ἐξ Ἐφέσου ἐς Σάρδις ὁδὸν δεῖ προσλογίσασθαι ταύτῃ. καὶ δὴ λέγω σταδίους εἶναι τοὺς πάντας ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς μέχρι Σούσων, (τοῦτο γὰρ Μεμνόνιον ἄστυ καλέεται,) τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τετρακισχιλίους καὶ μυρίους· οἱ γὰρ ἐξ Ἐφέσου ἐς Σάρδις εἰσὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ πεντακόσιοι στάδιοι· καὶ οὕτω τρισὶ ἡμέρῃσι μηκύνεται ἡ τρίμηνος ὁδός.

55 Ἀπελαυνόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης, ἤιε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας[141] γενομένας τυράννων ὧδε ἐλευθέρας· ἐπεὶ Ἵππαρχον τὸν Πεισιστράτου, Ἱππίεω δὲ τοῦ τυράννου ἀδελφεόν, ἰδόντα ὄψιν ἐνυπνίου τῷ ἑωυτοῦ πάθεϊ ἐναργεστάτην, κτείνουσι Ἀριστογείτων καὶ Ἁρμόδιος, γένος ἐόντες τὰ ἀνέκαθεν Γεφυραῖοι[142], μετὰ ταῦτα ἐτυραννεύοντο Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπ' ἔτεα τέσσερα οὐδὲν ἧσσον, ἀλλὰ καὶ

Resumption of the history of Athens after the assassination of Hipparchus.

56 μᾶλλον[143], ἢ πρὸ τοῦ. Ἡ μέν νυν ὄψις τοῦ Ἱππάρχου ἐνυπνίου ἦν ἥδε· ἐν τῇ προτέρῃ νυκτὶ τῶν Παναθηναίων ἐδόκεε ὁ Ἵππαρχος ἄνδρα οἱ ἐπιστάντα μέγαν καὶ εὐειδέα αἰνίσσεσθαι τάδε τὰ ἔπεα·

καὶ τετρακοσίων. The number of parasangs given by the text is only 313; but for the route which passes through Matiene it is to be observed, that although the author gives the number of stations, he does not give the measured distance corresponding. See note 136.

[140] πεντήκοντα δὲ καὶ ἑκατὸν στάδια ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἑκάστῃ διεξιοῦσι. Herodotus elsewhere reckons 200 stadia as a day's journey (iv. 101). It seems not impossible that in this passage he proceeds on the supposition of a large body—such as an army—being moved; and in the other on that of a small company. And it ought not to be forgotten that the variation of climate and ground in the two regions of which he is speaking would cause considerable difference in the space travelled over between sunrise and sunset. A caravan would doubtless travel slower even than an army, passing only from station to station. The average length of the interval between these for the whole journey will be 4·15 parasangs, nearly.

[141] ἤιε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. The account of Aristagoras's proceedings is resumed c. 97, below.

[142] Γεφυραῖοι. The deme *Gephyra* is placed by LEAKE at the crossing of the river *Cephisus*, by the road which led to Eleusis. (*Demi of Attica*, ii. p. 142.)

[143] οὐδὲν ἧσσον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον. THUCYDIDES (vi. 55) describes the extremely temperate proceedings of the Pisistratids before the assassination of Hipparchus; but says that afterwards Hippias διὰ φόβου ἤδη μᾶλλον ὢν τῶν τε πολιτῶν πολλοὺς ἔκτεινε καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἔξω ἅμα διεσκοπεῖτο (§ 59). And the author of the Platonic dialogue *Hipparchus* goes even farther in praising the *early* days of the dynasty: οὗ (sc. Ἱππάρχου) ἀποθανόντος τρία ἔτη ἐτυραννεύθησαν Ἀθηναῖοι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἱππίου· καὶ πάντων ἂν τῶν παλαιῶν ἤκουσας ὅτι ταῦτα μόνον τὰ ἔτη τυραννὶς ἐγένετο ἐν Ἀθήναις, τὸν δ' ἄλλον χρόνον ἐγγύς τι ἔζων Ἀθηναῖοι ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Κρόνου βασιλεύοντος (§ 4).

Τλῆθι λέων ἄτλητα παθὼν τετληότι θυμῷ·
οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων ἀδικῶν τίσιν οὐκ ἀποτίσει.

ταῦτα δὲ, ὡς ἡμέρη ἐγένετο τάχιστα, φανερὸς ἦν ὑπερτιθέμενος ὀνειροπόλοισι· μετὰ δὲ, ἀπειπάμενος τὴν ὄψιν, ἔπεμπε τὴν πομπὴν ἐν τῇ δὴ τελευτᾷ.

Οἱ δὲ Γεφυραῖοι, τῶν ἦσαν οἱ φονέες οἱ Ἱππάρχου, ὡς μὲν 57
αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἐγεγόνεσαν ἐξ Ἐρετρίης τὴν ἀρχήν· ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ ἀναπυνθανόμενος εὑρίσκω, ἦσαν Φοίνικες τῶν σὺν Κάδμῳ ἀπικομένων Φοινίκων ἐς γῆν τὴν νῦν Βοιωτίην καλεομένην· οἴκεον δὲ τῆς χώρης ταύτης ἀπολαχόντες τὴν Ταναγρικὴν μοῖραν· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ Καδμείων πρότερον ἐξαναστάντων ὑπ' Ἀργείων, οἱ Γεφυραῖοι οὗτοι δεύτερα ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν ἐξαναστάντες [144] ἐτράποντο ἐπ' Ἀθηνέων· Ἀθηναῖοι δέ σφεας ἐπὶ ῥητοῖσι ἐδέξαντο σφέων αὐτῶν εἶναι πολιήτας, πολλῶν τέων καὶ οὐκ ἀξιαπηγήτων ἐπιτάξαντες ἔργεσθαι.

The *Gephyræans* were of Phœnician origin, settled in the neighbourhood of Tanagra.

Οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες οὗτοι οἱ σὺν Κάδμῳ ἀπικόμενοι, τῶν 58
ἦσαν οἱ Γεφυραῖοι, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ οἰκήσαντες ταύτην τὴν χώρην ἐσήγαγον διδασκάλια ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ δὴ καὶ γράμματα, οὐκ ἐόντα πρὶν Ἕλλησι, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν· πρῶτα μὲν, τοῖσι καὶ ἅπαντες χρέωνται Φοίνικες· μετὰ δὲ, χρόνου προβαίνοντος, ἅμα τῇ φωνῇ μετέβαλον καὶ τὸν ῥυθμὸν τῶν γραμμάτων. περιοίκεον δέ σφεας τὰ πολλὰ τῶν χώρων τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἑλλήνων Ἴωνες· οἳ παραλαβόντες διδαχῇ παρὰ τῶν Φοινίκων τὰ γράμματα [145], μεταρρυθμίσαντές σφεων ὀλίγα ἐχρέωντο· χρεώμενοι δὲ ἐφάτισαν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἔφερε ἐσαγαγόντων Φοινίκων ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, Φοινικήϊα κεκλῆσθαι· καὶ τὰς βύβλους διφθέρας καλέουσι ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ οἱ Ἴωνες [146], ὅτι κοτὲ ἐν σπάνι βύβλων ἐχρέωντο

The Phœnicians who came with Cadmus introduced the use of letters. In their settlements they were generally surrounded with an Ionian population.

[144] ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν ἐξαναστάντες. See § 61, below.

[145] παρὰ τῶν Φοινίκων τὰ γράμματα. The fundamental Semitic alphabet is supposed to have consisted of only sixteen letters; and it is stated by PLINY (*N. H.* vii. 56) that the first Hellenic alphabet contained no more. DR. DONALDSON (*New Cratylus*, book i. chap. 5) gives the following scheme of what he conceives to have been the original arrangement of the two.

Α, Β, Γ, Δ, Ε (having the force possessed by ἑ in later times), F (the *digamma*, or βαῦ, a trace of which remained in the symbol ϛ, used to denote the numeral 6), Η (having the force of ἡ or χη), Θ, Λ, Μ, Ν, Σ, Ο, Π, Ϙ (the *koppa* or primitive κ), Τ. To these severally correspond the Hebrew *Aleph*, *Beth*, *Gimel*, *Daleth*, *He*, *Vau*, *Cheth*, *Teth*, *Lamed*, *Mem*, *Nun*, *Samech*, *Ain*, *Pe*, *Koph*, *Tau*.

[146] καὶ τὰς βύβλους διφθέρας καλέουσι ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ οἱ Ἴωνες. This remark has no bearing upon the assertion that the Ionians were the people who learnt the use of letters from the Phœnicians. And moreover if any Ionians were so accustomed to writing on parchment, as to give the name διφθέραι to all books with which they afterwards became acquainted, it would

διφθέρῃσι αἰγέῃσί τε καὶ οἰέῃσι· ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ πολλοὶ τῶν

59 βαρβάρων ἐς τοιαύτας διφθέρας γράφουσι. Ἴδον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Καδμήϊα γράμματα ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου[147] ἐν Θήβῃσι τῇσι Βοιωτῶν ἐπὶ τρίποσί τισι[148] ἐγκεκολαμμένα, τὰ πολλὰ ὁμοῖα ἐόντα τοῖσι Ἰωνικοῖσι· ὁ μὲν δὴ εἷς τῶν τριπόδων ἐπίγραμμα ἔχει·

Tripods in the temple of the *Ismenian Apollo* at Thebes said to be inscribed with Phœnician characters.

Ἀμφιτρύων μ' ἀνέθηκε νέων ἀπὸ Τηλεβοάων.

ταῦτα ἡλικίην εἴη ἂν κατὰ Λάϊον τὸν Λαβδάκου τοῦ Πολυδώρου

60 τοῦ Κάδμου. Ἕτερος δὲ τρίπους [ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ[149]] λέγει·

Σκαῖος πυγμαχέων με ἑκηβόλῳ Ἀπόλλωνι
νικήσας ἀνέθηκε τεῒν περικαλλὲς ἄγαλμα.

Σκαῖος δ' ἂν εἴη ὁ Ἱπποκόωντος, εἰ δὴ οὗτός γ' ἐστὶ ὁ ἀναθεὶς καὶ μὴ ἄλλος τὠυτὸ οὔνομα ἔχων τῷ Ἱπποκόωντος, ἡλικίην κατὰ

61 Οἰδίπουν τὸν Λαΐου. Τρίτος δὲ τρίπους λέγει, καὶ οὗτος ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ[150].

Λαοδάμας τρίποδ' αὐτὸν ἐϋσκόπῳ Ἀπόλλωνι
μουναρχέων ἀνέθηκε τεῒν περικαλλὲς ἄγαλμα.

Ἐπὶ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Λαοδάμαντος τοῦ Ἐτεοκλέος μουναρχέοντος ἐξανιστέαται Καδμεῖοι ὑπ' Ἀργείων, καὶ τρέπονται ἐς τοὺς Ἐγχέλεας· οἱ δὲ Γεφυραῖοι ὑπολειφθέντες, ὕστερον ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν ἀναχωρέουσι ἐς Ἀθήνας· καί σφι ἱρά ἐστι ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι ἱδρυμένα, τῶν οὐδὲν μέτα τοῖσι λοιποῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι, ἄλλα τε κεχωρισμένα

be the Ionians not of Europe, but of *Asia*, whose preparation of the material contributed so much in after times to the library of Attalus. The remark seems to come from a person very familiar with Egypt, and accordingly mentioning the Egyptian βύβλοι without any special necessity. See note 474 on i. 140.

147 τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου. The connexion of Thebes with Phœnicia, or at least with merchants engaged in Phœnician trade, appears from the material of which the Apollo statue here was formed. It was made of *cedar* wood, and in that respect alone differed from the statue at Branchidæ, which was of brass. Both were said to be the work of Canachus. (PAUSANIAS, ix. 10. 2.) An oriental element in the ritual may be also gathered from the fact of Mardonius sending to consult the oracle (viii. 134) and Crœsus making offerings there (i. 52. 92).

148 ἐπὶ τρίποσί τισι. The conjecture of Dobree, τρίσι for τισι, is a plausible one, and is adopted by Bekker.

149 [ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ]. These words appear to me to be a marginal annotation derived from i. 47, suggested by the word λέγει, but made by some reader who failed to remark that the word τόνος was inapplicable to written language. See note 145 on i. 47.

150 καὶ οὗτος ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ. I very much question the genuineness of these words, and suspect that they crept into the text from a marginal annotation made at the same time with the one noticed in the last section. But as they do not violate the usages of language, I have not enclosed them between brackets as decidedly an interpolation.

τῶν ἄλλων ἱρῶν καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἀχαιΐης Δήμητρος ἱρόν τε καὶ ὄργια [151].

62 Ἡ μὲν δὴ ὄψις τοῦ Ἱππάρχου ἐνυπνίου, καὶ οἱ Γεφυραῖοι ὅθεν ἐγεγόνεσαν, τῶν ἦσαν οἱ Ἱππάρχου φονέες, ἀπήγηταί μοι· δεῖ δὲ πρὸς τούτοισι ἔτι ἀναλαβεῖν τὸν κατ' ἀρχὰς ἤια λέξων λόγον, ὡς τυράννων ἐλευθερώθησαν Ἀθηναῖοι. Ἱππίεω τυραννεύοντος καὶ ἐμπικραινομένου [152] Ἀθηναίοισι διὰ τὸν Ἱππάρχου θάνατον, Ἀλκμαιωνίδαι, γένος ἐόντες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ φεύγοντες Πεισιστρατίδας, ἐπεί τε σφι ἅμα τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἀθηναίων φυγάσι πειρωμένοισι κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν οὐ προεχώρεε κάτοδος, ἀλλὰ προσέπταιον μεγάλως πειρώμενοι κατιέναι τε καὶ ἐλευθεροῦν τὰς Ἀθήνας, Λειψύδριον τὸ ὑπὲρ Παιονίης τειχίσαντες [153]· ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Ἀλκμαιωνίδαι πᾶν ἐπὶ τοῖσι Πεισιστρατίδῃσι μηχανώμενοι, παρ' Ἀμφικτυόνων τὸν νηὸν μισθοῦνται τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι, τὸν νῦν ἐόντα τότε δὲ οὔκω, τοῦτον ἐξοικοδομῆσαι [154]· οἷα δὲ χρημάτων εὖ

The Alcmæonidæ obtain influence with the Delphic oracle,

151 Ἀχαιΐης Δήμητρος ἱρόν τε καὶ ὄργια. This surname of Demeter came to be derived not from Achaia, but from ἄχος. She was "the mourning mother," whose daughter had been carried off by Hades, and who sorrowed in anger for her loss. PLUTARCH speaks of a ritual to her in Bœotia, which he compares with the Thesmophoria at Athens, where the women sat on the ground fasting. Ἐπαχθῆ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐκείνην ὀνομάζουσι, ὡς διὰ τὴν τῆς κόρης κάθοδον ἐν ἄχει τῆς Δήμητρος οὔσης. The month (corresponding to the *Athyr* of the Egyptians) in which this ceremony was performed was called by the Bœotians Δαμάτριος, from the goddess. (*De Iside et Osiride*, § 69.) To this anguish of the goddess allusion is probably made in an obscure passage of the *Homeric Hymn* (vv. 483—6):

——ἐπέφραδεν ὄργια καλά,
σεμνά, τά γ' οὔπως ἔστι παρεξίμεν, οὔτε πυθέσθαι
οὔτ' ἀχέειν· μέγα γάρ τι θεῶν ἄχος ἰσχάνει αὐδήν.

In this relation of Demeter she had a close affinity with *Erinys*.

152 ἐμπικραινομένου. See note 143, above.

153 Λειψύδριον τὸ ὑπὲρ Παιονίης τειχίσαντες. LEAKE places the site of the *deme* Παιονίδαι about three-quarters of a mile from the modern village of Menídhi, which name he considers a corruption of the ancient one. There are some ancient remains about sixty *stades* from the Acharnian gate of Athens; and about three or four miles to the north of these stands, "at the upper end of a long acclivity," a small monastery of St. Nicholas, which Leake regards as being on the site of the ancient Lipsydrium (although there are no vestiges of antiquity there). The object of the Alcmæonidæ in this ἐπιτειχισμὸς was to command the road which passed up the plain of Athens, and by which the communication with Oropus was carried on. Decelea was occupied by the Lacedæmonians during the Peloponnesian war for the same purpose, and with great effect; and Decelea is in Leake's map only about three or four miles from Lipsydrium, yet further northward. The walls of Decelea however remain, and DODWELL gives a drawing of them. Perhaps the Alcmæonids were baffled at the very beginning of their building; and this seems almost implied in the way Herodotus tells the story.

154 τοῦτον ἐξοικοδομῆσαι. The fund for repairing this temple was mainly raised by subscription. See what Herodotus relates (ii. 180) of the munificence of Amasis and of the Egyptian Greeks. The conduct of the Alcmæonids on the occasion of rebuilding it made them, according to PINDAR (*Pyth.* vii. 10), the theme of

ἥκοντες[155] καὶ ἐόντες ἄνδρες δόκιμοι ἀνέκαθεν[156] ἔτι, τόν τε νηὸν ἐξεργάσαντο τοῦ παραδείγματος κάλλιον, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ συγκειμένου σφι πωρίνου λίθου ποιέειν τὸν νηὸν, Παρίου τὰ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ ἐξεποίησαν.

63 Ὡς ὦν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι[157] λέγουσι, οὗτοι οἱ ἄνδρες ἐν Δελφοῖσι κατήμενοι ἀνέπειθον τὴν Πυθίην χρήμασι, ὅκως ἔλθοιεν Σπαρτιητέων ἄνδρες εἴτε ἰδίῳ στόλῳ εἴτε δημοσίῳ χρησόμενοι, προφέρειν σφι τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐλευθεροῦν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ, ὥς σφι αἰεὶ τὠυτὸ πρόφαντον ἐγένετο, πέμπουσι Ἀγχιμόλιον τὸν Ἀστέρος, ἐόντα τῶν ἀστῶν ἄνδρα δόκιμον, σὺν στρατῷ ἐξελῶντα Πεισιστρατίδας ἐξ Ἀθηνέων, ὅμως καὶ ξεινίους σφι ἐόντας τὰ μάλιστα· τὰ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ πρεσβύτερα ἐποιεῦντο ἢ τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν· πέμπουσι δὲ τούτους κατὰ θάλασσαν πλοίοισι. ὁ μὲν δὴ προσχὼν ἐς Φάληρον, τὴν στρατιὴν ἀπέβησε· οἱ δὲ Πεισιστρατίδαι προπυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα, ἐπεκαλέοντο ἐκ Θεσσαλίης ἐπικουρίην[158]· ἐπεποίητο γάρ σφι συμμαχίη πρὸς αὐτούς· Θεσσαλοὶ δέ σφι δεομένοισι ἀπέπεμψαν, κοινῇ γνώμῃ χρεώμενοι, χιλίην τε ἵππον καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τὸν σφέτερον Κινέην, ἄνδρα Κονιαῖον[159]· τοὺς ἐπεί τε ἔσχον συμμάχους οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι,

and bribe the priestess to deceive the Spartans into expelling the Pisistratids.

The first expedition for the purpose fails.

admiration in every Greek city. It is not wonderful if at the same time (as the *Scholiast* says) the Pisistratids were accused of having burnt it! See a parallel piece of scandal, below, vi. 115.

155 χρημάτων εὖ ἥκοντες. Herodotus (vi. 125, *seqq.*) gives an account of the rapid rise of the family, first by the wealth which Alcmæon obtained from Crœsus, and secondly by the marriage of his son Megacles to Agariste, the daughter and heiress of Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon. This Megacles was the rival of Pisistratus.

156 ἀνέκαθεν, "far back." This word is used by Herodotus with reference to things separated by a long interval from the ordinary transactions of the time at which he is writing. He says of these same Alcmæonids (vi. 125), ἦσαν μὲν καὶ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν λαμπροὶ ἐν τῇσι Ἀθήνῃσι· ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀλκμαίωνος καὶ αὖτις Μεγακλέος ἐγένοντο καὶ κάρτα λαμπροί. Of Miltiades: τὰ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν ἀπ᾽ Αἰακοῦ τε καὶ Αἰγίνης γεγονὼς, τὰ δὲ νεώτερα Ἀθηναῖος (vi. 35). Of Megistias the Acarnanian: λεγόμενον εἶναι τὰ ἀνέκαθεν ἀπὸ Μελάμποδος (vii. 221). Of the Pisistratids: ἐόντες ἀνέκαθεν Πύλιοί τε καὶ Νηλεΐδαι (v. 65). In all these cases the word points to the early and mythical period of the pedigrees. There is a somewhat analogous use of the word (iv. 57) applied to the fountains of the Tanais: ὃς ῥέει τὰ ἀνέκαθεν ἐκ λίμνης μεγάλης ὁρμεώμενος, ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς μέζω ἔτι λίμνην καλεομένην Μαιῆτιν. See below, note on § 66, Διΐ Καρίῳ.

157 Ὡς ὦν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. Schweighäuser considers that Λακεδαιμόνιοι is the true reading here. But there is no reason to suppose that either here or below (§ 90) the author is following a Lacedæmonian authority. On the contrary, in the latter passage, where the same statement is made, it seems highly probable that he is adopting the account of a person attached to one of the temples on the acropolis of Athens.

158 ἐκ Θεσσαλίης ἐπικουρίην. See note on vii. 6, below.

159 ἄνδρα Κονιαῖον. These words occasion some difficulty, as the only known town of the name of *Conium* is said to have been in Phrygia. Another reading, Γονναῖον (from Γόννοι, a town in the mountain pass on the northern bank of the Peneus, by which Xerxes entered Thessaly from Macedonia), has been proposed, with much plausibility.

ἐμηχανέατο [160] τοιάδε· κείραντες τῶν Φαληρέων τὸ πεδίον, καὶ ἱππάσιμον ποιήσαντες τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον, ἐπῆκαν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὴν ἵππον· ἐμπεσοῦσα δὲ διέφθειρε ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν Ἀγχιμόλιον, τοὺς δὲ περιγενομένους αὐτῶν ἐς τὰς νέας κατέρξαν. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος στόλος ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος οὕτω ἀπήλλαξε· καὶ Ἀγχιμολίου εἰσὶ ταφαὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς Ἀλωπεκῆσι, ἀγχοῦ τοῦ Ἡρακληΐου τοῦ ἐν Κυνοσάργεϊ [a]. Μετὰ 64 δὲ, Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέζω στόλον στείλαντες ἀπέπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, στρατηγὸν τῆς στρατιῆς ἀποδέξαντες βασιλέα Κλεομένεα τὸν Ἀναξανδρίδεω, οὐκέτι κατὰ θάλασσαν στείλαντες ἀλλὰ κατ' ἤπειρον. τοῖσι δὲ ἐσβαλοῦσι ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν χώρην ἡ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν ἵππος πρώτη προσέμιξε, καὶ οὐ μετὰ πολὺ ἐτράπετο· καί σφεων ἔπεσον ὑπὲρ τεσσεράκοντα ἄνδρας, οἱ δὲ περιγενόμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὡς εἶχον ἰθὺς ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίης. Κλεομένης δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἅμα Ἀθηναίων τοῖσι βουλομένοισι εἶναι ἐλευθέροισι, ἐπολιόρκεε τοὺς τυράννους ἀπεργμένους ἐν τῷ Πελασγικῷ [τείχεϊ [161]]. Καὶ οὐδέν τι πάντως ἂν ἐξεῖλον τοὺς Πεισι- 65

The second under Cleomenes succeeds.

[160] ἐμηχανέατο. This exceedingly anomalous form has the sanction of all the MSS; but, if it be genuine, it implies a present tense μηχάνομαι, of which there is no trace whatever. The present tense used by Herodotus is μηχανέομαι.

[a] τοῦ ἐν Κυνοσάργεϊ. Cynosarges was a spot very near the walls of Athens, where was a gymnasium and a temple of Heracles. Each of these was in later times itself called Cynosarges; but Herodotus (both here and in vi. 116) makes a distinction between the Heracleum and the district in which it stood. Leake fixes its site "at the foot of the S.E. extremity of Lycabettus, near the point where the arch of the aqueduct of Hadrian and Antoninus formerly stood." This would be nearly N.E. by E. of the Acropolis. He describes the spot as itself in the valley of the Ilissus, but close by rising ground from which a distant view of the road of Phalerum might be obtained. This rendered it an excellent position for the army after the battle of Marathon, when the Persian fleet, sailing round Sunium, menaced Athens.

It is not easy to understand the military movements as described in the text. The Lacedæmonian force, when arrived at Alopecæ, would be clear of the Phalerian plain, and indeed would have passed the city of Athens, from which Alopecæ was about eleven or twelve stades distant. If the defeat took place there, the Thessalian cavalry occupying the Phalerian plain would cut off the communication with their ships. The most natural course would then seem to have been to retreat upon Lipsydrium, if held by the Alcmæonidæ; and the march to Alopecæ, passing Athens by, seems to indicate an original intention of forming a junction with these. But if the fortifying of Lipsydrium was frustrated at the very beginning, and the appeal to the Delphic oracle did not take place till after the failure and the subsequent rebuilding of the temple at Delphi, this motive could not exist. Perhaps the object of the Lacedæmonians was to bring the Pisistratidæ to terms by destroying the crops in the plain of Athens; but this supposition, although it explains the position of the Lacedæmonians N.E. of Athens, does not remove the difficulty of the expression: τοὺς περιγενομένους ἐς τὰς νέας κατέρξαν, which is applicable to the case of an army driven *back* by an opposing enemy, not to one extricating itself by breaking *through* an intercepting force.

[161] ἐν τῷ Πελασγικῷ [τείχεϊ]. The

The Pisistratids retire to Sigeum.

στρατίδας οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· οὔτε γὰρ ἐπέδρην[162] ἐπενόεον ποιήσασθαι, οἵ τε Πεισιστρατίδαι σίτοισι καὶ ποτοῖσι εὖ παρεσκευάδατο· πολιορκήσαντές τε ἂν ἡμέρας ὀλίγας, ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην· νῦν δὲ συντυχίη τοῖσι μὲν κακὴ ἐπεγένετο, τοῖσι δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ αὕτη σύμμαχος· ὑπεκτιθέμενοι γὰρ ἔξω τῆς χώρης οἱ παῖδες τῶν Πεισιστρατιδέων ἥλωσαν· τοῦτο δὲ ὡς ἐγένετο, πάντα αὐτῶν τὰ πρήγματα συνετετάρακτο· παρέστησαν δὲ ἐπὶ μισθῷ τοῖσι τέκνοισι ἐπ' οἷσι ἐβούλοντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥστε ἐν πέντε ἡμέρῃσι ἐκχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς[163]· μετὰ δὲ, ἐξεχώρησαν ἐς Σίγειον τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ

word τείχεϊ has the support of all the MSS, and is given as genuine by Gaisford; but I am inclined to think it an interpolation. In the time of Herodotus and Thucydides τὸ Πελασγικὸν was used simply to denote the ancient fortification (attributed in the local traditions to the Pelasgians) which defended the acropolis of Athens at the N.W. extremity, by which alone the hill was accessible. They were related to have built a wall *round the whole acropolis* (vi. 137); but the steep character of the rock rendered any thing of the nature of a fortification unnecessary except at the N.W. angle. The Pelasgicum (*i.e.* the fortress) was entirely destroyed by the Persians when they obtained possession of Athens, and never rebuilt. A curse was laid upon it, and an oracle declared, τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἀργὸν ἄμεινον (Thucyd. ii. 17)—doubtless from the circumstance that it had served as a stronghold to the Pisistratids. The Propylæa built by Pericles just before the beginning of the Peloponnesian war supplied its place as a key of the approach to the acropolis; and it remained a mere ruin (inhabited during the Peloponnesian war by the poorer citizens from the country under the pressure of necessity). While it was a fortress it was, according to Leake's view (*Demi of Athens*, i. p. 311, seqq.), a series of enclosures with winding approaches, constructed on the principle of obliging an assailing force to expose their right or unshielded side to the defenders. He imagines the epithet ἐννεάπυλον to refer to the openings in these enclosures.

But after the battle of Eurymedon the wealth acquired by the Persian spoils enabled the Athenians to build up the south side of the acropolis with a *wall* (Plutarch, *Cimon*, § 13); and it is natural to suppose that the northern side was also repaired at the same time. Leake says that "in fact the substruction of the northern wing of the Propylæa has some appearance of being a part of the old Pelasgic wall; for its direction being more westerly than that of the wall which stands upon it, we may infer that it belonged to a different and more ancient system of works." In after times when the different parts of the works were compared with one another, it would be natural to call the one portion τὸ Πελασγικὸν τεῖχος and the other τὸ Κιμώνιον (or τὸ νότιον) τεῖχος; but this would be in an antiquarian sense, and would not defend the use of the expression by Herodotus or Thucydides. In this manner the notices of Clitodemus (*Fragm.* 22), of Pausanias (i. 28. 3), and of Myrsilus (*ap. Diog. Halicarn. Antiqq.* i. 28) may be explained without the necessity of supposing with Leake that the terms τὸ Πελασγικὸν and τὸ Πελασγικὸν τεῖχος denoted two distinct buildings.

162 ἐπέδρην. See note on § 41, ἔφεδρον βασιλέα.

163 παρέστησαν . . . ἐκχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς. "They submitted, as the price of their children, on the conditions the Athenians wished; namely, within five days to evacuate Attica." The important part played by the Lacedæmonians in the expulsion of the Pisistratids was well remembered by the Athenian people. Thucydides (vi. 53) mentions it as a painful subject with them at the time of the mutilation of the Hermæ: ἐπιστάμενος γὰρ ὁ δῆμος ἀκοῇ τὴν Πισιστράτου καὶ τῶν παίδων τυραννίδα χαλεπὴν τελευτῶσαν γενομένην, καὶ προσέτι οὐδ' ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ Ἁρμοδίου καταλυθεῖσαν ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐφοβεῖτο ἀεί. Hence they were not unwilling to give ear to more flattering representations of the case. (See note on i. 63.) And undoubtedly very different traditions existed on the subject. This is expressly

Σκαμάνδρῳ[164]. ἄρξαντες μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἐπ' ἔτεα ἕξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα[165], ἐόντες δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἀνέκαθεν Πύλιοί τε καὶ Νηλεῖδαι[166], ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν γεγονότες καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Κόδρον τε καὶ Μέλανθον, οἳ πρότερον ἐπήλυδες ἐόντες, ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίων βασιλέες. ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ καὶ τὠυτὸ οὔνομα ἀπεμνημόνευσε Ἱπποκράτης τῷ παιδὶ θέσθαι, τὸν Πεισίστρατον, ἐπὶ τοῦ Νέστορος Πεισιστράτου ποιεύμενος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην. οὕτω μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι τυράννων ἀπαλλάχθησαν· ὅσα δὲ ἐλευθερωθέντες ἔρξαν ἢ ἔπαθον ἀξιόχρεα ἀπηγήσιος, πρὶν ἢ Ἰωνίην τε ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ Δαρείου καὶ Ἀρισταγόρεα τὸν Μιλήσιον ἀπικόμενον ἐς Ἀθήνας χρῆσαι σφέων βοηθέειν, ταῦτα πρῶτα φράσω.

Ἀθῆναι ἐοῦσαι καὶ πρὶν μεγάλαι, τότε ἀπαλλαχθεῖσαι 66
τυράννων ἐγίνοντο μέζονες· ἐν δὲ αὐτῇσι δύο ἄνδρες ἐδυνάστευον, Κλεισθένης τε, ἀνὴρ Ἀλκμαιωνίδης, ὅσπερ δὴ λόγον ἔχει τὴν

Contests at Athens between Clisthenes and Isagoras.

remarked by Thucydides (vi. 54), who relates the incident of the assassination of Hipparchus at full length, showing, as he says, *οὔτε τοὺς ἄλλους οὔτε αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίους περὶ τῶν σφετέρων τυράννων οὐδὲ περὶ τοῦ γενομένου ἀκριβὲς οὐδὲν λέγοντας*. See the next note but one.

[164] *ἐς Σίγειον τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Σκαμάνδρῳ.* See note on v. 94.

[165] *ἄρξαντες μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἐπ' ἔτεα ἕξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα.* This is in very fair conformity with the statement of ARISTOTLE (*Politic.* v. 1315), that of the space of thirty-three years which intervened between Pisistratus's accession to the tyranny and his death, two exiles took up as much as sixteen years, and that after his death his sons reigned eighteen. Thus we have 18 + 17 = 35 complete years for the duration of the actual power of the dynasty. But it is singular that the *Scholiast on Aristophanes* (*Vesp.* 502) should, while quoting this passage, give ARISTOPHANES (the Alexandrine grammarian) as an authority for the tyranny having lasted *forty-one* years. ISOCRATES, too (*De Bigis*, p. 351), makes his client represent it as continuing for *forty* years, and as terminated by the expulsion of the tyrants under the leadership of his father's two great-grandfathers Alcibiades and Clisthenes. To bring these two notices into harmony with the chronology of Aristotle, and the statements of Herodotus and ERATOSTHENES (*ap. Schol. Aristoph.* l. c.), by supposing (as CLINTON does) that the *second* exile of Pisistratus is left out of consideration, is a perfectly arbitrary proceeding. A better solution of the difference seems to be this. The Alcmæonids in after times appear to have thought it better to say nothing about the first period of Pisistratus's tyranny or the compact between the two families related by Herodotus (i. 60, 61), but to represent his arbitrary proceedings as the *beginning* of the feud between the two families. This is the course taken by the client of Isocrates, who says of his Alcmæonid ancestors: *τὴν εὔνοιαν ἣν εἶχον εἰς τὸ πλῆθος ἐν τοῖς τυραννικοῖς ἐπεδείξαντο· συγγενεῖς γὰρ ὄντες Πεισιστράτου, καὶ πρὶν εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστῆναι μάλιστ' αὐτῷ χρώμενοι τῶν πολιτῶν, οὐκ ἠξίωσαν μετασχεῖν τῆς ἐκείνου τυραννίδος, ἀλλ' εἵλοντο φυγεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς πολίτας ἰδεῖν δουλεύοντας.* See note 213 on i. 63. If this be the correct solution of the chronological differences, it follows (1st), that the marriage of Pisistratus with the daughter of Megacles (see note 203 on i. 61) will have taken place about B.C. 550 or 551; and if Hippias was then fifteen years old, he would be seventy-five or seventy-six at the time of the battle of Marathon. 2ndly, It is *unlikely* that in his account of the Pisistratid revolution Herodotus is following a family history of the Alcmæonids.

[166] *ἐόντες δὲ καὶ οὗτοι . . . Νηλεῖδαι.* See the note 204 on § 76.

Πυθίην ἀναπεῖσαι, καὶ Ἰσαγόρης ὁ Τισάνδρου,· οἰκίης μὲν ἐὼν δοκίμου, ἀτὰρ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι· θύουσι δὲ οἱ συγγενέες αὐτοῦ Διὶ Καρίῳ[167]. οὗτοι οἱ ἄνδρες ἐστασίασαν περὶ δυνάμιος· ἑσσούμενος δὲ ὁ Κλεισθένης, τὸν δῆμον προσεταιρίζεται. μετὰ δὲ, τετραφύλους ἐόντας Ἀθηναίους δεκαφύλους ἐποίησε, τῶν Ἴωνος παίδων, Γελέοντος καὶ Αἰγικόρεος καὶ Ἀργάδεω καὶ Ὅπλητος, ἀπαλλάξας τὰς ἐπωνυμίας, ἐπιχωρίων δ' ἑτέρων ἡρώων ἐπωνυμίας ἐξευρὼν, πάρεξ Αἴαντος[168]· τοῦτον δὲ ἅτε ἀστυγείτονα καὶ σύμμαχον, ξεῖνον ἐόντα προσέθετο.

Revolution effected by the former,

67 Ταῦτα δὲ, δοκέειν ἐμοὶ, ἐμιμέετο ὁ Κλεισθένης οὗτος τὸν ἑωυτοῦ μητροπάτορα, Κλεισθένεα τὸν Σικυῶνος τύραννον· Κλεισθένης γὰρ Ἀργείοισι πολεμήσας[169], τοῦτο μὲν ῥαψῳδοὺς ἔπαυσε ἐν

in which he imitates his maternal grandfather

[167] θύουσι δὲ οἱ συγγενέες αὐτοῦ Διὶ Καρίῳ. Herodotus gives this fact as a kind of clue to the early pedigree of Isagoras, because the traditions relative to τὰ ἀνέκαθεν were in almost all cases connected with religious commemoration of the eponymous ancestor. See note 156, above. The Ζεὺς Κάριος here mentioned is not the deity spoken of by Herodotus (v. 119) under the name of Ζεὺς Στράτιος, but a Pelasgic divinity, whose seat was on the acropolis of Megara (anciently called Καρία. STEPH. BYZ. *sub voce*), probably nearly identical with Poseidon, and also with the Ζεὺς Κάριος near Mylasa (i. 171). Isagoras therefore is so far from being represented as of barbarian extraction, that this intimation rather describes him as of very old family; his tutelary deity being autochthonous, and his family ritual being derived from the time when the Megarid was Ionian. (See the note 203 on § 76.) That he should have been of Megarian extraction is rendered further probable by the circumstance that he kept up the feud of Cylon (below, §§ 71, 72), and Cylon had married the daughter of Theagenes, tyrant of Megara. (PAUSANIAS, i. 28. 1.)

[168] πάρεξ Αἴαντος. Ajax was the tutelary hero of Salamis, and it seems not unlikely that the incorporation of many Salaminians into the body of Athenian citizens was one of the steps. He was also a hero acknowledged by the Æginetans; and the commercial activity of those islanders might very well have produced the residence of a considerable number of them at Athens, where their legal condition would be that of Metics, or resident free aliens. Now one particular act of Clisthenes was, if the right interpretation be given to an obscure passage of ARISTOTLE (*Politic.* iii. p. 1275, *b*, line 36) to give the civic franchise to many resident aliens, and to free many slaves, thereby putting them in the condition of free resident aliens: πολλοὺς ἐφυλέτευσε (= ἀστοὺς ἐποίησε) ξένους καὶ δούλους μετοίκους. Under these circumstances Ajax was an appropriate patron for a φυλὴ which was intended to comprise a commercial population, consisting (it might be expected), in a large part of Salaminians and Æginetans. See the note 176, below.

[169] Κλεισθένης γὰρ Ἀργείοισι πολεμήσας. ARISTOTLE (*Politic.* v. p. 1315, *b*, line 12) states that the dynasty of Orthagoras and his descendants at Sicyon was that of longest duration known (viz. 100 years), and gives as the reason of this: ὅτι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐχρῶντο μετρίως, καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς νόμοις ἐδούλευον· καὶ διὰ τὸ πολεμικὸς γενέσθαι Κλεισθένης οὐκ ἦν εὐκαταφρόνητος. He then adds: καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις ἐδημαγώγουν, and tells an anecdote of Clisthenes illustrative of the fact. PAUSANIAS (vi. 19) gives an account of the treasure-house of the Sicyonians at Olympia, put up by Myron, the grandfather of Clisthenes (see the pedigree in vi. 126, below), on the occasion of his winning the chariot-race in the thirty-third Olympiad. It contained two θάλαμοι of "Tartessian brass" according to the tradition of the Eleans; but what this brass exactly was, beyond a conjec-

Σικυῶνι ἀγωνίζεσθαι τῶν Ὁμηρείων ἐπέων εἵνεκα, ὅτι Ἀργεῖοί τε καὶ Ἄργος τὰ πολλὰ πάντα[170] ὑμνέαται· τοῦτο δὲ, ἡρῷον γὰρ ἦν καὶ ἔστι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀγορῇ τῶν Σικυωνίων Ἀδρήστου τοῦ Ταλαοῦ, τοῦτον ἐπεθύμησε ὁ Κλεισθένης, ἐόντα Ἀργεῖον, ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς χώρης· ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς Δελφοὺς, ἐχρηστηριάζετο εἰ ἐκβάλλῃ[171] τὸν Ἄδρηστον; ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρᾷ φᾶσα, Ἄδρηστον μὲν εἶναι Σικυωνίων βασιλέα, ἐκεῖνον δὲ λευστῆρα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ θεὸς τοῦτό γε οὐ παρεδίδου, ἀπελθὼν ὀπίσω ἐφρόντιζε μηχανὴν τῇ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἄδρηστος ἀπαλλάξεται· ὡς δέ οἱ ἐξευρῆσθαι ἐδόκεε, πέμψας ἐς Θήβας τὰς Βοιωτίας ἔφη θέλειν ἐπαγαγέσθαι Μελάνιππον τὸν Ἀστακοῦ· οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἔδοσαν· ἐπαγαγόμενος δὲ ὁ Κλεισθένης τὸν Μελάνιππον, τέμενός οἱ ἀπέδεξε ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πρυτανηΐῳ, καί μιν ἵδρυσε ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῷ ἰσχυροτάτῳ· ἐπηγάγετο δὲ τὸν Μελάνιππον ὁ Κλεισθένης, (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο δεῖ ἀπηγήσασθαι,) ὡς ἔχθιστον ἐόντα Ἀδρήστῳ· ὃς τόν τε ἀδελφεόν οἱ Μηκιστέα ἀπεκτόνεε καὶ τὸν γαμβρὸν Τυδέα· ἐπεί τε δέ οἱ τὸ τέμενος ἀπέδεξε, θυσίας τε καὶ ὁρτὰς Ἀδρήστου ἀπελόμενος ἔδωκε τῷ Μελανίππῳ[172]. οἱ δὲ

Clisthenes of Sicyon, who showed the greatest dislike to Argos in his religious preferences and his treatment of the Dorian population of Sicyon.

ture that it came from Spain, Pausanias professes not to know. The smaller of the two chambers, however, took five hundred talents weight of metal, and this circumstance was recorded in the inscription on it, which also represented it as being set up by "Myron *and the commons* of the Sicyonians." One of the two chambers was, according to Pausanias, of Dorian and the other of Ionian manufacture. The smaller one contained a trophy "from the Myones," and also "the hunting-knife of Pelops, with the handle of wrought gold, and a carved ivory horn of Amalthea, the offering of Miltiades, son of Cimon, the first ruler of the Chersonese." The Sicyon in which Clisthenes reigned was the *town on the coast*, which afterwards served only as the harbour to the new one, distant from twelve to twenty stadia. (PAUSAN. ii. 8. 1; STRABO, viii. 6.) All these circumstances are favourable to the supposition that the dynasty of Orthagoras was one of a powerful house in a commercial republic; and such a supposition will explain the contempt with which Clisthenes is said to have treated the rural population of the Sicyonian territory, whose sheepskin garb (which he was reported to have obliged them to wear, and from whence they got the name of κατανακόφοροι) made them ashamed to come into the city. (THEOPOMPUS, *ap. Athen.* vi. p. 265.)

[170] πολλὰ πάντα. This appears to be the union of two various readings, πολλὰ and πάντα. EUSTATHIUS (*ad Il.* ii. p. 288) quotes the passage thus: διότι Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Ἄργος τὰ πολλὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑμνοῦνται. A transcriber collating a MS containing the first of the two readings with another that gave the second, and recollecting τὰ πολλὰ πάντα in i. 203 and ii. 35, probably believed that the two variants were to be reconciled by uniting them, from a false understanding of the idiom in the passages in question. With regard to the "Homeric poems," see note 99 on iv. 32. The author's remark is quite inapplicable to the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*.

[171] ἐκβάλλῃ. Gaisford with all the MSS has ἐκβάλοι. But compare εἰ στρατεύηται, i. 75.

[172] θυσίας τε καὶ ὁρτὰς . . . ἔδωκε τῷ Μελανίππῳ. The substantial effect of this move would be to confiscate the property of one hierarchy and with it to endow another, the former being one connected with Argos, the other with Thebes. It must be remembered that at the time in question religious rituals were in almost all cases performed by functionaries whose

Σικυώνιοι ἐώθεσαν μεγαλωστὶ κάρτα τιμᾶν τὸν Ἄδρηστον· ἡ γὰρ χώρη ἦν αὕτη Πολύβου· ὁ δὲ Ἄδρηστος ἦν Πολύβου θυγατριδέος· ἄπαις δὲ Πόλυβος τελευτῶν διδοῖ Ἀδρήστῳ τὴν ἀρχήν. τά τε δὴ ἄλλα οἱ Σικυώνιοι ἐτίμων τὸν Ἄδρηστον, καὶ δὴ πρὸς, τὰ πάθεα αὐτοῦ τραγικοῖσι χοροῖσι ἐγέραιρον, τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον οὐ τιμέοντες, τὸν δὲ Ἄδρηστον· Κλεισθένης δὲ χοροὺς μὲν τῷ Διονύσῳ ἀπέδωκε, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην θυσίην τῷ Μελανίππῳ. ταῦτα μὲν ἐς
68 *Ἄδρηστόν οἱ πεποίητο. Φυλὰς δὲ τὰς Δωριέων, ἵνα δὴ μὴ αἱ αὐταὶ ἔωσι τοῖσι Σικυωνίοισι καὶ τοῖσι Ἀργείοισι, μετέβαλε ἐς ἄλλα οὐνόματα· ἔνθα καὶ πλεῖστον κατεγέλασε τῶν Σικυωνίων*[173]*· ἐπὶ γὰρ ὑός τε καὶ ὄνου τὰς ἐπωνυμίας μετατιθεὶς, αὐτὰ τὰ τελευταῖα ἐπέθηκε*[174]*, πλὴν τῆς ἑωυτοῦ φυλῆς· ταύτῃ δὲ τὸ οὔνομα ἀπὸ τῆς ἑωυτοῦ ἀρχῆς ἔθετο. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ Ἀρχέλαοι ἐκαλέοντο· ἕτεροι δὲ, Ὑᾶται· ἄλλοι δὲ, Ὀνεᾶται· ἕτεροι δὲ Χοιρεᾶται. τούτοισι τοῖσι οὐνόμασι τῶν φυλέων ἐχρέωντο οἱ Σικυώνιοι καὶ ἐπὶ Κλεισθένεος ἄρχοντος, καὶ ἐκείνου τεθνεῶτος ἔτι ἐπ᾽ ἔτεα ἑξήκοντα· μετέπειτα μέντοι λόγον σφίσι δόντες, μετέβαλον ἐς τοὺς Ὑλλέας καὶ Παμφύλους καὶ Δυμανάτας*[175]*· τετάρτους δὲ αὐτοῖσι προσέθεντο ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀδρήστου παιδὸς Αἰγιαλέος, τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ποιεύμενοι κεκλῆσθαι Αἰγιαλέας.*

69 *Ταῦτα μέν νυν ὁ Σικυώνιος Κλεισθένης ἐπεποιήκεε. ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἀθηναῖος Κλεισθένης, ἐὼν τοῦ Σικυωνίου τούτου θυγατριδέος καὶ τὸ οὔνομα ἐπὶ τούτου ἔχων, δοκέειν ἐμοὶ, καὶ οὗτος ὑπεριδὼν Ἴωνας, ἵνα μή σφισι αἱ αὐταὶ ἔωσι φυλαὶ καὶ Ἴωσι, τὸν ὁμώνυ-*

The Athenian Clisthenes imitates his ancestor

office was hereditary in certain families. The measure of Clisthenes therefore was part of his general policy to depress the Dorian blood, by destroying the splendour of the religious ceremonies in which that portion of the population took part, and thus weakening the bond which held them together. See the next note, and the passage from Aristotle quoted in note 176, below.

173 *ἔνθα καὶ πλεῖστον κατεγέλασε τῶν Σικυωνίων.* It is difficult to imagine that the names said to be assigned by Clisthenes to the three tribes were any thing more than *soubriquets* given by a commercial aristocracy to the agricultural population. Sicyon possessed a population partly Dorian and partly Achæan; and the dynasty of the Orthagorids under Clisthenes represents the predominance of the latter. Sixty years after Clisthenes' death it may be supposed that the balance was restored, and that the rural tribes acquired an importance which enabled them to rid themselves of their contumelious nicknames. The Hylles, Dymanes, and Pamphyli are the well-known tribes into which nearly every Dorian population was divided; and it is impossible to conceive that they did not exist in Sicyon from the time of the Heraclide invasion.

174 *αὐτὰ τὰ τελευταῖα ἐπέθηκε*, "He subjoined the actual terminations."

175 *ἐς τοὺς Ὑλλέας*, "the *well-known* names Hylles," &c. So much is indicated by the article *τούς*. See the note 173.

μον Κλεισθένεα ἐμιμήσατο[176]. ὡς γὰρ δὴ τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον
πρότερον ἀπωσμένον τότε πάντα πρὸς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ μοῖραν προσ-
εθήκατο, τὰς φυλὰς μετωνόμασε καὶ ἐποίησε πλεῦνας ἐξ ἐλασ-
σόνων· δέκα τε δὴ φυλάρχους ἀντὶ τεσσέρων ἐποίησε, δέκα δὲ καὶ
τοὺς δήμους κατένεμε ἐς τὰς φυλάς[179]· ἦν τε, τὸν δῆμον προσθέ-
μενος, πολλῷ κατύπερθε τῶν ἀντιστασιωτέων. Ἐν τῷ μέρεϊ δὲ 70
ἑσσούμενος ὁ Ἰσαγόρης, ἀντιτεχνᾶται τάδε· ἐπικαλέεται Κλεο-
μένεα τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον, γενόμενον ἑωυτῷ ξεῖνον ἀπὸ τῆς Πεισι-
στρατιδέων πολιορκίης· τὸν δὲ Κλεομένεα εἶχε αἰτίη φοιτᾶν παρὰ
τοῦ Ἰσαγόρεω τὴν γυναῖκα. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα πέμπων ὁ Κλεο-
μένης ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας κήρυκα, ἐξέβαλλε[180] Κλεισθένεα, καὶ μετ'
αὐτοῦ ἄλλους πολλοὺς Ἀθηναίων τοὺς ἐναγέας ἐπιλέγων ταῦτα.

in changing the old divisions, and altering their names.

His rival Isagoras tries to win over the Spartans through Cleomenes.

[176] *τὸν ὁμώνυμον Κλεισθένεα ἐμιμήσατο.* ARISTOTLE (*Politic.* vi. p. 1319, *b*, line 20) instances the proceedings of Clisthenes at Athens and those of the authors of the constitution at Cyrene (see iv. 161), as well exhibiting the methods of securing the elements of democracy, and thus describes these: *φυλαί τε γὰρ ἕτεραι ποιητέαι πλείους καὶ φρατρίαι, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἱερῶν συνακτέον εἰς ὀλίγα καὶ κοινά, καὶ πάντα σοφιστέον ὅπως ἂν ὅτι μάλιστα ἀναμιχθῶσι πάντες ἀλλήλοις, αἱ δὲ συνήθειαι διαζευχθῶσιν αἱ πρότερον.* It is plain, therefore, that the formation of new religious combinations was a point in which he "imitated his grandfather;" and hence the necessity for taking in a number of the *ἐπιχώριοι ἥρωες* (§ 66). Under the old régime there would be two relations to which the sanctity derived from religious rites would especially attach, the one the *συγγένεια* or quasi-family tie, the other the tie of the tribesman (*φυλέτης*), strengthened by those religious rites in which the members of the same *φυλή* (or its subdivision, the *φρατρία*) joined. But besides these *family rituals*, there were very many others which may be called *local rituals;* i. e. containing the religious ceremonies (*τιμαί*) which were due to the tutelary deity of each particular spot, who was always regarded as, in a manner, *ascriptus glebæ*. (See note 181, below.) Judging from Aristotle's description, we may conceive that a main part of Clisthenes' scheme consisted in a judicious union of several of these *local rituals*, forming a new ceremonial for a newly-constituted tribe. By such a step this change would be effected, that the new ritual would call up mainly local instead of family associations,—which last, being no longer refreshed by an union of families in the periodical ceremonial of the tribe, would continually become more enfeebled. On the other hand the new bond of union would every day acquire greater strength, and before long effectually take the place of that which had been destroyed.

[179] *δέκα . . . . ἐς τὰς φυλάς.* These words appear to be a marginal note, although perhaps one proceeding from the hand of the author, intended merely as a memorandum for himself of a matter to be more fully developed at leisure. This supposition will explain the looseness of the expression *δέκα δὲ καὶ τοὺς δήμους κατένεμε ἐς τὰς φυλάς,*—which seems intended to mean "he distributed the demes among the tribes *by tens*." A good deal of difficulty is occasioned by the circumstance that many more demes than one hundred are known to have existed. But it is possible that two or more of these may often have been regarded as one for Clisthenes' purpose; and Herodotus's words hardly show more than that a decimal subdivision formed the basis of the arrangement. The *φύλαρχος*, according to ARISTOTLE (*ap. Harpocration., sub v.*), was not the chief of the *φυλή*, but of *its cavalry*.

[180] *ἐξέβαλλε*, "wished to expel." For illustration of this use of the imperfect tense, see the passage of ARISTOPHANES quoted in the note 206 on § 77, below.

δὲ πέμπων ἔλεγε ἐκ διδαχῆς τοῦ Ἰσαγόρεω· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀλκ-
μαιωνίδαι καὶ οἱ συστασιῶται αὐτῶν εἶχον αἰτίην τοῦ φόνου τού-
71 του· αὐτὸς δὲ οὐ μετεῖχε, οὐδ' οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ. Οἱ δ' ἐναγέες[181]
Cylon's massacre. Ἀθηναίων ὧδε ὠνομάσθησαν· ἦν Κύλων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ
Ὀλυμπιονίκης[182]· οὗτος ἐπὶ τυραννίδι ἐκόμησε· προσποιησάμενος
δὲ ἑταιρηΐην τῶν ἡλικιωτέων καταλαβεῖν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπειρήθη·
οὐ δυνάμενος δὲ ἐπικρατῆσαι, ἱκέτης ἵζετο πρὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα[183]·
τούτους ἀνιστέασι μὲν οἱ πρυτάνις τῶν Ναυκράρων, οἵπερ ἔνεμον
τότε τὰς Ἀθήνας, ὑπεγγύους πλὴν θανάτου[184]· φονεῦσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς
αἰτίη ἔχει Ἀλκμαιωνίδας. ταῦτα πρὸ τῆς Πεισιστράτου ἡλικίης
ἐγένετο.

72 Κλεομένης δὲ ὡς πέμπων ἐξέβαλλε[185] Κλεισθένεα καὶ τοὺς

[181] *οἱ ἐναγέες.* The city was lustrated by Epimenides, under the auspices of Solon, in order to do away with the effects of this ἄγος. (Plutarch, *Solon*, § 12, apparently following Theopompus.) For fear of inadvertently omitting any local deity or hero whose wrath might have been excited, Epimenides turned some sheep loose, and ordered that wherever one of them lay down, it should be sacrificed τῷ προσήκοντι θεῷ. (Diogenes Laertius, i. § 110). Hence there arose several nameless altars with the inscription which struck St. Paul's attention many centuries afterwards (*Acts* xvii. 23). This lustration is placed by Diogenes (who throughout seems to follow Eratosthenes and Apollodorus's chronology) in the forty-sixth or forty-seventh Olympiad.

[182] *ἀνὴρ Ὀλυμπιονίκης.* The victory which he obtained was for a foot-race: διαύλου νίκην. (Pausanias, i. 28. 1.)

[183] *πρὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα.* Thucydides, who tells the story of Cylon far more circumstantially (i. 126), says that Cylon and his brother escaped, but that the remainder of the conspirators καθίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει. The deity, whose image or altar was resorted to by the suppliants, was *Athene Polias*. Her temple was united with that of *Erectheus*, the Athenian Poseidon. (Hesych. *sub v.*)

[184] *ὑπεγγύους πλὴν θανάτου.* This is a very elliptical and almost colloquial phrase. Herodotus obviously means to say that they surrendered under the condition to submit to whatever might be adjudged 'short of death.' Thucydides's account of the terms is: ἐφ' ᾧ μηδὲν κακὸν ποιήσουσι. Plutarch's (*Solon*. § 12), that the suppliants delivered themselves up for trial (ἐπὶ δίκῃ κατῆλθον), but, probably from fear of what might happen, still saved their sanctuary by laying hold of a string which they had attached to the base of the image. These accounts may be all reconciled by the supposition of an understanding having been entered into, that in the event of condemnation the prisoners should be allowed to banish themselves from Athens. It seems not improbable that the account given by Thucydides is the one traditionally preserved in the family of Miltiades, and that this family was not unfriendly to Cylon's party. Plutarch states that the party afterwards recovered much influence, and that an hereditary animosity was kept up in it against the descendants of Megacles. Now after the Persian war the opposition to the latter was undoubtedly led by Miltiades's family. Hence perhaps Thucydides, one of that family, may have been led to use the phrase he does, which puts the breach of faith on the part of the Alcmæonids in the strongest light. Herodotus, on the other hand, probably follows the local traditions of the acropolis, which he presently speaks of having visited (§ 77), and in which the fact of the illegal bloodshed—which constituted the ἄγος—would be the point most prominently put forward, the merits of the two contending factions being, in a religious view, of secondary importance. The chronology of the whole narrative is extremely loose, and such as might be expected from an oral temple tradition. See notes 191, 197, and 212, below.

[185] *ἐξέβαλλε.* Gaisford ἐξέβαλε.

ἐναγέας, Κλεισθένης μὲν αὐτὸς ὑπεξέσχε[186]. μετὰ δὲ, οὐδὲν ἧσσον παρῆν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ὁ Κλεομένης οὐ σὺν μεγάλῃ χειρὶ, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἀγηλατέει ἑπτακόσια ἐπίστια[187] Ἀθηναίων, τά οἱ ὑπέθετο ὁ Ἰσαγόρης· ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας, δεύτερα τὴν βουλὴν καταλύειν ἐπειρᾶτο, τριηκοσίοισι δὲ τοῖσι Ἰσαγόρεω στασιώτῃσι τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐνεχείριζε. ἀντισταθείσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ οὐ βουλομένης πείθεσθαι, ὅ τε Κλεομένης καὶ ὁ Ἰσαγόρης καὶ οἱ στασιῶται αὐτοῦ καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν· Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ λοιποὶ, τὰ αὐτὰ φρονήσαντες ἐπολιόρκεον αὐτοὺς ἡμέρας δύο· τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ὑπόσπονδοι ἐξέρχονται ἐκ τῆς χώρης ὅσοι ἦσαν αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἐπετελέετο δὲ τῷ Κλεομένεϊ ἡ φήμη· ὡς γὰρ ἀνέβη ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν μέλλων δὴ αὐτὴν κατασχήσειν, ἤϊε ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον τῆς θεοῦ[188] ὡς προσερέων· ἡ δὲ ἱρηΐη ἐξαναστᾶσα ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου πρὶν ἢ τὰς θύρας αὐτὸν ἀμεῖψαι, εἶπε· "ὦ ξεῖνε Λακεδαιμόνιε, πάλιν χώρει, μηδ' ἔσιθι ἐς τὸ ἱρόν· οὐ γὰρ θεμιτὸν Δωριεῦσι παριέναι ἐνθαῦτα·" ὁ δὲ εἶπε· "ὦ γύναι, ἀλλ' οὐ Δωριεύς εἰμι ἀλλ' Ἀχαιός[189]." ὁ μὲν δὴ τῇ κλεηδόνι οὐδὲν χρεώμενος, ἐπεχείρησέ τε καὶ τότε πάλιν ἐξέπιπτε μετὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων· τοὺς

Cleomenes attempts a coup d'état at Athens, and is driven out of the city,

after a bad omen.

[186] ὑπεξέσχε. Herodotus uses this word in vi. 74 and viii. 132, and in all cases it seems designed to express voluntary banishment, perhaps antecedently to any formal proceeding.

[187] ἑπτακόσια ἐπίστια, "seven hundred hearth-fulls," *i. e.* families. This expression is most appropriate to a religious procedure,—as the fire on the hearth of the individual citizen, lighted originally from the sacred fire in the Prytaneium, symbolized the participation of the family in the national life. To put out for ever the hearth-fire was therefore considered as equivalent to the cutting off a diseased member of the body politic. See the Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, sub voce *Prytaneium.*

[188] ἤϊε ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον τῆς θεοῦ. On the highest hill at Sparta stood the temple of Athene πολιοσσοῦχος (called also χαλκίοικος from the bronze walls of the fane). This temple was said to have been commenced by Tyndareus, and after his death continued by the Dioscuri, but it was not completed till long afterwards. (PAUSANIAS iii. 17. 2.) The Achæan population, which the Dorian invaders found in Laconia (see the next note), had, like the Athenians, legends connecting Athene with Poseidon, and these were exhibited by reliefs in this very temple. In others also at Sparta there was a joint dedication to the two deities. (PAUSAN. iii. 11. 9; iii. 12. 5.) Hence, finding the same combination of religious symbols to which he had been accustomed, the Spartan king had no scruple in entering.

[189] οὐ Δωριεύς εἰμι ἀλλ' Ἀχαιός. By these words Cleomenes indicates his descent not from the Heraclide invaders of the Peloponnese, but from the Achæan Tyndarids who retained possession of Amyclæ and Therapnæ, and for a long time successfully resisted them. (See PAUSANIAS, iii. 2. 6; iii. 12. 9.) MÜLLER (*Orchomenus*, p. 319) collects the evidence which proves the existence of Achæans (mixed with Minyeans) in this part of the Peloponnese, long after the date usually assigned to the Dorian invasion. He even conjectures that Amyclæ is the town which Homer calls Lacedæmon. See the note 221 on i. 66, and note 100, above.

δὲ ἄλλους Ἀθηναῖοι κατέδησαν τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ· ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖσι καὶ Τιμησίθεον τὸν Δελφὸν, τοῦ ἔργα χειρῶν [190] τε καὶ λήματος ἔχοιμ' ἂν μέγιστα καταλέξαι. οὗτοι μέν νυν δεδεμένοι ἐτελεύτησαν [191].

73 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα Κλεισθένεα καὶ τὰ ἑπτακόσια ἐπίστια τὰ διωχθέντα ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος μεταπεμψάμενοι, πέμπουσι ἀγγέλους ἐς Σάρδις συμμαχίην βουλόμενοι ποιήσασθαι πρὸς Πέρσας· ἠπιστέατο γάρ σφι Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ Κλεομένεα ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι· ἀπικομένων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐς τὰς Σάρδις καὶ λεγόντων τὰ ἐντεταλμένα, Ἀρταφέρνης ὁ Ὑστάσπεος [192], Σαρδίων ὕπαρχος, ἐπειρώτα τίνες ἐόντες ἄνθρωποι καὶ κῇ γῆς οἰκημένοι [193] δεοίατο Περσέων σύμμαχοι γενέσθαι; πυθόμενος δὲ πρὸς τῶν ἀγγέλων, ἀπεκορύφου σφι τάδε [194]· εἰ μὲν διδοῦσι βασιλέϊ Δαρείῳ Ἀθηναῖοι γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, ὁ δὲ συμμαχίην σφι συνετίθετο· εἰ δὲ μὴ διδοῦσι, ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευε· οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλόμενοι διδόναι ἔφασαν, βουλόμενοι τὴν συμμαχίην ποιήσασθαι. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἀπελθόντες ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῶν, αἰτίας μεγάλας εἶχον.

The Athenians in fear of the anger of Sparta apply to the Persian court.

74 Κλεομένης δὲ ἐπιστάμενος περιϋβρίσθαι ἔπεσι καὶ ἔργοισι [195]

190 ἔργα χειρῶν. PAUSANIAS (vi. 8. 6) speaks of a statue of this Timesitheus at Olympia, where he won two victories as a pancratiast. He obtained the same distinction three times in the Pythian games. Pausanias says that the statue is by Agelades the Argive; and if this assertion is well founded, it probably was seen by Herodotus.

191 οὗτοι μέν νυν δεδεμένοι ἐτελεύτησαν. The SCHOLIAST *on Aristophanes* (*Lysistr.* 273) says that after the unsuccessful occupation of Eleusis (which Herodotus relates § 74) the Athenians confiscated the property of those Athenians who had joined him in the attempt, rased their houses to the ground, and passed sentence of death against themselves, καὶ ἀναγράψαντες ἐν στήλῃ χαλκῇ, ἔστησαν ἐν πόλει παρὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον νεών. It seems not unlikely that the column in question is the basis for the assertion in the text. The parties were *in law* dead; hence the expression κατέδησαν τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, and it was only to be expected that the occupation of the acropolis would soon, in popular tradition, be regarded as the crime for which they suffered. See the note 202 on § 76.

192 Ἀρταφέρνης ὁ Ὑστάσπεος. See above, v. 25. 30.

193 ἐπειρώτα τίνες ἐόντες ἄνθρωποι καὶ κῇ γῆς οἰκημένοι. This question indicates that the power of Athens at that time must have been very small. On the other hand that of Naxos must have been considerable when Artaphernes was applied to for assistance to reduce it (above, § 31). Although able to reckon on the assistance of a part of the Naxians, he refuses to embark in an enterprise against them without the consent of the Persian court, and then determines to send double the force demanded. Such a relation between the resources of Naxos and Athens seems incompatible with the notion that Pisistratus had ever subdued the former. See note 214 on i. 64, and what Herodotus says of Athens under tyrannical government, below, § 78.

194 ἀπεκορύφου σφι τάδε, "gave them this short answer."

195 ἔπεσι καὶ ἔργοισι. ARISTOPHANES (*Lysistr.* 274—280) alludes to the surrender of Cleomenes, in terms which show that the miserable condition in which he was forced to evacuate the citadel remained a popular theme with the Athenian com-

ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων, συνέλεγε ἐκ πάσης Πελοποννήσου στρατὸν, οὐ
φράζων ἐς τὸ συλλέγει, τίσασθαί τε ἐθέλων τὸν δῆμον τῶν
Ἀθηναίων, καὶ Ἰσαγόρην βουλόμενος τύραννον καταστῆσαι[196].
συνεξῆλθε γάρ οἱ οὗτος ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος. Κλεομένης τε δὴ
στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ἐσέβαλε ἐς Ἐλευσῖνα, καὶ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ ἀπὸ
συνθήματος Οἰνόην αἱρέουσι καὶ Ὑσιὰς[197], δήμους τοὺς ἐσχάτους
τῆς Ἀττικῆς[198]. Χαλκιδέες[199] τε ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτερα ἐσίνοντο ἐπιόντες
[χώρους] τῆς Ἀττικῆς. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ, καίπερ ἀμφιβολίῃ ἐχόμενοι,
Βοιωτῶν μὲν καὶ Χαλκιδέων ἐς ὕστερον ἔμελλον μνήμην ποιή-
σεσθαι· Πελοποννησίοισι δὲ, ἐοῦσι ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι, ἀντία ἔθεντο τὰ
ὅπλα. Μελλόντων δὲ συνάψειν τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐς μάχην, 75
Κορίνθιοι μὲν πρῶτοι σφὶ αὐτοῖσι δόντες λόγον[200] ὡς οὐ ποιοῖεν

Cleomenes again invades them with a large force, while the Chalcidians and Bœotians create a diversion.

On arriving at Eleusis, the allied force melts

monalty. The chorus of old men, upon Lysistrata's occupying the acropolis, is made to say:

ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ Κλεομένης, ὃς αὐτὴν κατέσχε
πρῶτος,
ἀπῆλθεν ἀψάλακτος, ἀλλ'
ὅμως Λακωνικὸν πνέων,
ᾤχετο θὤπλα παραδοὺς ἐμοί,
σμικρὸν ἔχων πάνυ τριβώνιον,
πεινῶν, ῥυπῶν, ἀπαράτιλτος,
ἓξ ἐτῶν ἄλουτος.

196 Ἰσαγόρην βουλόμενος τύραννον καταστῆσαι. If Isagoras had Megarian connexions (as seems probable; see the note 167 on § 66), he would be a plausible partizan of *Peloponnesian* interests, and therefore one to whom the confederates would have no right to object. But if at the same time he was of the old Achæan blood, he might be favourable to the particular schemes for the elevation of that race which Cleomenes appears to have formed. See note on vi. 74, below.

197 Οἰνόην αἱρέουσι καὶ Ὑσιάς. The former of these two burghs lies on the southern and the latter on the northern side of the range of Cithæron, bearing very nearly N.W. from Athens. The emancipation of Hysiæ from the dominion of Thebes probably took place at the same time with that of Platæa. (See vi. 108.) The possession of the two burghs was extremely important, for the road from Eleusis to Thebes over Cithæron was commanded on the side of Attica by Œnoe, and on that of Bœotia by Hysiæ. The order in which the places are mentioned is worth remarking, as pointing to an Attic authority. (See note 212 on § 79, below.) The Bœotians must have seized Hysiæ *first*, or they could not have advanced on Œnoe. Of the latter Leake says, "It stood in a narrow valley at the ascent of Cithæron, leading from the plain of Eleutheræ into the Platæis, and near where the road from Megara to Thebes joined that from Athens and Eleusis. It was therefore an essential point for securing the communication of the Athenians with Platæa, as well as to protect Eleutheræ and Eleusis. Hence it was fortified prior to the Peloponnesian war (Thucyd. ii. 18), and became one of the most important defences of the Attic frontier. It still exists in ruins under the name of Ghyftókastro, and is one of the most complete examples of a Greek fortress extant."

198 δήμους τοὺς ἐσχάτους τῆς Ἀττικῆς. I am inclined to think these words a marginal interpretation which has crept into the text. There is no ground for supposing that Hysiæ was ever a *deme of Attica*. (See the last note.) Besides which Hysiæ and Œnoe would be, in the time of Herodotus, as familiar as Eleusis to any one of his hearers.

199 Χαλκιδέες. Pisistratus was assisted by the Eretrians in his exile (see i. 62), as Isagoras was by the rival state of Chalcis.

200 Κορίνθιοι πρῶτοι σφὶ αὐτοῖσι δόντες λόγον. It seems not impossible that they viewed with jealousy the probable elevation of Isagoras, if he was a man of Megarian connexions. (See note 167 on § 66, above.) Megara had been at one time a dependency of Corinth, and its emancipation seems to have belonged to the same

away, and one of the Spartan kings retreats.

τὰ δίκαια, μετεβάλλοντό τε καὶ ἀπαλλάσσοντο· μετὰ δὲ, Δημάρητος ὁ Ἀρίστωνος, ἐὼν καὶ οὗτος βασιλεὺς Σπαρτιητέων, καὶ συνεξαγαγών τε τὴν στρατιὴν ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος καὶ οὐκ ἐὼν διάφορος ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ Κλεομένεϊ· (ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς διχοστασίης ἐτέθη νόμος ἐν Σπάρτῃ, μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἕπεσθαι ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς βασιλῆας ἐξιούσης τῆς στρατιῆς· τέως γὰρ ἀμφότεροι εἵποντο· παραλυομένου δὲ τούτων τοῦ ἑτέρου, καταλείπεσθαι καὶ τῶν Τυνδαριδέων τὸν ἕτερον· πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ δὴ καὶ οὗτοι ἀμφότεροι, ἐπίκλητοί σφι ἐόντες[201], εἵποντο·) τότε δὴ ἐν τῇ Ἐλευσῖνι ὁρέωντες οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων τούς τε βασιλῆας τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οὐκ ὁμολογέοντας καὶ Κορινθίους ἐκλιπόντας τὴν τάξιν, οἴχοντο καὶ
76 αὐτοὶ ἀπαλλασσόμενοι. Τέταρτον δὴ τοῦτο[202] ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀπικόμενοι Δωριέες, δίς τε ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἐσβαλόντες καὶ δὶς ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τοῦ πλήθεος τοῦ Ἀθηναίων· πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτε καὶ Μέγαρα κατοίκισαν[203]· (οὗτος ὁ στόλος, ἐπὶ Κόδρου βασιλεύοντος Ἀθη-

The fourth instance of a Doric invasion of Attica.

cycle of events which produced the overthrow of the Bacchiadæ (a Doric oligarchy) at Corinth. The revolutions took the same shape in both states,—an overthrow of a class aristocracy by the commons under the leadership of one of the oligarchs, who finally became tyrant, as Cypselus did at Corinth and Theagenes at Megara. Now as Cylon was the son-in-law of Theagenes, and Isagoras the representative of Cylon's party at Athens, his elevation to power would have been equivalent to elevating the influence of the commons at Megara,—a population (as the native traditions show; see note 203, below) into which the Doric element entered very slightly. That the Corinthian oligarchal or Doric party was strong at this time is evident from the harangue of Sosicles (§ 92, *seqq.*). But Cleomenes the Spartan king disclaimed being a Dorian (§ 72), and showed his sympathy for the ante-dorian race not only in his patronage of Isagoras, but in his subsequent attempt to organize an Arcadian confederacy against Sparta (vi. 74). Hence perhaps the decided break with Demaratus.

201 *ἐπίκλητοί σφι ἐόντες*, "being allies of theirs." See vii. 203, *ἐπίκλητοι ἐγένοντο Λοκροὶ πανστρατιῇ*, "the Locrians came to help them in full force." The idea of a friendly deity going forth with the host under some especial visible symbol, and taking part in their battles as an ally, was common to almost all the nations of antiquity. Thus the Æginetæ are related by Herodotus to have sent the images of the Æacidæ, their tutelary heroes, to assist the Thebans (below, § 80); and the allied Greeks before the battle of Salamis despatched a ship expressly for the same (viii. 64). It was the same feeling which induced the elders of Israel to fetch the ark out of Shiloh, "that when it cometh among us, it may save us out of the hand of our enemies." (1 *Sam.* iv. 3.) So too the chariot of Ormuzd went in the front of the Persian line of march (vii. 40). See note 111 on iii. 37.

202 *τέταρτον δὴ τοῦτο.* By the use of this expression it would seem that the occupation of the acropolis and that of Eleusis by Cleomenes are considered as part of one expedition,—a view quite in accordance with the account given by the SCHOLIAST *on Aristophanes* (*Lysistr.* 273), who makes Cleomenes evacuate Athens on terms, without any exceptions, and seize Eleusis on his march homeward (*ἀφεθεὶς ὑπόσπονδος, ἀπιὼν οἴκαδε πάλιν Ἐλευσῖνα κατέσχε*). If *only* the Lacedæmonians were allowed to quit the acropolis, it is difficult to conceive how Isagoras, the prime mover of the intervention, should have been suffered to accompany them. See note 191, above.

203 *ὅτε καὶ Μέγαρα κατοίκισαν.* The tradition followed here is the same as that

ναίων, ὀρθῶς ἂν καλέοιτο[204].) δεύτερον δὲ καὶ τρίτον, ὅτε ἐπὶ Πεισιστρατιδέων ἐξέλασιν ὁρμηθέντες ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀπίκοντο· τέταρτον δὲ τότε, ὅτε ἐς Ἐλευσῖνα Κλεομένης ἄγων Πελοποννησίους ἐσέβαλε. οὕτω τέταρτον τότε Δωριέες ἐσέβαλον ἐς Ἀθήνας.

Διαλυθέντος ὦν τοῦ στόλου τούτου ἀκλεῶς, ἐνθαῦτα Ἀθηναῖοι 77

of the authors of the *Atthides* (*ap. Strabon.* ix. p. 235), who related that the Megarid territory fell to Nisus, one of the four sons of Pandion, who built Nisæa; and that the population was Ionian and identical with that inhabiting Attica, until the invasion of Attica by the Peloponnesians in the time of Codrus, when, at the urgent request of the Corinthians and Messenians, Megara was founded, and the population of the Megarid became Dorian. Sophocles (as might be expected) followed the *Attic* tradition respecting the Megarid, making Ægeus say of Pandion:

Νίσῳ δὲ τὴν ἀνώμαλον ἐξαίρει χθόνα
Σκίρωνος ἀκτῆς.

The *native* legends of Megaris, however, related that the name Megara was given to the city in the reign of *Car*, the son of Phoroneus, at which time the sacred rites of Demeter were first introduced there, and that the name μέγαρα was given to these. Twelve generations after Car, *Lelex* (an Egyptian) became king, and his subjects from him acquired the name of Leleges. His grandson *Sciron* married a daughter of Pandion and disputed the sovereignty with her brother Nisus. Æacus, being appealed to, decided in favour of Nisus, with a reservation of the military command to Sciron. Finally *Megareus*, a son of Poseidon, married Iphinoe, the daughter of Nisus, and succeeded to the kingdom. The Bœotian traditions made Megareus the son of Poseidon a native of Onchestus, and an ally of Nisus in the war against Minos (a war of which the Megarian legends were entirely ignorant). (Pausan. i. 39.) And yet another tradition made Megareus a son of *Apollo* (Steph. Byzant. *v.* Μέγαρα), thus accounting for the Dorian character of Megara.

[204] οὗτος ὁ στόλος . . . ὀρθῶς ἂν καλέοιτο. These words can scarcely be a part of the thread of the narrative; neither is their sense complete. Some such phrase as ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἐσβολὴ seems required to express what is meant. Possibly they are a mere memorandum by Herodotus himself, made with the intention at some future time of giving a history of this expedition, about which very different accounts existed. The story which was current at Athens, and represented Codrus as sacrificing himself to save the city from being taken by the Dorian invaders, was supported by local tradition. The place where Codrus fell was pointed out on the banks of the Ilissus (Pausan. i. 19. 5); and his self-devotion furnished an useful topic to the orators. (Lycurg. c. *Leocrat.* §§ 85—90.) But Aristotle (*Politic.* p. 1310, line 37) cites Codrus as an instance, not of a king who sacrificed himself to preserve the independence of his country, but of a person who *became* a king by saving his country from slavery in war,—a view in harmony with what Herodotus briefly mentions of his family, above (§ 65). And Pausanias, after saying that the common Athenians would not hear of there having been any king at Athens (except Pisistratus) since the time of Theseus, οἷα ἱστορίας ἀνήκοοι ὄντες, καὶ ὁπόσα ἤκουον εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων ἔν τε χοροῖς καὶ τραγῳδίαις πιστὰ ἡγούμενοι, adds, that if he pleased he could give a list of the descendants of Melanthus as low as to Clidicus, the son of Æsimides, who *all* reigned at Athens (i. 3. 3). The reign of Æsimides (whether as king or archon) began in the first year of the eighth Olympiad (Pausan. iv. 5. 10), so that the traditions here alluded to by Pausanias would bring down the regal authority of the Neleid house quite into the historical times. It will be remembered that Pisistratus came of *this* family. (See above, § 65.) There is little or nothing in Herodotus or Thucydides to guide to a decision between the tradition followed by Lycurgus and that adopted by Aristotle; neither is the circumstance related by Pherecydes (*fr.* 110) incompatible with the latter account, although it has generally been woven into the former.

The Athenians obtain important advantages over the Bœotians and Chalcidians,

τίνυσθαι βουλόμενοι, πρῶτα στρατηίην ποιεῦνται ἐπὶ Χαλκιδέας· Βοιωτοὶ δὲ τοῖσι Χαλκιδεῦσι βοηθέουσι ἐπὶ τὸν Εὔριπον· Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ ἰδοῦσι τοὺς βοηθοὺς ἔδοξε πρότερον τοῖσι Βοιωτοῖσι ἢ τοῖσι Χαλκιδεῦσι ἐπιχειρέειν· συμβάλλουσί τε δὴ τοῖσι Βοιωτοῖσι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ πολλῷ ἐκράτησαν· κάρτα δὲ πολλοὺς φονεύσαντες, ἑπτακοσίους αὐτῶν ἐζώγρησαν[205]. τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ταύτης ἡμέρης οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διαβάντες ἐς τὴν Εὔβοιαν, συμβάλλουσι καὶ τοῖσι Χαλκιδεῦσι· νικήσαντες δὲ καὶ τούτους, τετρακισχιλίους κληρούχους ἐπὶ τῶν ἱπποβοτέων τῇ χώρῃ λείπουσι· οἱ δὲ ἱπποβόται[206] ἐκαλέοντο οἱ παχέες τῶν Χαλκιδέων· ὅσους δὲ καὶ τούτων ἐζώγρησαν, ἅμα τοῖσι Βοιωτῶν ἐζωγρημένοισι εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, ἐν πέδαις δήσαντες· χρόνῳ δὲ ἔλυσάν σφεας διμνέως ἀποτιμησάμενοι[207]. τὰς δὲ πέδας αὐτῶν, ἐν τῇσι ἐδεδέατο, ἀνεκρέμασαν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν· αἵπερ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν περιεοῦσαι, κρεμάμεναι ἐκ τειχέων περιπεφλευσμένων πυρὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μήδου· ἀντίον δὲ τοῦ μεγάρου τοῦ πρὸς ἑσπέρην τετραμμένου[208] καὶ τῶν λύτρων τὴν

205 *ἑπτακοσίους αὐτῶν ἐζώγρησαν.* It will be remarked that the number is the same as that of the families exiled by Cleomenes (§ 72).

206 *οἱ δὲ ἱπποβόται.* The presence of the article here has occasioned some difficulty. But it seems likely that although this name *οἱ ἱπποβ.* was given to the aristocracy collectively, each individual member of it would not be termed *ἱπποβότης*, and in that case the article and substantive would cohere closely together, as in the phrases *οἱ τριάκοντα, οἱ δώδεκα*, &c. ARISTOTLE (*Politic.* iv. p. 1297, line 16) remarks that the early monarchies (*βασιλεῖαι*) were in all cases succeeded by a military aristocracy of *cavalry*, adding this profound remark: *τὴν γὰρ ἰσχὺν καὶ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν ἐν τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ὁ πόλεμος εἶχεν· ἄνευ μὲν γὰρ συντάξεως ἄχρηστον τὸ ὁπλιτικόν, αἱ δὲ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐμπειρίαι καὶ τάξεις ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις οὐχ ὑπῆρχον· ὥστ' ἐν τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν εἶναι τὴν ἰσχύν.* In another passage he remarks that in the ancient times wherever the force of a state consisted of cavalry, the form of government was oligarchal, and instances Chalcis, Eretria, Magnesia on the Mæander, *καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλοὶ περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν* (iv. p. 1289, line 40). The same thing (in spite of the unaptness of Attica for horse-breeding) was the case at Athens, and hence ARISTOPHANES makes his homely citizen, who had married a wife of aristocratic descent, complain that she would have their son designated by a name of hippotrophic import (*Nub.* 60):

> —— *ὅπως νῷν ἐγένεθ' υἱὸς οὑτοσί,*
> *περὶ τοὐνόματος δὴ 'ντεῦθεν ἐλοιδορούμεθα·*
> *ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἵππον προσετίθει πρὸς τοὔνομα,*
> *Ξάνθιππον ἢ Χαίριππον ἢ Καλλιππίδην,*
> *ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦ πάππου 'τιθέμην Φειδωνίδην.*

Compare *οἰκίης τεθριπποτρόφου*, vi. 35. It seems not unlikely that the revolution effected by Pisistratus was coincident with the organization of an infantry force as an important arm of war. (See note 194 on i. 59.) Aristotle adds to the remark above quoted: *αὐξανομένων δὲ τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἰσχυσάντων μᾶλλον πλείους μετεῖχον τῆς πολιτείας· διόπερ ἃς νῦν καλοῦμεν πολιτείας οἱ πρότερον ἐκάλουν δημοκρατίας.*

207 *διμνέως ἀποτιμησάμενοι.* See vi. 79.

208 *ἀντίον δὲ τοῦ μεγάρου τοῦ πρὸς ἑσπέρην τετραμμένου.* As Gaisford punctuates this passage the reconciliation of it with the topography of the acropolis seems impossible. The following is the way I conceive the spoils to have been disposed of. The old temple of Athene Polias which the Persians burnt down probably

δεκάτην ἀνέθηκαν, ποιησάμενοι τέθριππον χάλκεον· τὸ δὲ ἀριστερῆς χερὸς ἕστηκε πρῶτον ἐσιόντι ἐς τὰ προπύλαια τὰ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλι, ἐπιγέγραπται δέ οἱ τάδε·

Ἔθνεα Βοιωτῶν καὶ Χαλκιδέων δαμάσαντες
παῖδες Ἀθηναίων ἔργμασιν ἐν πολέμου,
δεσμῷ ἐν ἀχλυόεντι σιδηρέῳ ἔσβεσαν ὕβριν·
τῶν ἵππους δεκάτην Παλλάδι τάσδ' ἔθεσαν·

Ἀθηναῖοι μέν νυν ηὔξηντο. δηλοῖ δὲ οὐ κατ' ἓν μοῦνον, ἀλλὰ 78
πανταχῇ, ἡ ἰσηγορίη ὡς ἔστι χρῆμα σπουδαῖον· εἰ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τυραννευόμενοι μὲν οὐδαμῶν τῶν σφέας περιοικεόντων ἦσαν τὰ πολέμια ἀμείνους[209], ἀπαλλαχθέντες δὲ τυράννων μακρῷ πρῶτοι ἐγένοντο. δηλοῖ ὦν ταῦτα, ὅτι κατεχόμενοι μὲν ἐθελοκάκεον, ὡς δεσπότῃ ἐργαζόμενοι· ἐλευθερωθέντων δὲ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἑωυτῷ προθυμέετο κατεργάζεσθαι. οὗτοι μέν νυν ταῦτα ἔπρησσον.

and thrive wonderfully under free institutions.

Θηβαῖοι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς θεὸν ἔπεμπον, βουλόμενοι τίσασθαι 79
Ἀθηναίους. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ἀπὸ σφέων μὲν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔφη αὐτοῖσι εἶναι τίσιν, ἐς ΠΟΛΥΦΗΜΟΝ[210] δὲ ἐξενείκαντας ἐκέλευε[211] ΤΩΝ ἈΓΧΙΣΤΑ ΔΕΕΣΘΑΙ. ἀπελθόντων ὦν τῶν θεοπρόπων, ἐξέφερον τὸ χρηστήριον ἁλίην ποιησάμενοι· ὡς ἐπυνθάνοντο δὲ λεγόντων αὐτῶν ΤΩΝ ἈΓΧΙΣΤΑ ΔΕΕΣΘΑΙ, εἶπαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἀκούσαντες τούτων· "οὐκ ὦν ἄγχιστα ἡμέων οἰκέουσι Ταναγραῖοι

The Thebans, desirous of revenge, consult the Delphic oracle, and are puzzled by the answer.

looked east (like the subsequent one), and in this I conceive the goddess to have been associated with Erectheus, the Athenian Poseidon, a similar arrangement to that which existed elsewhere. (See the note 188 on § 72, and 223 on § 82.) Here the fetters were dedicated. But conterminous with this temple, and in a manner forming a part of it, was the fane of Pandrosos, which seems to be meant by "the fane turned westward." (See PAUSANIAS, i. 27. 3.) It was in this fane that the sacred olive-tree grew which shot out after its destruction by the Persians. (viii. 55; APOLLODORUS, iii. 14. 1.) If we suppose the Pandroseum (or Cecropieum; for father and daughter seem to have been united in the religious legends of the place) to have faced the west, the site given by LEAKE for the *Quadriga* exactly corresponds with the description of Herodotus, and yet this description will not oppose his notion of the way in which the *new* Erectheum was laid out. (*Athens and the Demi of Attica*, i. p. 340, and Appendix.) In this, which was planned by Phidias, but not completed till after the Peloponnesian war, Athene Polias alone appears to have had a temple on the site of the ancient one, but Erectheus one looking northward,—while the Pandroseum was in an angle to the south,—all three however being under one roof. Hence there is no temple whatever "turned westward" in the buildings which made up the new Erectheum.

209 οὐδαμῶν τῶν σφέας περιοικεόντων ἦσαν τὰ πολέμια ἀμείνους. See note 193, above.

210 ΠΟΛΥΦΗΜΟΝ. A personification of the commonalty, the "many-voiced." Compare τὴν ἀμφίρρυτον (above, iv. 163).

211 ἐκέλευε. One MS omits this word, perhaps rightly. It might readily be supplied by inference from the former clause of the sentence. See below, § 82, ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οὐδέτερα τούτων ἔα, ἀλλὰ ξύλου ἡμέρης ἐλαίης [ἐκέλευε].

τε καὶ Κορωναῖοι καὶ Θεσπιέες[212], καὶ οὗτοί γε ἅμα ἡμῖν αἰεὶ
μαχόμενοι, προθύμως συνδιαφέρουσι τὸν πόλεμον; τί δεῖ τού-
80 των γε δέεσθαι; ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μὴ οὐ τοῦτο ᾖ τὸ χρηστήριον."
(They apply for aid to the Æginetans,) Τοιαῦτα δὴ ἐπιλεγομένων, εἶπε δή κοτε μαθών τις· "ἐγώ μοι
δοκέω συνιέναι τὸ ἐθέλει λέγειν ἡμῖν τὸ μαντήϊον· Ἀσωποῦ
λέγονται γενέσθαι θυγατέρες Θήβη τε καὶ Αἴγινα· τουτέων
ἀδελφεῶν ἐουσέων, δοκέω ἡμῖν Αἰγινητέων δέεσθαι τὸν θεὸν
χρῆσαι τιμωρητήρων γενέσθαι·" καὶ οὐ γάρ τις ταύτης
ἀμείνων γνώμη ἐδόκεε φαίνεσθαι, αὐτίκα πέμψαντες ἐδέοντο
Αἰγινητέων, ἐπικαλεόμενοι κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριόν σφι βοηθέειν, ὡς
ἐόντων ἀγχιστέων· οἱ δέ σφι αἰτέουσι ἐπικουρίην τοὺς Αἰακίδας
81 συμπέμπειν[213] ἔφασαν. Πειρησαμένων δὲ [τῶν Θηβαίων] κατὰ
(their very prosperous) τὴν συμμαχίην τῶν Αἰακιδέων[214] καὶ τρηχέως περιεφθέντων ὑπὸ

[212] Ταναγραῖοί τε καὶ Κορωναῖοι καὶ Θεσπιέες. Why these three should have been especially named here among the Bœotian towns in alliance with Thebes is very difficult to say. Tanagra and Thespiæ have some pretensions to be immediate neighbours of Thebes, and as they lie towards the Attic frontier might readily suggest themselves as valuable allies to Thebes. But Coronea (or—as Herodotus must have called it if the reading Κορωναῖοι is genuine—Corone or Coronæ) is at a considerable distance to the N.W. of Thebes, with several towns of importance lying between. It may be thought to be mentioned from the circumstance of its being the first place occupied by the Bœotians when they issued from Thessaly and expelled the inhabitants of the neighbourhood of the Copaic lake, and from its being also the place where the *Pambœotia* were celebrated. (STRABO, ix. cap. 2.) But it seems more likely that Herodotus is here following an Athenian tradition, and that therefore the principle of selection is one *connected with Athenian associations*. Now at Coronea was the temple of *Itonia Athene*, and in the immediate neighbourhood formerly stood the Bœotian towns Athens and Eleusis, on the banks of the brook Triton. Close by was Alalcomenæ, where there was a temple of Athene of great antiquity and highly venerated, and of which the tradition ran that the goddess was born there (a mythical way of expressing the fact that her peculiar ritual spread from thence as a centre). Now if we suppose the informant of Herodotus to have been a person attached to the service of Athene on the acropolis of Athens, it is only natural that Coronea should occupy a prominent place in his mind, to the exclusion of other towns which would, from a Theban point of view, have been more appropriate. One may even conjecture that such a person might use the adjectival form Κορωναῖος from Κορῶναι, (after the analogy of Ἀθῆναι,) instead of the usual forms, which were (according to STEPH. BYZANTINUS) Κορώνιος, Κορωνεύς, or Κορωνειεύς, where a citizen of the Bœotian town was indicated. It may be added that there was at least a mythical connexion between Athens and the other two towns (although, in the case of these, their proximity to the Attic frontier renders such a consideration unnecessary), for the Attic Gephyræi, whom Herodotus mentions above, §§ 55. 57, were, as he takes special pains to inform his hearers, originally from Bœotian Tanagra; and one of the traditions at Thespiæ made the founder to be a Thespius, son of the Athenian Erectheus. (PAUSAN. ix. 26. 6.) Indeed, after the Persian invasion this town was rebuilt under Athenian auspices (see viii. 75), so that the connexion, not of Thebes but of *Athens*, with all three of the towns named is clearly established. See notes 184 and 197.

[213] τοὺς Αἰακίδας συμπέμπειν. See above, note 201.

[214] κατὰ τὴν συμμαχίην τῶν Αἰακιδέων,

τῶν Ἀθηναίων, αὖτις [οἱ Θηβαῖοι[215]] πέμψαντες, τοὺς μὲν Αἰακίδας σφι ἀπεδίδοσαν τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐδέοντο· Αἰγινῆται δὲ, εὐδαιμονίῃ τε μεγάλῃ ἐπαρθέντες, καὶ ἔχθρης παλαιῆς ἀναμνησθέντες ἐχούσης ἐς Ἀθηναίους[216], τότε Θηβαίων δεηθέντων πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον[217] Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπέφερον· ἐπικειμένων γὰρ αὐτῶν Βοιωτοῖσι, ἐπιπλώσαντες μακρῇσι νηυσὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, κατὰ μὲν ἔσυραν Φάληρον, κατὰ δὲ τῆς ἄλλης παραλίης πολλοὺς δήμους· ποιεῦντες δὲ ταῦτα, μεγάλως Ἀθηναίους ἐσίνοντο[218]. kinsmen, and ancient enemies of Athens, who aid them by ravaging the coast of Attica.

82 Ἡ δὲ ἔχθρη ἡ προοφειλομένη ἐς Ἀθηναίους ἐκ τῶν Αἰγινητέων, ἐγένετο ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοιῆσδε· Ἐπιδαυρίοισι ἡ γῆ καρπὸν οὐδένα ἀνεδίδου. περὶ ταύτης ὦν τῆς συμφορῆς οἱ Ἐπιδαύριοι ἐχρέωντο ἐν Δελφοῖσι· ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφέας ἐκέλευε Δαμίης τε καὶ Αὐξησίης[219] ἀγάλματα ἱδρύσασθαι, καί σφι ἱδρυσαμένοισι ἄμεινον συνοίσεσθαι· ἐπειρώτεον ὦν οἱ Ἐπιδαύριοι κότερα χαλκοῦ ποιέωνται [τὰ ἀγάλματα[220]] ἢ λίθου· ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οὐδέτερα τούτων ἔα, ἀλλὰ ξύλου ἡμέρης ἐλαίης· ἐδέοντο ὦν οἱ Ἐπιδαύριοι Ἀθηναίων ἐλαίην σφι δοῦναι ταμέσθαι, ἱρωτάτας δὴ κείνας νομίζοντες εἶναι[221]. λέγεται The cause of the feud between Athens and Ægina. The Epidaurians obtain some sacred olive-wood on condition of doing ser-

"under the notion that they had the Æacidæ for their allies." See below, § 86, *κατὰ τοῦτο εἶξαν*.

[215] [*οἱ Θηβαῖοι*]. The manuscript S has *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι*, which seems to indicate that both *οἱ Θηβαῖοι* and *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι* are glosses inserted to render the sense more perspicuous. I have therefore retained the reading of Gaisford and the majority of MSS, but have placed it within brackets as a probable interpolation. But if it be one, it seems likely that *τῶν Θηβαίων* two lines back is also one; for if *πειρησαμένων* and *πέμψαντες* be referred to the same subject, the change of construction is gratuitously clumsy. I should account for the change by referring *πειρησαμένων* to the Thebans *with their allies*, the Bœotian confederacy, but *πέμψαντες* to the Thebans *alone* as the heads of the confederacy.

[216] *ἐχούσης ἐς Ἀθηναίους*. This is the reading of Gaisford and the majority of MSS. But one has *ἐχούσης Ἀθην.*, and Aldus *ἐούσης πρὸς Ἀθην*. The variations induce me to suspect that the clause is an explanatory gloss. The case is a different one from that in viii. 144.

[217] *πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον*, "a piratical warfare," without the previous proclamation by heralds.

[218] *ἐσίνοντο*. One manuscript (M) has *ἐσινέοντο*, which Gaisford follows. But see the note on ix. 13.

[219] *Δαμίης τε καὶ Αὐξησίης*. The penultimate of the former of these words is probably long, and possibly the orthography should be *Δαμείης*. The origin of the word is undoubtedly *δᾶ μαῖα* (= *δαμάτηρ*), and the two deities are precisely equivalent to the *γῆ κουροτρόφος* and *δημήτηρ χλόη*, who were worshipped together in a temple just at the entrance to the acropolis at Athens. (PAUSANIAS, i. 22. 3; ARISTOPHANES, *Lysistr.* 835.) ÆSCHYLUS (*Choeph.* 45) puts the invocation *ἰὼ γαῖα μαῖα* into the mouths of the Argive women.

[220] [*τὰ ἀγάλματα*]. These words are omitted in the manuscripts S and V. Gaisford retains them, but they appear to me to be a gloss. For *ποιέωνται* Gaisford and the MSS have *ποιέονται*. But see note 170 on i. 53.

[221] *ἱρωτάτας δὴ κείνας νομίζοντες εἶναι*. These were the so-called *Moriæ*, sacred trees, originally twelve in number, which stood in the Academy. ARISTOPHANES refers to these (*Nub.* 1005) as shading the walk where the young Athenians, who cultivated gymnastic exercises for the torch-race, practised themselves in run-

vice annually at the temple of Athene and Erectheus on the acropolis.

δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐλαῖαι ἦσαν ἄλλοθι γῆς οὐδαμοῦ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον, ἢ Ἀθήνῃσι[222]· οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε δώσειν ἔφασαν, ἐπ' ᾧ ἀπάξουσι ἔτεος ἑκάστου τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ Πολιάδι ἱρὰ καὶ τῷ Ἐρεχθέϊ[223]· καταινέσαντες δ' ἐπὶ τούτοισι οἱ Ἐπιδαύριοι, τῶν τε ἐδέοντο ἔτυχον καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐκ τῶν ἐλαιέων τουτέων ποιησάμενοι ἱδρύσαντο· καὶ
83 ἥ τε γῆ σφι ἔφερε, καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπετέλεον τὰ συνέθεντο. Τοῦτον δ' ἔτι τὸν χρόνον καὶ πρὸ τοῦ[224], Αἰγινῆται Ἐπιδαυρίων ἤκουον τά τε ἄλλα, καὶ δίκας διαβαίνοντες ἐς Ἐπίδαυρον ἐδίδοσάν τε καὶ ἐλάμβανον παρ' ἀλλήλων οἱ Αἰγινῆται· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε, νῆάς τε πηξάμενοι καὶ ἀγνωμοσύνῃ χρησάμενοι, ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐπιδαυρίων· ἅτε δὲ ἐόντες διάφοροι, ἐδηλέοντο αὐτοὺς ὥστε δὴ θαλασσοκράτορες ἐόντες, καὶ δὴ καὶ[225] τὰ ἀγάλματα ταῦτα τῆς τε Δαμίης καὶ τῆς Αὐξησίης ὑπαιρέονται αὐτῶν, καί σφεα ἐκομίσαντό τε καὶ ἱδρύσαντο τῆς σφετέρης χώρης ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν· τῇ Οἴη μέν ἐστι οὔνομα, στάδια δὲ μάλιστά κῃ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος ὡς εἴκοσι ἀπέχει· ἱδρυσάμενοι δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ, θυσίῃσί τέ σφεα καὶ χοροῖσι γυναικηΐοισι κερτόμοισι ἱλάσκοντο, χορηγῶν ἀποδεικνυμένων ἑκατέρῃ τῶν δαιμόνων δέκα ἀνδρῶν· κακῶς δὲ ἠγόρευον οἱ χοροὶ ἄνδρα μὲν οὐδένα, τὰς δὲ ἐπιχωρίας γυναῖκας. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖσι Ἐπιδαυρίοισι αἱ τοιαῦται ἱρουργίαι· εἰσὶ δέ σφι καὶ ἄρρητοι ἱρουργίαι.
84 Κλεφθέντων δὲ τῶνδε τῶν ἀγαλμάτων, οἱ Ἐπιδαύριοι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι τὰ συνέθεντο οὐκ ἐπετέλεον· πέμψαντες δὲ οἱ

At this time Ægina was a vassal of Epidaurus, but immediately afterwards became independent and hostile.

The Æginetans carry off the images, and set them up in their own island. The ritual of the nature of a carnival, both there and at Epidaurus.

ning: ἀλλ' εἰς Ἀκαδήμειαν κατιὼν ὑπὸ ταῖς Μορίαις ἀποθρέξει. 'They started from an altar of Prometheus and ran to the city. In the time of Pausanias one of these olives was pointed out as being the *second* oldest in the world, the precedence being given to the sacred plant in the Pandroseum on the acropolis (Pausan. i. 30. 2). The prize given to the victors in the Panathenæan games consisted in part of a vase containing some of the oil produced from these plants. (Aristotle, *ap. Schol. ad Soph. Œd. Col.* 701.) Pindar congratulates Theæus the Argive on twice obtaining some (*Nem.* x. 61, seqq.):

——ἀδεῖαί γε μὲν ἀμβολάδαν
ἐν τελεταῖς δὶς Ἀθαναίων νιν ὀμφαὶ
κώμασαν· γαίᾳ δὲ καυθείσᾳ πυρὶ καρπὸς ἐλαίας
ἔμολεν Ἥρας τὸν εὐάνορα λαὸν ἐν ἀγγέων ἕρκεσιν παμποικίλοις.

222 κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον, ἢ Ἀθήνῃσι. This is the reading which Gaisford selects. The MSS vary between that, κατὰ χρόνον ἐκεῖνον ἢ ἐν Ἀθήναις, κατὰ χρόνον ἐκεῖνον ἢ Ἀθήνῃσι, κατὰ χρόνον κεῖνον ἢ Ἀθήνῃσι (or ἐν Ἀθήναις), and κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἢ ἐν Ἀθήναις. These variations induce the suspicion that the words are an interpolation from a marginal commentary.

223 τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ . . . . καὶ τῷ Ἐρεχθέϊ. See above, notes 183, 188, and 208. After the word Ἀθηναίῃ Gaisford prints τε. But the particle is not found in S and V. And it is not appropriate; for the deities were united in the ritual referred to.

224 καὶ πρὸ τοῦ. The MSS vary between this reading and καὶ τὸν πρὸ τούτου, a variation which seems to indicate an interpolation from a marginal note.

225 καὶ δὴ καί. See note 6 on i. 1.

Ἀθηναῖοι ἐμήνιον[226] τοῖσι Ἐπιδαυρίοισι· οἱ δὲ ἀπέφαινον λόγῳ ὡς
οὐκ ἀδικοῖεν· ὅσον μὲν γὰρ χρόνον εἶχον τὰ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῇ χώρῃ,
ἐπιτελέειν τὰ συνέθεντο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐστερῆσθαι αὐτῶν, οὐ δίκαιον
εἶναι ἀποφέρειν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἔχοντας αὐτὰ Αἰγινήτας πρήσ-
σεσθαι ἐκέλευον. πρὸς ταῦτα Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Αἴγιναν πέμψαντες
ἀπαίτεον τὰ ἀγάλματα[227]· οἱ δὲ Αἰγινῆται ἔφασαν, σφίσι τε καὶ 85
Ἀθηναίοισι εἶναι οὐδὲν πρῆγμα. Ἀθηναῖοι μέν νυν λέγουσι μετὰ
τὴν ἀπαίτησιν ἀποσταλῆναι τριήρεϊ μιῇ τῶν ἀστῶν, τούτους οἳ
ἀποπεμφθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Αἴγιναν, τὰ
ἀγάλματα ταῦτα ὡς σφετέρων ξύλων ἐόντα ἐπειρῶντο ἐκ τῶν
βάθρων ἐξανασπᾶν, ἵνα σφέα ἀνακομίσωνται· οὐ δυναμένους δὲ
τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ αὐτῶν κρατῆσαι, περιβαλόντας σχοινία ἕλκειν
τὰ ἀγάλματα· καί σφι ἕλκουσι βροντήν τε καὶ ἅμα τῇ
βροντῇ σεισμὸν ἐπιγενέσθαι· τοὺς δὲ τριηρίτας τοὺς ἕλκον-
τας ὑπὸ τουτέων ἀλλοφρονῆσαι· παθόντας δὲ τοῦτο, κτείνειν
ἀλλήλους ἅτε πολεμίους ἐς ὃ ἐκ πάντων ἕνα λειφθέντα ἀνακο-
μισθῆναι αὐτὸν[228] ἐς Φάληρον. Ἀθηναῖοι μέν νυν οὕτω λέγουσι 86
γενέσθαι. Αἰγινῆται δὲ, οὐ μιῇ νηῒ ἀπικέσθαι Ἀθηναίους· μίαν
μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὀλίγῳ πλεῦνας μιῆς, καὶ εἴ σφι μὴ ἔτυχον ἐοῦσαι
νέες, ἀπαμύνασθαι ἂν εὐπετέως· ἀλλὰ πολλῇσι νηυσὶ ἐπιπλέειν

An Athenian expedition for the purpose of recovering them is destroyed supernaturally, only one man surviving.

The Æginetic account differs in the particulars from that

[226] ἐμήνιον. The words μῆνις and μηνίειν are more especially used of the wrath felt by a deity or hero on account of some injury. See the case of Minos, vii. 169. Here the word is perhaps applied to the Athenians considered as the representatives of Athene and Erectheus, who had been defrauded of their dues. If Herodotus's authority was (as there is some reason for conjecturing; see notes 184 and 212) a person connected with one of the temples in the acropolis, this use of the word would be very natural.

[227] Ἀθηναῖοι . . . τὰ ἀγάλματα. This sentence is an instructive example of the change of construction, suitable to the varying nature of the incidents mentioned. The destruction of the Athenians who were sent to obtain the images was a fact well known and admitted; as was also the circumstance that they had attempted to remove them by force. The question was, what was the character of the emissaries, and under what circumstances did the destruction take place. Herodotus begins by giving the Athenian account of the *nature* of the expedition. The messengers were taken from among the citizens (not soldiers), and went with a single galley (not in force). So much is in the indirect form; he then changes to the direct one in narrating the acknowledged facts, and returns to the indirect where the Athenian and Æginetic accounts again diverge. "The Athenians now say, that after the formal demand there were sent, in a single galley, some citizens, those who, having been publicly commissioned, and arriving at Ægina, did certainly try to lift these images, as being made of wood which was theirs, out of their stands, in order to carry them back; and that not being able to manage them in this way, they passed lines round and trailed the figures." If the whole of the circumstances had been peculiar to the Athenian story, the author would have continued the *indirect* form throughout: οὓς ἀποπεμφθέντας ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ ἀπικομένους, κ.τ.λ.

[228] αὐτὸν, "alone."

of the Athenians, σφι ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην· αὐτοὶ δέ σφι εἶξαι, καὶ οὐ διαναυμαχῆσαι[229]. (οὐκ ἔχουσι δὲ τοῦτο διασημῆναι ἀτρεκέως, οὔτε εἰ ἕσσονες συγγινωσκόμενοι εἶναι τῇ ναυμαχίῃ κατὰ τοῦτο[230] εἶξαν, οὔτε εἰ βουλόμενοι ποιῆσαι οἷόν τι καὶ ἐποίησαν·) Ἀθηναίους μέν νυν, ἐπεί τέ σφι οὐδεὶς ἐς μάχην κατίστατο, ἀποβάντας ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν τραπέσθαι πρὸς τὰ ἀγάλματα· οὐ δυναμένους δὲ ἀνασπάσαι ἐκ τῶν βάθρων αὐτά, οὕτω δὴ περιβαλλομένους σχοινία ἕλκειν, ἐς οὗ ἑλκόμενα τὰ ἀγάλματα ἀμφότερα τὠυτὸ ποιῆσαι· ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, ἄλλῳ δέ τεῳ· ἐς γούνατα γάρ σφι αὐτὰ πεσέειν, καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τούτου χρόνον διατελέειν οὕτω ἔχοντα. Ἀθηναίους μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ποιέειν, σφέας δὲ Αἰγινῆται λέγουσι, πυθομένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὡς μέλλοιεν ἐπὶ σφέας στρατεύεσθαι, ἑτοίμους Ἀργείους ποιέεσθαι· τούς τε δὴ Ἀθηναίους ἀποβεβάναι ἐς τὴν Αἰγιναίην, καὶ παρεῖναι βοηθέοντάς σφι τοὺς Ἀργείους[231]· καὶ λαθεῖν τε ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου διαβάντας ἐς τὴν νῆσον, καὶ οὐ προακηκοόσι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπιπεσέειν ὑποταμομένους τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν· ἅμα τε ἐν τούτῳ τὴν βροντήν τε γενέσθαι καὶ τὸν σεισμὸν αὐτοῖσι.

87 Λέγεται μέν νυν ὑπ' Ἀργείων τε καὶ Αἰγινητέων τάδε· ὁμολογέεται δὲ καὶ ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων, ἕνα μοῦνον τὸν ἀποσωθέντα αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν γενέσθαι· πλὴν Ἀργεῖοι μὲν λέγουσι, αὐτῶν τὸ Ἀττικὸν στρατόπεδον διαφθειράντων τὸν ἕνα τοῦτον περιγενέσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τοῦ δαιμονίου, περιγενέσθαι μέντοι οὐδὲ τοῦτον τὸν ἕνα, ἀλλ' ἀπολέσθαι τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· κομισθεὶς γὰρ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπήγγειλε τὸ πάθος· πυθομένας δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν ἐπ' Αἴγιναν στρατευσαμένων ἀνδρῶν, δεινόν τι ποιησαμένας κεῖνον μοῦνον ἐξ ἁπάντων σωθῆναι, πέριξ τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον λαβούσας καὶ κεντεύσας τῇσι περόνῃσι τῶν ἱματίων, εἰρωτᾶν ἑκάστην αὐτέων ὅκῃ εἴη ὁ ἑωυτῆς ἀνήρ; καὶ τοῦτον μὲν οὕτω διαφθαρῆναι· Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ ἔτι τοῦ πάθεος δεινότερόν τι δόξαι εἶναι τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἔργον· ἄλλῳ μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἔχειν ὅτεῳ ζημιώσωσι τὰς γυναῖκας, τὴν δὲ ἐσθῆτα μετέβαλλον[232] αὐτέων ἐς τὴν Ἰάδα· ἐφόρεον γὰρ δὴ πρὸ

but both agree that only one man returned.

229 οὐ διαναυμαχῆσαι, "abstained from deciding the issue at sea." Compare viii. 63.

230 κατὰ τοῦτο. Compare § 81, above, κατὰ τὴν συμμαχίην τῶν Αἰακιδέων.

231 τούς τε δὴ Ἀθηναίους ἀποβεβάναι ἐς τὴν Αἰγιναίην, καὶ παρεῖναι βοηθέοντάς σφι τοὺς Ἀργείους, "exactly now as the Athenians had effected a landing on the Æginetic shore, there arrived the Argives to help them." See note 472 on iv. 181.

232 ἄλλῳ μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἔχειν . . . τὴν δὲ

Customs of Athenian women growing out of this war.

τοῦ αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων γυναῖκες ἐσθῆτα Δωρίδα, τῇ Κορινθίῃ παρα-
πλησιωτάτην· μετέβαλλον ὦν ἐς τὸν λίνεον κιθῶνα, ἵνα δὴ περόνῃσι
μὴ χρέωνται· (ἔστι δὲ ἀληθέϊ λόγῳ χρεωμένοισι οὐκ Ἰὰς αὕτη
ἡ ἐσθὴς τὸ παλαιὸν, ἀλλὰ Κάειρα· ἐπεὶ ἥ γε Ἑλληνικὴ ἐσθὴς 88
πᾶσα ἡ ἀρχαίη τῶν γυναικῶν ἡ αὐτὴ ἦν τὴν νῦν Δωρίδα καλέο-
μεν·) τοῖσι δὲ Ἀργείοισι καὶ τοῖσι Αἰγινήτῃσι καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα
ἔτι τόδε ποιῆσαι[233] νόμον εἶναι παρά σφι ἑκατέροισι· τὰς περόνας
ἡμιολίας ποιέεσθαι τοῦ τότε κατεστεῶτος μέτρου, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν
τῶν θεῶν τουτέων περόνας μάλιστα ἀνατιθέναι τὰς γυναῖκας·
Ἀττικὸν δὲ μήτε τι ἄλλο προσφέρειν πρὸς τὸ ἱρὸν, μήτε κέραμον,
ἀλλ' ἐκ χυτρίδων ἐπιχωριέων νόμον τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτόθι εἶναι πίνειν.
Ἀργείων μέν νυν καὶ Αἰγινητέων αἱ γυναῖκες ἔκ τε τόσου[234] κατ'
ἔριν τῶν Ἀθηναίων περόνας ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐφόρεον μέζονας ἢ πρὸ
τοῦ.

The so called *Ionian* garb is really *Carian*. Customs of *Argives* and *Æginetans* having the same origin.

Τῆς δὲ ἔχθρης τῆς πρὸς Αἰγινήτας Ἀθηναίοισι γενομένης ἀρχὴ 89
κατὰ τὰ εἴρηται ἐγένετο. τότε δὴ Θηβαίων ἐπικαλεομένων, προ-
θύμως τῶν περὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα γενομένων ἀναμιμνησκόμενοι οἱ
Αἰγινῆται ἐβοήθεον τοῖσι Βοιωτοῖσι. Αἰγινῆταί τε δὴ ἐδήευν τῆς
Ἀττικῆς τὰ παραθαλάσσια, καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ὁρμεωμένοισι ἐπ'
Αἰγινήτας στρατεύεσθαι, ἦλθε μαντήϊον ἐκ Δελφῶν ἐπισχόντας
ἀπὸ τοῦ Αἰγινητέων ἀδικίου[235] τριήκοντα ἔτεα, τῷ ἑνὶ καὶ τριη-

The Pythian oracle recommends the Athenians to keep the peace towards Ægina for thirty years.

ἐσθῆτα μετέβαλλον. The change of construction here appears to rest on the same grounds as that remarked on in the note 227, above. It was *a fact* that there had been a change of costume in the Athenian women. The cause of this change was in Athenian traditions *said to be* the outrage just related, a view which the feud between Athens and Ægina rendered plausible; although when the matter was looked into, the reputed new dress turned out to be the ancient Carian garb, and the difference between an Ionian and a Dorian costume to be a fiction of recent times, subsequent to the feud between the Dorian and Ionian races acquiring its full developement.

233 *τόδε ποιῆσαι.* These words are dependent upon the sense of *Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι* continued on. It was a part of the *Athenian* tradition that the murder was the origin of the Argive and Æginetan custom. Translate: "And for the Argives and Æginetans [the Athenians say], that, besides, this incident further caused it to be a custom with each of them," &c. It must not be supposed that Herodotus intends to represent the Argives and Æginetans as giving the same account of the origin of their practice. All that he *asserts* in confirmation of the tradition is the extraordinary magnitude of the "brooches."

234 *ἔκ τε τόσου.* These words appear to be corrupt. The Sancroft MS has *ἐκ τότε*. It seems probable that the text grew out of an union of two different readings, *ἐκ τότε* and *ἐκ τόσου*. I have left it as Gaisford prints it, because it is impossible to decide between the two, each giving a good sense: *ἐκ τότε*, "from that time;" *ἐκ τόσου*, "from so far back." In the next section two MSS exhibit such an union of two readings, *ἀδικίου* and *αἰκίου*.

235 *ἀδικίου.* The MSS vary between

κοστῷ, Αἰακῷ τέμενος ἀποδέξαντας ἄρχεσθαι τοῦ πρὸς Αἰγινήτας
πολέμου· καί σφι χωρήσειν τὰ βούλονται· ἢν δὲ αὐτίκα ἐπιστρα-
τεύωνται, πολλὰ μέν σφεας ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τοῦ χρόνου πείσεσθαι
πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ποιήσειν· τέλος μέντοι καταστρέψεσθαι. ταῦτα ὡς
ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, τῷ μὲν Αἰακῷ τέμενος ἀπ-
έδεξαν, τοῦτο[236] τὸ νῦν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορῆς ἵδρυται· τριήκοντα δὲ ἔτεα
οὐκ ἀνέσχοντο ἀκούσαντες ὅκως χρεὼν εἴη ἐπισχεῖν, πεπονθότας
90 πρὸς Αἰγινητέων ἀνάρσια. Ἐς τιμωρίην δὲ παρασκευαζομένοισι
αὐτοῖσι ἐκ Λακεδαιμονίων πρῆγμα ἐγειρόμενον ἐμπόδιον ἐγένετο.
πυθόμενοι γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰ ἐκ τῶν Ἀλκμαιωνιδέων ἐς τὴν
Πυθίην μεμηχανημένα[237], καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς Πυθίης ἐπὶ σφέας τε καὶ
τοὺς Πεισιστρατίδας, συμφορὴν ἐποιεῦντο διπλῆν, ὅτι τε ἄνδρας
ξείνους σφι ἐόντας ἐξεληλάκεσαν ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνων καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα
ποιήσασι χάρις οὐδεμία ἐφαίνετο πρὸς τῶν Ἀθηναίων· ἔτι τε
πρὸς τούτοισι ἐνῆγόν σφεας οἱ χρησμοί, λέγοντες πολλά τε καὶ
ἀνάρσια ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖσι ἐξ Ἀθηναίων· τῶν πρότερον μὲν ἦσαν
ἀδαέες, τότε δὲ Κλεομένεος κομίσαντος ἐς Σπάρτην ἐξέμαθον.
ἐκτήσατο δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ἐκ τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἀκροπόλιος τοὺς
χρησμούς[238], τοὺς ἔκτηντο μὲν πρότερον οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι ἐξελαυ-
νόμενοι δὲ ἔλιπον ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ· καταλειφθέντας δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης
91 ἀνέλαβε. Τότε δὲ ὡς ἀνέλαβον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς χρησμούς,
καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἑώρεον αὐξομένους καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἑτοίμους
ἐόντας πείθεσθαί σφι, νόῳ λαβόντες ὡς ἐλεύθερον μὲν ἐὸν τὸ
γένος τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἰσόρροπον τῷ ἑωυτῶν γίνοιτο[239], κατεχόμενον
δὲ ὑπὸ τυραννίδος ἀσθενὲς καὶ πειθαρχέεσθαι ἑτοῖμον· μαθόντες

The Spartans repent of the part they had taken in the expulsion of the Pisistratids from Athens,

this word and *αἰκίου*, and c, d unite both. Both are forms not found elsewhere. See notes 212 and 226, above.

236 *τοῦτο*. This word is quite superfluous in a *written* history, but would be very appropriate in a *speaker*, who, while telling his story, might point to the sacred precinct. It is an idiom constantly employed by Herodotus, even where there remains no trace of the original use.

237 *τὰ ἐκ τῶν Ἀλκμαιωνιδέων ἐς τὴν Πυθίην μεμηχανημένα*. See note 154 on § 63, above.

238 *τοὺς χρησμούς*. See what is related below (vii. 6) of Onomacritus, who had been highly patronized by Hipparchus. Aristophanes very happily ridicules the importance popularly attached to vagrant oracular prophecies:

ΔΗΜΟΣ. *ταυτὶ τί ἐστι;* ΚΛΕΩΝ. *λόγια.*
ΔΗ. *πάντ';* ΚΛ. *ἐθαύμασας;*
καὶ νὴ Δί' ἔτι γε μοὔστι κιβωτὸς πλέα.
ΑΛΛΑΝΤΟΠΩΛΗΣ. *ἐμοὶ δ' ὑπερῷον καὶ ξυνοικία δύο.*
ΔΗ. *φέρ' ἴδω, τίνος γάρ εἰσιν οἱ χρησμοί ποτε;*
ΚΛ. *οὑμοὶ μέν εἰσι Βάκιδος.* ΔΗ. *οἱ δὲ σοὶ τίνος;*
ΑΛ. *Γλάνιδος, ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ Βάκιδος γεραιτέρου.*
(*Knights*, 998—1004.)

239 *γίνοιτο*. Gaisford, with the manuscripts S and V, has *ἂν γίνοιτο*.

δὲ[240] τούτων ἕκαστα, μετεπέμποντο Ἱππίην τὸν Πεισιστράτου ἀπὸ Σιγείου τοῦ ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ[241], ἐς ὃ καταφεύγουσι οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι· ἐπεί τε δέ σφι Ἱππίης καλεόμενος ἧκε, μεταπεμψάμενοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἀγγέλους, ἔλεγόν σφι Σπαρτιῆται τάδε· "ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, συγγινώσκομεν αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν οὐ ποιήσασι ὀρθῶς[242]. ἐπαρθέντες γὰρ κιβδήλοισι μαντηΐοισι, ἄνδρας ξείνους ἐόντας ἡμῖν τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ἀναδεκομένους ὑποχειρίας παρέξειν τὰς Ἀθήνας, τούτους ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἐξηλάσαμεν, καὶ ἔπειτα, ποιήσαντες ταῦτα, δήμῳ ἀχαρίστῳ παρεδώκαμεν τὴν πόλιν· ὃς ἐπεί τε δι' ἡμέας ἐλευθερωθεὶς ἀνέκυψε, ἡμέας μὲν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἡμέων περιϋβρίσας ἐξέβαλε, δόξαν δὲ φύσας[243] αὐξάνεται· ὥστε ἐκμεμαθήκασι μάλιστα μὲν οἱ περίοικοι αὐτῶν Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Χαλκιδέες, τάχα δέ τις καὶ ἄλλος ἐκμαθήσεται ἁμαρτών. ἐπεί τε δὲ ἐκεῖνα ποιήσαντες ἡμάρτομεν, νῦν πειρησόμεθά σφεας ἅμα ὑμῖν ἀκεόμενοι τίσασθαι· αὐτοῦ γὰρ τούτου εἵνεκεν τόνδε τε τὸν Ἱππίην μετεπεμψάμεθα, καὶ ὑμέας ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων, ἵνα κοινῷ τε λόγῳ καὶ κοινῷ στόλῳ ἐσαγαγόντες αὐτὸν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀποδῶμεν τὰ καὶ ἀπειλόμεθα."

and send for delegates from their allies to meet Hippias.

92 Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον· τῶν δὲ συμμάχων τὸ πλῆθος οὐκ ἐνεδέκετο τοὺς λόγους. οἱ μέν νυν ἄλλοι ἡσυχίην ἦγον, Κορίνθιος δὲ Σωσικλέης ἔλεξε τάδε.

Sosicles, a Corinthian, deprecates

[240] μαθόντες δέ. The particle δὲ in this use corresponds nearly to the Latin *inquam*. It serves to recal the attention to the principal point to be impressed upon it, after a kind of digression.

[241] ἀπὸ Σιγείου τοῦ ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ. See above, § 65, and below, § 94.

[242] συγγινώσκομεν αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν οὐ ποιήσασι ὀρθῶς. Compare ix. 60, συνοίδαμεν ὑμῖν . . . . ἐοῦσι πολλὸν προθυμοτάτοισι.

[243] δόξαν φύσας, "having gained glory." This could hardly be said of the Athenian commonalty at the time of which Herodotus is speaking, and would scarcely have been said of them by a Spartan at any time. But it should be remembered that here it is probably an Athenian speaking under the Spartan mask; and consequently it is no more surprising that he should pay a compliment to his own countrymen in the assumed character, than that he should make the Lacedæmonians charge themselves with being deceived by spurious oracles, with breach of faith to their own allies, with making a formal compact with tyrants, and end with prophesying evil to themselves from Athens (for it seems scarcely doubtful that they themselves are indicated by the words τις καὶ ἄλλος). To make such a speech as is here attributed to the Lacedæmonians would, from the Hellenic point of view, be equivalent to proclaiming themselves as the enemies of the gods, led into the path of destruction by their own tutelary deity, the Delphic Apollo. It would be applying to themselves the current sentiment which is embodied by Sophocles in the well-known words (*Antig.* 620):

σοφίᾳ γὰρ ἔκ του
κλεινὸν ἔπος πέφανται
τὸ κακὸν δοκεῖν ποτ' ἐσθλὸν
τῷδ' ἔμμεν ὅτῳ φρένας
θεὸς ἄγει πρὸς ἄταν·
πράσσει δ' ὀλιγοστὸν χρόνον ἐκτὸς ἄτας.

their proposal, and

"Ἦ δὴ ὅ τε οὐρανὸς ἔσται ἔνερθε τῆς γῆς[244] καὶ ἡ γῆ μετέωρος ὑπὲρ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι νομὸν ἐν θαλάσσῃ ἕξουσι καὶ οἱ ἰχθύες τὸν πρότερον ἄνθρωποι, ὅτε γε ὑμεῖς[245], ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἰσοκρατίας καταλύοντες τυραννίδας ἐς τὰς πόλις κατάγειν[246] παρασκευάζεσθε· τοῦ οὔτε ἀδικώτερον οὐδέν ἐστι κατ' ἀνθρώπους οὔτε μιαιφονώτερον. εἰ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτό γε δοκέει ὑμῖν εἶναι χρηστὸν, ὥστε τυραννεύεσθαι τὰς πόλις, αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι τύραννον καταστησάμενοι παρὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι, οὕτω καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι δίζησθε κατιστάναι· νῦν δὲ, αὐτοὶ ἄπειροι ἐόντες τυράννων, καὶ φυλάσσοντες δεινότατα τοῦτο ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ μὴ γενέσθαι, παραχρᾶσθε ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους[247]. εἰ δὲ αὐτοὶ ἔμπειροι ἔατε κατάπερ ἡμεῖς, εἴχετε ἂν περὶ αὐτοῦ γνώμας ἀμείνονας συμβάλλεσθαι ἤπερ νῦν.

reminds them of the times of the Cypselids at Corinth.

Aetion married Labda, a lame person, daughter of Amphion, a Bacchiad.

ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΙΣΙ γὰρ ἦν πόλιος κατάστασις τοιήδε· ἦν ὀλιγαρχίη, καὶ οὗτοι[a] Βακχιάδαι καλεόμενοι ἔνεμον τὴν πόλιν· ἐδίδοσαν δὲ καὶ ἤγοντο ἐξ ἀλλήλων[248]. Ἀμφίονι δὲ, ἐόντι τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν, γίνεται θυγάτηρ χωλή· οὔνομα δέ οἱ ἦν Λάβδα[249]· ταύτην,

[244] ὅ τε οὐρανὸς ἔσται ἔνερθε τῆς γῆς. This is one of the passages which show the firm conviction prevalent at the time, that the earth was fixed and the heaven a firmament above it. In the formula of a treaty between the Romans and the Latins, preserved by DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS, the peace was to last μέχρις ἂν οὐρανός τε καὶ γῆ τὴν αὐτὴν στάσιν ἔχωσι (vi. 95). This treaty was made in the year 491 B.C. Compare the treachery described by Herodotus iv. 201. But after the times of the Ptolemies, when the real figure of the earth became known, other modes became resorted to for the purpose of illustrating the fixedness of the established order of things (see VIRGIL, *Bucol.* i. 60; OVID, *Trist.* i. 8. 5; SENECA, *Med.* 373), and this too by poets especially fond of reproducing ancient images.

[245] ὅτε γε ὑμεῖς. THUCYDIDES (i. 18) remarks that not only the Athenian tyranny, but the same form of government in the rest of Greece, where it generally existed, was, with the exception of Sicily, in almost every case put an end to by the Lacedæmonians, who, for the space of more than four hundred years ending with the termination of the Peloponnesian war, had been well governed and free from despotic rulers.

[246] κατάγειν. This is the technical phrase for bringing home an exile to his country. See i. 60, where Athene is said κατάγειν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἀκρόπολιν the banished Pisistratus. The exile himself was said κατιέναι. The idiom is very distinctly shown in EURIPIDES, *Med.* 1015:

ΠΑΙΔΑΓΩΓΟΣ. θάρσει· κάτει τοι καὶ σὺ πρὸς τέκνων ἔτι.
ΜΗΔΕΙΑ. ἄλλους κατάξω πρόσθεν ἡ τάλαιν' ἐγώ.

[247] παραχρᾶσθε ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους, "you take the matter lightly when it touches your allies." παραχρῆσθαι is equivalent to ἐκ παρέργου χρῆσθαι.

[a] οὗτοι, *viz.* οἱ ὀλίγοι, gathered by inference from the word ὀλιγαρχία.

[248] This limitation of the "connubium" to members of the same body is expressed by Herodotus elsewhere by the words ἐπιγαμίας ποιεῖσθαι (ii. 147). Instead of διδόναι the more technical phrase is ἐκδιδόναι. See note 136 on ii. 47.

[249] οὔνομα δέ οἱ ἦν Λάβδα. If Herodotus means to represent this name as a *soubriquet*, given to Amphion's daughter from the circumstance of one leg being

Βακχιαδέων γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἤθελε γῆμαι, ἴσχει Ἠετίων ὁ Ἐχεκράτεος, δήμου μὲν [ἐκ Πέτρης] ἐὼν[250], ἀτὰρ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν[251] Λαπίθης τε καὶ Καινείδης[252]· ἐκ δέ οἱ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς οὐδ' ἐξ ἄλλης παῖδες ἐγίνοντο[253]. ἐστάλη ὦν ἐς Δελφοὺς περὶ γόνου· ἐσιόντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἰθέως ἡ Πυθίη προσαγορεύει τοισίδε τοῖσι ἔπεσι·

Ἠετίων, οὔτις σε τίει πολύτιτον ἐόντα.
Λάβδα κύει, τέξει δ' ὀλοοίτροχον· ἐν δὲ πεσεῖται
ἀνδράσι μουνάρχοισι, δικαιώσει δὲ Κόρινθον.

ταῦτα χρησθέντα τῷ Ἠετίωνι ἐξαγγέλλεταί κως τοῖσι Βακχιάδῃσι, τοῖσι τὸ μὲν πρότερον γενόμενον χρηστήριον ἐς Κόρινθον ἦν ἄσημον, φέρον τε ἐς τὠυτὸ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἠετίωνος καὶ λέγον ὧδε·

Αἰετὸς ἐν πέτρῃσι κύει· τέξει δὲ λέοντα
καρτερὸν, ὠμηστήν· πολλῶν δ' ὑπὸ γούνατα λύσει.
ταῦτά νυν εὖ φράζεσθε, Κορίνθιοι, οἳ περὶ καλὴν
Πειρήνην[254] οἰκεῖτε καὶ ὀφρυόεντα Κόρινθον.

τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοῖσι Βακχιάδῃσι πρότερον γενόμενον ἦν ἀτέκμαρ- Cypselus is the issue,

longer than the other (like the letter Λ), the late origin of the story appears. Much later than the time of Cypselus λ was written ⊬ in inscriptions.

[250] δήμου μὲν ἐών, "being a member of the commonalty." The words ἐκ Πέτρης appear to me an interpolation by an annotator who took δήμου to mean a *local* burgh here as below. But the word ἀτὰρ indicates an opposition; and there would be none whatever if δήμου meant a local burgh in this place.

[251] τὰ ἀνέκαθεν. See note 156 on § 62, above.

[252] Καινείδης. Gaisford has Καινίδης. The MSS vary between the two forms. But the eponymous ancestor is Καινεὺς, of whom Nestor speaks in the *Iliad* (i. 264) as one of the Lapithæ, whose ally, in their war against the Centaurs, he was in his youth.

[253] ἐκ δέ οἱ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς οὐδ' ἐξ ἄλλης παῖδες ἐγίνοντο. It has been considered that this construction is a parallel to such passages as Aristophanes, *Av.* 695, γῆ δ' οὐδ' ἀὴρ οὐδ' οὐρανὸς ἦν, i.e. where the negation is omitted in the beginning of the sentence and supplied by inference from the subsequent clauses. But this idiom seems appropriate only to the style of poetry. And it is unnecessary to suppose it here. Herodotus wishes to say that Ætion had children by this woman, but by no other, and then goes on to tell the particulars. The legend apparently made him to be a person regarded as barren; and hence the expression of the oracle: οὔτις σε τίει πολύτιτον ἐόντα. Labda was bestowed upon him under the idea that he would not become a father.

[254] Πειρήνην. This fountain is described by Strabo as being immediately under the summit on which the temple of Aphrodite stood. The spring itself did not overflow, but was always full of excellent water. Livy, after his manner, exaggerates the features of this part, "Arx inter omnia in immanem altitudinem edita, *scatens fontibus*" (xlv. 28). According to Strabo it was the lower part of the mountain, not the citadel, to which this description applies. Statius picturesquely remarks the shadow cast by the Acrocorinthus (see the next note) in the morning on the Cirrhæan gulf, in the evening on the Ægean (*Theb.* vii. 106):—

——"Summas caput Acrocorinthus in auras
Tollit, et alternâ geminum mare protegit umbrâ."

τον· τότε δὲ, τὸ Ἠετίωνι γενόμενον ὡς ἐπύθοντο, αὐτίκα καὶ τὸ πρότερον συνῆκαν ἐὸν συνῳδὸν τῷ Ἠετίωνος· συνέντες δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, εἶχον ἐν ἡσυχίῃ, ἐθέλοντες τὸν μέλλοντα Ἠετίωνι γενέσθαι γόνον διαφθεῖραι. ὡς δ' ἔτεκε ἡ γυνὴ τάχιστα, πέμπουσι σφέων αὐτῶν δέκα ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐν τῷ κατοίκητο Ἠετίων, ἀποκτενέοντας τὸ παιδίον· ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οὗτοι ἐς τὴν Πέτρην[255], καὶ παρελθόντες ἐς τὴν αὐλὴν τοῦ Ἠετίωνος, αἴτεον τὸ παιδίον· ἡ δὲ Λάβδα, εἰδυῖά τε οὐδὲν τῶν εἵνεκα ἐκεῖνοι ἀπικοίατο καὶ δοκέουσά σφεας φιλοφροσύνης τοῦ πατρὸς εἵνεκα αἰτέειν, φέρουσα ἐνεχείρισε αὐτῶν ἑνί· τοῖσι δὲ ἄρα ἐβεβούλευτο κατ' ὁδὸν, τὸν πρῶτον αὐτῶν λαβόντα τὸ παιδίον προσουδίσαι[256]· ἐπεί τε ὦν ἔδωκε φέρουσα ἡ Λάβδα, τὸν λαβόντα τῶν ἀνδρῶν θείῃ τύχῃ προσεγέλασε τὸ παιδίον· καὶ τὸν, φρασθέντα τοῦτο, οἶκτός τις ἴσχει ἀποκτεῖναι· κατοικτείρας δὲ παραδιδοῖ τῷ δευτέρῳ· ὁ δὲ, τῷ τρίτῳ· οὕτω δὴ διεξῆλθε διὰ πάντων τῶν δέκα παραδιδόμενον, οὐδενὸς βουλομένου διεργάσασθαι· ἀποδόντες ὦν ὀπίσω τῇ τεκούσῃ τὸ παιδίον καὶ ἐξελθόντες ἔξω, ἑστεῶτες ἐπὶ τῶν θυρέων ἀλλήλων ἅπτοντο καταιτιώμενοι, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ πρώτου λαβόντος ὅτι οὐκ ἐποίησε κατὰ τὰ δεδογμένα· ἐς ὃ δή σφι, χρόνου ἐγγινομένου, ἔδοξε αὖτις παρελθόντας πάντας τοῦ φόνου μετίσχειν. ἔδει δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἠετίωνος γόνου Κορίνθῳ κακὰ ἀναβλαστεῖν· ἡ Λάβδα γὰρ πάντα ταῦτα ἤκουε ἑστεῶσα πρὸς αὐτῇσι τῇσι θύρῃσι· δείσασα δὲ μή σφι μεταδόξῃ καὶ τὸ δεύτερον λαβόντες τὸ παιδίον ἀποκτείνωσι, φέρουσα κατακρύπτει ἐς τὸ ἀφραστότατόν οἱ ἐφαίνετο εἶναι, ἐς κυψέλην· ἐπισταμένη ὡς εἰ ὑποστρέψαντες ἐς ζήτησιν ἀπικοίατο, πάντα ἐρευνήσειν μέλλοιεν· τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγίνετο. ἐλθοῦσι δὲ καὶ διζημένοισι αὐτοῖσι ὡς οὐκ ἐφαίνετο, ἐδόκεε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς ἀποπέμψαντας ὡς πάντα ποιήσειαν τὰ ἐκεῖνοι ἐνετείλαντο.

[255] τὴν Πέτρην. It appears from this expression that the house of Aetion was in a part of Corinth which was called ἡ πέτρα, but it does not follow that such was the *name* of the *local deme* in which he resided. And there is no trace of a Corinthian deme being so named any where except in the present narrative. In STRABO's time the town lay *under* the rock on which the citadel was built, the sharp summit of which was surmounted with a temple of Aphrodite, and had the name Acrocorinthus appropriated to it. This last is the "beetling Corinth" of the oracle; but the term ἡ πέτρα might well have been applied to the whole mountain, which extended so far that the ascent was thirty *stades* (viii. p. 211).

[256] προσουδίσαι. Compare EURIPIDES, *Med.* 1151, βρέφος τε τοὐμὸν ζῶν προσουδίσας πέδῳ. In *Psalm* cxxxvi. 9 the expression for the same act is in the Septuagint ἐδαφίζειν.

οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπελθόντες ἔλεγον ταῦτα· Ἠετίωνι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ παῖς αὐξάνετο· καί οἱ διαφυγόντι τοῦτον τὸν κίνδυνον ἀπὸ τῆς κυψέλης ἐπωνυμίην Κύψελος οὔνομα ἐτέθη. ἀνδρωθέντι δὲ καὶ μαντευομένῳ Κυψέλῳ ἐγένετο ἀμφιδέξιον χρηστήριον ἐν Δελφοῖσι, τῷ πίσυνος γενόμενος ἐπεχείρησέ τε καὶ ἔσχε Κόρινθον [257]. ὁ δὲ χρησμὸς ὅδε ἦν· who, when grown up, encouraged by an oracle from Delphi, makes himself tyrant of Corinth.

> Ὄλβιος οὗτος ἀνὴρ ὃς ἐμὸν δόμον ἐσκαταβαίνει [258],
> Κύψελος Ἠετίδης [259], βασιλεὺς κλειτοῖο Κορίνθου·
> αὐτὸς, καὶ παῖδες, παίδων γε μὲν οὐκέτι παῖδες.

Τὸ μὲν δὴ χρηστήριον τοῦτο ἦν. τυραννεύσας δὲ ὁ Κύψελος, τοιοῦτος δή τις ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο· πολλοὺς μὲν Κορινθίων ἐδίωξε, πολλοὺς δὲ χρημάτων ἀπεστέρησε [260], πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλείστους τῆς ψυχῆς. ἄρξαντος δὲ τούτου ἐπὶ τριήκοντα ἔτεα καὶ διαπλέξαντος [261] τὸν βίον εὖ, διάδοχός οἱ τῆς τυραννίδος ὁ παῖς Περίανδρος γίνεται. ὁ τοίνυν Περίανδρος κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἦν ἠπιώτερος τοῦ πατρός· ἐπεί τε δὲ ὡμίλησε [262] δι' ἀγγέλων Θρασυβούλῳ τῷ He is succeeded by his son Periander, who be-

257 ἐπεχείρησέ τε καὶ ἔσχε Κόρινθον. These words seem to indicate that the tradition here followed made Cypselus effect a revolution by force. ARISTOTLE however couples him with Panætius in Leontium, Pisistratus in Athens, and Dionysius in Syracuse, as an instance of a person becoming a tyrant from a demagogue. (*Politic.* v. p. 1310, l. 29.) And in another passage (v. p. 1315, l. 22) he says of him that throughout his whole reign, which lasted thirty years, he had no body-guard (κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν διετέλεσεν ἀδορυφόρητος). The Corinthian speaker appears rather to conceive a case like that of Cylon at Athens. For other differences between his representations and other traditions, see notes 260 and 267.

258 ἐσκαταβαίνει. Valcknaer well remarks that this phrase is more appropriate to a person consulting the oracle of Trophonius, or some deity whose shrine was a cave, than to the case of the Delphic oracle.

259 Ἠετίδης. EUSEBIUS (*Præp. Evang.* v. 35), quoting this verse, has the variation Αἰακίδης. It has been ingeniously conjectured that the true reading is Αἰετίδης, a gentile name formed from αἰετὸς, under which term the father of Cypselus, Aetion, was symbolized in a former oracle.

260 χρημάτων ἀπεστέρησε. This, if the case at all, was apparently, according to other accounts, by excessive taxation. See note 267, below. ARISTOTLE (*Œconom.* ii. p. 1346, l. 32) says that Cypselus had made a vow to Zeus, that if he became sovereign of Corinth, he would offer up the whole property of the country. He fulfilled this vow by taking the tenth part every year for ten years; so that, says Aristotle, he fulfilled his vow, and *yet left the country as rich as before.*

261 διαπλέξαντος. Some MSS have διαπλεύσαντος. Neither of these readings look like a corruption from the other. The former may be illustrated by iv. 205: οὐδὲ Φερετίμη εὖ τὴν ζωὴν κατέπλεξε, the latter by PLATO, *Phædon.* § 78: ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σχεδίας κινδυνεύοντα διαπλεῦσαι τὸν βίον.

262 ἐπεί τε δὲ ὡμίλησε. ARISTOTLE (*Politic.* iii. p. 1284, *a*, l. 28) tells the same story as Herodotus, except that he makes Periander the giver and Thrasybulus the recipient of the advice. That this is not an oversight is clear from his referring to the same transaction in another passage (*Politic.* v. p. 1311, *a*, l. 20), as τὸ Περιάνδρου πρὸς Θρασύβουλον συμβούλευμα, ἡ τῶν ὑπερεχόντων σταχύων κόλουσις. In LIVY we find the story transplanted to the soil of Latium, and the *dramatis personæ* the king Tarquin and his son Sextus. See note 494 on ii. 160

comes a more cruel tyrant than himself. *Anecdote of Thrasybulus of Miletus.*

Μιλήτου τυράννῳ, πολλῷ ἔτι ἐγένετο Κυψέλου μιαιφονώτερος. πέμψας γὰρ παρὰ Θρασύβουλον κήρυκα, ἐπυνθάνετο ὅντινα ἂν τρόπον ἀσφαλέστατον καταστησάμενος τῶν πρηγμάτων, κάλλιστα τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτροπεύοι; Θρασύβουλος δὲ τὸν ἐλθόντα παρὰ τοῦ Περιάνδρου ἐξῆγε ἔξω τοῦ ἄστεος· ἐσβὰς δὲ ἐς ἄρουραν ἐσπαρμένην, ἅμα τε διεξήϊε τὸ λήϊον, ἐπειρωτῶν τε καὶ ἀναποδίζων τὸν κήρυκα[263] κατὰ τὴν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου ἄπιξιν, καὶ ἐκόλουε αἰεὶ ὅκως τινὰ ἴδοι τῶν ἀσταχύων ὑπερέχοντα· κολούων δὲ, ἔρριπτε· ἐς ὃ τοῦ ληΐου τὸ κάλλιστόν τε καὶ βαθύτατον διέφθειρε τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ· διεξελθὼν δὲ τὸ χωρίον καὶ ὑποθέμενος ἔπος οὐδὲν, ἀποπέμπει τὸν κήρυκα. νοστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ κήρυκος ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον, ἦν πρόθυμος πυνθάνεσθαι τὴν ὑποθήκην ὁ Περίανδρος· ὁ δὲ οὐδέν οἱ ἔφη Θρασύβουλον ὑποθέσθαι· θωμάζειν τε αὐτοῦ, παρ' οἷόν μιν ἄνδρα ἀποπέμψειε, ὡς παραπλῆγά τε καὶ τῶν ἑωυτοῦ σινάμωρον· ἀπηγεόμενος τάπερ πρὸς Θρασυβούλου ὀπώπεε. Περίανδρος δὲ συνιεὶς τὸ ποιηθὲν, καὶ νόῳ ἴσχων ὥς οἱ ὑπετίθετο Θρασύβουλος τοὺς ὑπειρόχους τῶν ἀστῶν φονεύειν, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ πᾶσαν κακότητα ἐξέφαινε ἐς τοὺς πολιήτας. ὅσα γὰρ Κύψελος ἀπέλιπε κτείνων τε καὶ διώκων, Περίανδρός σφεα ἀπετέλεσε. μιῇ δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἀπέδυσε πάσας τὰς Κορινθίων γυναῖκας, διὰ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ γυναῖκα Μέλισσαν· πέμψαντι γάρ οἱ ἐς Θεσπρωτοὺς ἐπ' Ἀχέροντα ποταμὸν[264] ἀγγέλους ἐπὶ τὸ νεκυομαντήϊον παρακαταθήκης πέρι ξεινικῆς, οὔτε σημανέειν ἔφη ἡ Μέλισσα ἐπιφανεῖσα, οὔτε κατερέειν ἐν τῷ κέεται χώρῳ ἡ παρακαταθήκη· ῥιγοῦν τε γὰρ καὶ εἶναι γυμνή· τῶν γὰρ

Anecdote of Periander and of his wife Melissa.

and 368 on iv. 144. The intimate connexion that existed between Periander and Thrasybulus appears from what Herodotus relates of the information sent by the former to Miletus (i. 20).

[263] ἀναποδίζων τὸν κήρυκα, "bringing the messenger back to his story." ÆSCHINES (*Ctesiph.* § 193) enlarging on the exactness of the jurymen formerly in technical matters, says: *πολλάκις ἀνεπόδιζον τὸν γραμματέα, καὶ ἐκέλευον πάλιν ἀναγινώσκειν τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα.*

[264] ἐς Θεσπρωτοὺς ἐπ' Ἀχέροντα ποταμόν. In Ambracia (which was in Thesprotia) another Periander (whom some accounts made to be the sage) possessed sovereign power. He was expelled by a conspiracy got up by one of the nobles in revenge for a gross insult, the commons siding with the conspirators. (ARISTOTLE, *Polit.* v. p. 1311, l. 40, and p. 1304, l. 32.) NEANTHES OF CYZICUM made him to be *cousin-german* of the Corinthian tyrant (*ap. Diog. Laert.* i. 98); but this does not appear on any earlier authority than his, *i. e.* about the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus. STRABO says that Ambracia was founded by Tolgus, the *son* of Cypselus (and therefore brother of the Corinthian Periander), and not far from the mouth of the river Acheron stood the Thesprotian *Ephyra*—the name anciently borne by Corinth (vii. c. 7, p. 120). It seems plain that Thesprotia was at this time under Cypselid influence; and also that *a* Periander, in some way nearly connected with the Corinthian tyrant, reigned there.

οἱ συγκατέθαψε εἱμάτων ὄφελος εἶναι οὐδὲν, οὐ κατακαυθέντων· μαρτύριον δέ οἱ εἶναι ὡς ἀληθέα ταῦτα λέγει, ὅτι ἐπὶ ψυχρὸν τὸν ἰπνὸν Περίανδρος τοὺς ἄρτους ἐπέβαλε. ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ὀπίσω ἀπηγγέλθη τῷ Περιάνδρῳ, (πιστὸν γάρ οἱ ἦν τὸ συμβόλαιον, ὃς νεκρῷ ἐούσῃ Μελίσσῃ[265] ἐμίγη,) ἰθέως δὴ μετὰ τὴν ἀγγελίην κήρυγμα ἐποιήσατο, ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον[266] ἐξιέναι πάσας τὰς Κορινθίων γυναῖκας. αἱ μὲν δὴ, ὡς ἐς ὁρτὴν, ἤϊσαν κόσμῳ τῷ καλλίστῳ χρεώμεναι· ὁ δ' ὑποστήσας τοὺς δορυφόρους, ἀπέδυσέ σφεας πάσας ὁμοίως τάς τ' ἐλευθέρας καὶ τὰς ἀμφιπόλους· συμφορήσας δὲ ἐς ὄρυγμα, Μελίσσῃ ἐπευχόμενος κατέκαιε· ταῦτα δέ οἱ ποιήσαντι καὶ τὸ δεύτερον πέμψαντι ἔφρασε τὸ εἴδωλον τὸ Μελίσσης ἐς τὸν κατέθηκε χῶρον τοῦ ξείνου τὴν παρακαταθήκην. τοιοῦτο μέν ἐστι ὑμῖν ἡ τυραννὶς[267], ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ τοιούτων

265 Μελίσσῃ. This was not only a proper name, but a technical term of the female hierophants of Demeter and Persephone. (HESYCH. *sub v.* μέλισσαι, and PORPHYRY, *De Antro Nympharum*, quoted by Küster in his note on the same.) It was also a name of Selene in the character of Lucina. It seems not unlikely that the horrible story in the text grew out of a perversion of the fact that Periander habitually consulted the oracle of the χθονία θεὰ, just as Numa was represented as the husband of the nymph Egeria. See note 164 on i. 52.

266 ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον. This was the temple of Here under the surname βουναία, situated not *outside* the city, as might be guessed from the phrase ἐξιέναι, but just under the summit Acrocorinthus. PAUSANIAS describes it last of all the temples seen on the ascent to the summit, which itself was surmounted by the temple of Aphrodite (ii. 4. 7). See note 255, above. The local legends made it founded by one Bunus, son of Hermes and Alcidamea, and a curious story brought it into connexion with the magical rites ascribed to Medea. This rests on the authority of EUMELUS, a Corinthian and Bacchiad genealogical poet, whose traditions therefore represent the mythical views prevalent at Corinth in his time, which is supposed to be the eighth century before the Christian era. Helios (the sun-god) gave the region of the Asopus to Aloeus, and that of Ephyra (the ancient name of Corinth) to Æetes, the father of Medea. Æetes departing for Colchis put the government in the hands of Bunus, on whose death Epopes, the son of Aloeus, succeeded to the sovereignty. Afterwards on the death of Corinthus, son of Marathon, the Corinthians sent for Medea from Iolchus, and made her queen. Through her influence Jason reigned in Corinth, and Medea had children by him. But these, as they were born, their mother *buried* in the temple of Here Bunæa, in the hope of rendering them immortal. Being detected by Jason in the act, and also deceived in her expectation, she fled and left the sovereignty to Sisyphus. The act attributed to Medea indicates that Here Bunæa was a χθονία θεὸς, and the same thing would be inferred from the temples in her immediate neighbourhood,—which were, one to the Μητὴρ θεῶν, and another to the Mœræ, Demeter, and Cora. Concerning the import and origin of the word βουναία, see *Excursus on* iv. 199.

267 τοιοῦτο μέν ἐστι ὑμῖν ἡ τυραννίς. The speaker takes no notice of that which, according to other accounts, seems to have been characteristic of the Cypselid dynasty, *viz.* their prodigal expenditure in votive offerings, which however was primarily designed to secure themselves in power by crippling the resources of their countrymen. THEOPHRASTUS (*ap. Photium, sub v.* Κυψελιδῶν ἀνάθημα) mentions "the pyramids in Egypt and the Colossus of the Cypselidæ" as erected with this object. ARISTOTLE (*Polit.* v. p. 1313, line 22) takes the same view. EPHORUS (*ap.*

ἔργων. ἡμέας δὲ τοὺς Κορινθίους τότε αὐτίκα θῶμα μέγα εἶχε, ὅτε ὑμέας εἴδομεν μεταπεμπομένους Ἱππίην· νῦν τε δὴ καὶ μεζόνως θωμάζομεν λέγοντας ταῦτα· ἐπιμαρτυρόμεθά τε, ἐπικαλεόμενοι ὑμῖν θεοὺς τοὺς Ἑλληνίους, μὴ κατιστάναι τυραννίδας ἐς τὰς πόλις· οὔκων[268] παύσεσθε ἀλλὰ πειρήσεσθε παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον κατάγοντες Ἱππίην, ἴστε ὑμῖν Κορινθίους γε οὐ συναινέοντας."

Hippias replies to Sosicles predicting evil to Corinth from Athens.

93 Σωσικλέης μὲν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου πρεσβεύων ἔλεξε τάδε. Ἱππίης δὲ αὐτὸν ἀμείβετο, τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπικαλέσας θεοὺς κείνῳ, ἦ μὴν[269] Κορινθίους μάλιστα πάντων ἐπιποθήσειν Πεισιστρατίδας, ὅταν σφι ἥκωσι ἡμέραι αἱ κύριαι ἀνιᾶσθαι ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων. Ἱππίης μὲν τούτοισι ἀμείψατο, οἷά τε τοὺς χρησμοὺς ἀτρεκέστατα ἀνδρῶν ἐξεπιστάμενος· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων τέως μὲν εἶχον ἐν ἡσυχίῃ σφέας αὐτούς· ἐπεί τε δὲ Σωσικλέος ἤκουσαν εἴπαντος ἐλευθέρως, ἅπας τις αὐτῶν φωνὴν ῥήξας, αἱρέετο τοῦ Κορινθίου τὴν γνώμην· Λακεδαιμονίοισί τε ἐπεμαρτυρέοντο, μὴ ποιέειν μηδὲν νεώτερον περὶ πόλιν Ἑλλάδα. οὕτω μὲν ταῦτα ἐπαύσθη.

94 Ἱππίῃ δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ἀπελαυνομένῳ ἐδίδου μὲν Ἀμύντης ὁ Μακεδὼν Ἀνθεμοῦντα[270], ἐδίδοσαν δὲ Θεσσαλοὶ Ἰωλκόν. ὁ δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐδέτερα αἱρέετο, ἀνεχώρεε δὲ ὀπίσω ἐς Σίγειον[271], τὸ εἷλε

Diog. Laert. i. 96) gives a different reason from Herodotus for the stripping of the women at the Heræum. Periander had made a vow that if he won the chariot race he would erect a golden statue (the famous Colossus) at Olympia. Finding his stock of gold insufficient, and observing the quantity of that metal worn by the women at "a certain" religious festival, he took that and made the image of it. Probably the clothes were burnt to obtain the inwrought gold; as by Crœsus (i. 50).

[268] *οὔκων.* So S, V. Gaisford *οὐκ οὖν.* The regimen in which this word is here used is peculiar to Herodotus. The sense is the same as if for it the words *καί, οὐ γὰρ* were substituted. See i. 11: *οὔκων δὴ ἔπειθε ἀλλ' ὥρα ἀναγκαίην ἀληθέως προκειμένην, . . . αἱρέεται αὐτὸς περιεῖναι.* i. 59: *οὔκων ταῦτα παραινέσαντος Χίλωνος πείθεσθαι θέλειν τὸν Ἱπποκράτεα, γενέσθαι οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν* Πεισίστρατον. Another mode of taking the passage would be by placing a note of interrogation after *Ἱππίην*, which would bring the construction under a well-known form. See notes 689 on i. 206 and 299 on iv. 118.

[269] *ἦ μήν.* Gaisford has, with some of the MSS, *ἦ μέν.* But the form in the text, which is supported by S and V, is appropriate when the very phraseology used is intended to be given.

[270] *Ἀνθεμοῦντα.* The town Anthemus lay near Thessalonica, but was further removed from the coast. An earlier connexion of Pisistratus with Macedonia appears from the circumstance of his having obtained a large revenue from the Strymon (i. 64), that is, apparently, from the neighbouring mines.

[271] *ὀπίσω ἐς Σίγειον.* Whither he had retreated on his expulsion from Athens by the Lacedæmonians. (See above, § 65.) The position of Sigeum was most favourable both for commerce and for plunder of commercial rivals. See the description of the headland in the note 117 on iv. 38. Under it there was an excellent port for vessels, which was supposed to be the site of the Hellenic camp during the Trojan war. The whole Troad was full of settlements of the Æolians, and Sigeum seems originally to have been fortified by them.

Πεισίστρατος αἰχμῇ παρὰ Μυτιληναίων· κρατήσας δὲ αὐτοῦ, κατέστησε τύραννον εἶναι παῖδα τὸν ἑωυτοῦ νόθον Ἡγησίστρατον, γεγονότα ἐξ Ἀργείης γυναικός[272]· *ὃς οὐκ ἀμαχητὶ εἶχε τά περ ἔλαβε παρὰ Πεισιστράτου· ἐπολέμεον γὰρ ἔκ τε Ἀχιλληΐου πόλιος ὁρμεώμενοι*[273] *καὶ Σιγείου ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν Μυτιληναῖοί τε καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι· οἱ μὲν ἀπαιτέοντες τὴν χώρην· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὔτε συγγινωσκόμενοι, ἀποδεικνύντες τε λόγῳ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον Αἰολεῦσι μετεὸν τῆς Ἰλιάδος χώρης, ἢ οὐ καὶ σφὶ καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι*[274] *ὅσοι Ἑλλήνων συνεπρήξαντο Μενέλεῳ*[275] *τὰς Ἑλένης ἁρπαγάς. Πολεμεόντων δέ σφεων, παντοῖα καὶ ἄλλα ἐγένετο ἐν* 95
τῇσι μάχῃσι· ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Ἀλκαῖος ὁ ποιητὴς, συμβολῆς γενομένης καὶ νικώντων Ἀθηναίων, αὐτὸς μὲν φεύγων ἐκφεύγει[276], *τὰ δέ οἱ ὅπλα ἴσχουσι Ἀθηναῖοι, καί σφεα ἀνεκρέμασαν πρὸς τὸ Ἀθήναιον τὸ ἐν Σιγείῳ. ταῦτα δὲ Ἀλκαῖος ἐν μέλεϊ ποιήσας ἐπιτιθεῖ ἐς Μυτιλήνην*[277], *ἐξαγγελλόμενος τὸ ἑωυτοῦ πάθος Με-*

It was wrested from them by Phrynon the Athenian, and probably recovered by Pittacus of Mytilene, who slew Phrynon in single combat. (STRABO, xiii. c. 1; *Diog. Laert.* i. 74.) After this perhaps the conquest by Pisistratus may have taken place. But Strabo takes no notice of any such thing.

[272] *ἐξ Ἀργείης γυναικός.* Perhaps this Argive connexion may have formed the link between Pisistratus and the Macedonian Amyntas, who was himself a Temenid, originally from Argos. (THUCYDIDES, ii. 99.)

[273] *ἐξ Ἀχιλληΐου πόλιος ὁρμεώμενοι.* These contests were of the nature of those between the rival settlers on the Palatine and Aventine Hills, or that between the Athenians of the acropolis and the Amazons on the Areopagus. (See note on ix. 27.) The Ἀχιλλήϊος πόλις was nothing more than a fortification thrown up about the barrow called the tomb of Achilles, which stood in the immediate vicinity of Sigeum. It was built as a means of annoying Sigeum (ἐπιτειχισμὸς), and the tradition (adopted by TIMÆUS, but rejected by DEMETRIUS OF SCEPSIS) ran that it was built from the stones of the demolished Ilium. (STRABO, xiii. c. 1.)

[274] *ἢ οὐ καὶ σφὶ καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι.* For illustration of this pleonastic use of οὐ see note 300 on iv. 118.

[275] *ὅσοι Ἑλλήνων συνεπρήξαντο Μενέλεῳ.* ÆSCHYLUS (*Eumenid.* 397) puts the mythical argument for the Athenian claim to the disputed territory by making Athene come from the region in dispute, she having gone thither to hansel it immediately after the Trojan war:—

πρόσωθεν ἐξήκουσα κληδόνος βοὴν,
ἀπὸ Σκαμάνδρου, γῆν καταφθατουμένη
ἣν δῆτ' Ἀχαιῶν ἄκτορές τε καὶ πρόμοι,
τῶν αἰχμαλώτων χρημάτων λάχος μέγα,
ἔνειμαν αὐτόπρεμνον εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἐμοί·
ἐξαίρετον δώρημα Θησέως τόκοις.

[276] *Ἀλκαῖος ὁ ποιητὴς . . . . φεύγων ἐκφεύγει.* This incident, although as related it would naturally be taken to have happened in the course of the wars springing out of the occupation of Sigeum by Pisistratus, must undoubtedly have taken place long before if at all, as Alcæus was the contemporary and enemy of Pittacus, who slew Phrynon. (See note 271, above.) Phrynon's victory at Olympia as a pancratiast is placed in B.C. 636 (see CLINTON). And Periander died in all probability about B.C. 585 (see CLINTON), twenty-five years before Pisistratus became powerful in Athens.

[277] *ἐπιτιθεῖ ἐς Μυτιλήνην.* See note 125 on iii. 43.

λανίππῳ ἀνδρὶ ἑταίρῳ. Μυτιληναίους δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίους κατήλλαξε Περίανδρος ὁ Κυψέλου· τούτῳ γὰρ διαιτητῇ ἐπετράποντο. κατήλλαξε δὲ ὧδε· νέμεσθαι ἑκατέρους[278] τὴν ἔχουσι. Σίγειον
96 μέν νυν οὕτω ἐγένετο ὑπ' Ἀθηναίοισι[279]. Ἱππίης δὲ ἐπεί τε ἀπίκετο ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, πᾶν χρῆμα ἐκίνεε, διαβάλλων τε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πρὸς τὸν Ἀρταφέρνεα, καὶ ποιέων ἅπαντα ὅκως αἱ Ἀθῆναι γενοίατο ὑπ' ἑωυτῷ τε καὶ Δαρείῳ. Ἱππίης τε δὴ ταῦτα ἔπρησσε, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πυθόμενοι ταῦτα, πέμπουσι ἐς Σάρδις ἀγγέλους οὐκ ἐῶντες[280] τοὺς Πέρσας πείθεσθαι Ἀθηναίων τοῖσι φυγάσι· ὁ δὲ Ἀρταφέρνης ἐκέλευέ σφεας, εἰ βουλοίατο σόοι εἶναι, καταδέκεσθαι ὀπίσω Ἱππίην. οὔκων δὴ ἐνεδέκοντο τοὺς λόγους ἀποφερομένους Ἀθηναῖοι· οὐκ ἐνδεκομένοισι δέ σφι δέδοκτο ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι πολεμίους εἶναι[281].

97 Resumption of the history of Aristagoras's proceedings from § 55.

Νομίζουσι δὴ ταῦτα, καὶ διαβεβλημένοισι ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τῷ καιρῷ ὁ Μιλήσιος Ἀρισταγόρης, ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου ἐξελασθεὶς ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης, ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας[282]· αὕτη γὰρ ἡ πόλις τῶν λοιπέων ἐδυνάστευε μέγιστα[283]· ἐπελθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης, ταὐτὰ[284] ἔλεγε τὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ, περὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, καὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ Περσικοῦ, ὡς οὔτε ἀσπίδα οὔτε δόρυ νομίζουσι[285], εὐπετέες

278 ἑκατέρους. Several MSS have ἀμφοτέρους, of which perhaps the reading in the text is a refinement,—possibly an improvement from the hand of the author himself.

279 Σίγειον μέν νυν οὕτω ἐγένετο ὑπ' Ἀθηναίοισι. The account in the text is such a one as might accord with the popular view at Athens. No mention whatever is made of the victory obtained over the Athenian general Phrynon (see note 271, above). The only circumstances alluded to are honourable to Athenian prowess, and the settlement of the question is represented as favourable to the justice of their claim. But in order to combine these advantages chronology is set at nought. See notes 213 and 214 on i. 63 and 64, also 138 on iii. 47.

280 οὐκ ἐῶντες, "protesting against."

281 οὐκ ἐνδεκομένοισι δέ σφι δέδοκτο ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι πολεμίους εἶναι, "and in refusing to receive them they had openly decided upon being at war with the Persians." This expression seems introduced as a sort of justification for the Athenian attack on Sardis. And if the outrage on the Persian ambassadors (recorded in vii. 133) really took place, it too might probably have been excused by the Athenians on the ground that they were at the time at open war with Persia; so that the demand was a gratuitous insult. See the note 370 on iii. 134.

282 ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. So the manuscripts S and V. Gaisford, with several others, omits the article.

283 τῶν λοιπέων ἐδυνάστευε μέγιστα. This is a somewhat less flattering way of putting what he had said above, i. 56, that the Lacedæmonians and Athenians were the most powerful of the Hellenes, each being the leaders of the races to which they respectively belonged.

284 ταὐτά. Gaisford ταῦτα.

285 οὔτε ἀσπίδα οὔτε δόρυ νομίζουσι. See note 484 on i. 142.

τε χειρωθῆναι εἴησαν. ταῦτά τε δὴ ἔλεγε, καὶ πρὸς τοῖσι τάδε, ὡς οἱ Μιλήσιοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων εἰσὶ ἄποικοι, καὶ οἰκός σφεας εἴη ῥύεσθαι δυναμένους μέγα· καὶ οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ ὑπίσχετο, οἷα κάρτα δεόμενος· ἐς ὃ ἀνέπεισέ σφεας. πολλοὺς γὰρ οἶκε εἶναι εὐπετέστερον διαβάλλειν ἢ ἕνα[286], εἰ Κλεομένεα μὲν τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον μοῦνον οὐκ οἷός τε ἐγένετο διαβάλλειν, τρεῖς δὲ μυριάδας Ἀθηναίων ἐποίησε τοῦτο. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν δὴ ἀναπεισθέντες, ἐψηφίσαντο εἴκοσι νέας ἀποστεῖλαι βοηθοὺς Ἴωσι, στρατηγὸν ἀποδέξαντες αὐτῶν εἶναι Μελάνθιον, ἄνδρα τῶν ἀστῶν, ἐόντα τὰ πάντα δόκιμον. αὗται δὲ αἱ νέες ἀρχὴ κακῶν ἐγένοντο[287] Ἕλλησί τε καὶ Βαρβάροισι.

Ἀρισταγόρης δὲ προπλώσας, καὶ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Μίλητον, 98
ἐξευρὼν βούλευμα ἀπ' οὗ Ἴωσι μὲν οὐδεμία ἔμελλε ὠφελίη ἔσεσθαι,—οὐδ' ὦν οὐδὲ τούτου εἵνεκα ἐποίεε, ἀλλ' ὅκως βασιλέα Δαρεῖον λυπήσειε,—ἔπεμψε ἐς τὴν Φρυγίην ἄνδρα ἐπὶ τοὺς Παίονας, τοὺς ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ[288] αἰχμαλώτους γενομένους ὑπὸ Μεγαβάζου, οἰκέοντας δὲ τῆς Φρυγίης χῶρόν τε καὶ κώμην ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν· ὃς ἐπεί τε ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς Παίονας, ἔλεγε τάδε· "ἄνδρες Παίονες, ἔπεμψέ με Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος σωτηρίην ὑμῖν ὑποθησόμενον, ἤνπερ βούλησθε πείθεσθαι· νῦν γὰρ Ἰωνίη πᾶσα ἀπέστηκε ἀπὸ βασιλέος, καὶ ὑμῖν παρέχει σώζεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν ὑμετέρην αὐτῶν. μέχρι μὲν θαλάσσης αὐτοῖσι

He sails to Miletus, and effects the escape of the Pæonians whom Darius had removed into Phrygia.

286 πολλοὺς γὰρ . . . διαβάλλειν ἢ ἕνα. This sentiment is one hardly calculated to find favour at Athens, and it contrasts strikingly in spirit with the remark in v. 78. It seems not impossible that the whole sentence is a note from a somewhat later hand, at a time when the numbers of the Athenians had become as great as those mentioned in the text. In the year 444 B.C. the number of professed citizens was only 19,000, and these were, on a scrutiny, reduced to 14,240. (See CLINTON on the year.) The next year the colony to Thurii, which Herodotus joined, took place; so that these numbers, if any, could hardly fail to be impressed on his mind. But 30,000 (which really was about the number of *armed citizens and metics*) seems, *in common belief*, to have been regarded as the number of *citizens* about the end of the fifth century B.C. ARISTOPHANES (*Eccles.* 1132) makes a servant-girl say to her master:—

τίς γὰρ γένοιτ' ἂν μᾶλλον ὀλβιώτερος,
ὅστις πολιτῶν πλεῖον ἢ τρισμυρίων
ὄντων τὸ πλῆθος οὐ δεδείπνηκας μόνος;

And Socrates (PLATO, *Sympos.* § 3) compliments Agathon, who had just been successful as a dramatic poet, on obtaining distinction before an audience of more than thirty thousand Greeks. (See CLINTON, F. H. vol. ii. *Appendix*, p. 390.)

287 αὗται αἱ νέες ἀρχὴ κακῶν ἐγένοντο. This was the first open act of hostility. But from the mention of the intrigues in the Persian court some time before (see iii. 134), it would seem that the conquest of Greece was projected long before the outbreak of the war, at least according to some accounts.

288 τοὺς ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ. See above, §§ 15. 23.

ὑμῖν, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἡμῖν ἤδη μελήσει." ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Παίονες, κάρτα τε ἀσπαστὸν ἐποιήσαντο καὶ ἀναλαβόντες παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας, ἀπεδίδρησκον ἐπὶ θάλασσαν· οἱ δέ τινες αὐτῶν καὶ κατέμειναν ἀρρωδήσαντες αὐτοῦ. ἐπεί τε δὲ οἱ Παίονες ἀπικέατο ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐνθεῦτεν ἐς Χίον διέβησαν· ἐόντων δὲ ἤδη ἐν Χίῳ, κατὰ πόδας ἐληλύθεε Περσέων ἵππος πολλὴ διώκουσα τοὺς Παίονας. ὡς δὲ οὐ κατέλαβον, ἐπηγγέλλοντο ἐς τὴν Χίον τοῖσι Παίοσι, ὅκως ἂν ὀπίσω ἀπέλθοιεν· οἱ δὲ Παίονες τοὺς λόγους οὐκ ἐνεδέκοντο· ἀλλ' ἐκ Χίου μὲν Χῖοί σφεας ἐς Λέσβον ἤγαγον, Λέσβιοι δὲ ἐς Δορίσκον[289] ἐκόμισαν· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ πεζῇ κομιζόμενοι ἀπικέατο ἐς Παιονίην.

99 Ἀρισταγόρης δὲ, ἐπειδὴ οἵ τε Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπικέατο εἴκοσι νηυσὶ ἅμα ἀγόμενοι Ἐρετριέων πέντε τριήρεας, οἳ οὐ τὴν Ἀθηναίων χάριν[290] ἐστρατεύοντο, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτῶν Μιλησίων, ὀφειλόμενά σφι ἀποδιδόντες· (οἱ γὰρ δὴ Μιλήσιοι πρότερον τοῖσι Ἐρετριεῦσι τὸν πρὸς Χαλκιδέας πόλεμον[291] συνδιήνεικαν, ὅτε περ καὶ Χαλκιδεῦσι ἀντία Ἐρετριέων καὶ Μιλησίων Σάμιοι ἐβοήθεον) οὗτοι ὦν ἐπεί τέ σφι ἀπικέατο καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι παρῆσαν, ἐποιέετο στρατηίην ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἐς Σάρδις. αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἐστρατεύετο ἀλλ' ἔμενε ἐν Μιλήτῳ· στρατηγοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀπέδεξε Μιλησίων εἶναι, τὸν ἑωυτοῦ τε ἀδελφεὸν Χαροπῖνον καὶ τῶν

Remaining in Miletus he sends an Athenian and Ionian force against Sardis,

100 ἄλλων ἀστῶν Ἑρμόφαντον. Ἀπικόμενοι δὲ τῷ στόλῳ τούτῳ Ἴωνες ἐς Ἔφεσον, πλοῖα μὲν κατέλιπον ἐν Κορήσσῳ[292] τῆς

which takes the city

[289] ἐς Δορίσκον. In Doriscus there was a Persian fort and a garrison at the time of which Herodotus is speaking (see vii. 59). And the position was undoubtedly a strong one; for Doriscus was the only Persian position on the European continent which was maintained against all the efforts of the victorious Greeks after the campaigns of 480 and 479 B.C. (See below, vii. 106.) If the fugitives therefore were landed there, they must have been supported by a strong Lesbian force to protect them from the garrison.

[290] οὐ τὴν Ἀθηναίων χάριν. The Eretrians were not likely to mix themselves up in a quarrel against the Pisistratids; for they strongly assisted Pisistratus at the time of his exile. (See i. 62, and also note on vi. 100.)

[291] τὸν πρὸς Χαλκιδέας πόλεμον. THUCYDIDES speaks of this war as one in which a very considerable Hellenic confederacy was organized on each side. It seems to have been one arising out of rival commercial interests, each of the principal belligerents being the metropolis of a large number of colonies. In Thrace especially their interests may be supposed to have jarred, Chalcis having filled the region above Olynthus with her settlements, and Eretria the peninsulas of Athos and Pallene with hers. (STRABO, x. c. 1, p. 323.) It is observable that as both of the towns are represented to have been founded from Athens by two different οἰκισταὶ (Æclus and Cothus) even before the Trojan war, so in latter times they appear connected with two different powerful Athenian families, those of Pisistratus and Isagoras. See note 199, above.

[292] ἐν Κορήσσῳ. STEPH. BYZANT. speaks of this place as one where a legend

Ἐφεσίης, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀνέβαινον χειρὶ πολλῇ ποιεύμενοι Ἐφεσίους ἡγεμόνας· πορευόμενοι δὲ παρὰ ποταμὸν Καΰστριον, ἐνθεῦτεν ἐπεί τε ὑπερβάντες τὸν Τμῶλον [293] ἀπίκοντο, αἱρέουσι Σάρδις, οὐδενός σφι ἀντιωθέντος· αἱρέουσι δὲ χωρὶς τῆς ἀκροπόλιος τἄλλα πάντα· τὴν δὲ ἀκρόπολιν ἐρύετο αὐτὸς Ἀρταφέρνης [294], ἔχων δύναμιν ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ὀλίγην. Τὸ δὲ μὴ λεηλατῆσαι ἑλόντας [295] 101
σφέας τὴν πόλιν, ἔσχε τόδε· ἦσαν ἐν τῇσι Σάρδισι οἰκίαι αἱ μὲν πλεῦνες καλάμιναι, ὅσαι δ' αὐτέων καὶ πλίνθιναι ἦσαν καλάμου εἶχον τὰς ὀροφάς. τουτέων δὴ μίαν τῶν τις στρατιωτέων ὡς ἐνέπρησε, αὐτίκα ἀπ' οἰκίης ἐς οἰκίην ἰὸν τὸ πῦρ ἐπενέμετο τὸ ἄστυ πᾶν· καιομένου δὲ τοῦ ἄστεος, οἱ Λυδοί τε καὶ ὅσοι Περσέων ἐνῆσαν ἐν τῇ πόλι ἀπολαμφθέντες πάντοθεν, ὥστε τὰ περιέσχατα νεμομένου τοῦ πυρὸς, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐξήλυσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος, συνέρρεον ἔς τε τὴν ἀγορὴν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Πακτωλὸν ποταμόν· ὅς σφι ψῆγμα χρυσοῦ καταφορέων ἐκ τοῦ Τμώλου διὰ μέσης τῆς ἀγορῆς ῥέει, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐς τὸν Ἕρμον ποταμὸν ἐκδιδοῖ, ὁ δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν· ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Πακτωλὸν καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἀθροιζόμενοι οἵ τε Λυδοὶ καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι, ἠναγκάζοντο ἀμύνεσθαι· οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες, ὁρέοντες τοὺς μὲν ἀμυνομένους τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς δὲ σὺν πλήθεϊ πολλῷ προσφερομένους [296], ἐξανεχώρησαν δείσαντες πρὸς

and burns it, but is repulsed from the citadel.

prevailed of Leto having given birth to Artemis on a spot where an altar to her was erected. A mountain is said to have been called by the name, but this place must have been on the coast, or the bank of the Cayster, by the ships being left there.

[293] ὑπερβάντες τὸν Τμῶλον. STRABO (xiii. c. 4, p. 151) mentions the Persians having built on the very summit of Tmolus a station of observation of white marble, commanding a view of the plains all around, *especially the valley of the Cayster*. It might almost seem that the surprise related in the text was the occasion of their doing this.

[294] αὐτὸς Ἀρταφέρνης, "Artaphernes in person." Probably the fact of his being at Sardis casually increased the numbers of the troops there, and hence the expression ἔχων δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγην. See notes 333 on iii. 120 and 296, below. The viceroy and brother of the king (above, § 25) would of course not move from one place to another without a guard.

[295] ἑλόντας. The manuscripts S and V have ἐλθόντας, which is perhaps a genuine reading.

[296] τοὺς δὲ σὺν πλήθεϊ πολλῷ προσφερομένους. This expression no doubt refers to the main army then concentrating on Sardis (§ 102). Herodotus mentions no special quarters from whence it was moved. Magnesia on the Mæander appears (iii. 122) to have been the military headquarters of a Persian satrap; and perhaps the force there was the nearest available. This supposition would account for the Ionians having intelligence of the troops being put in motion; for the communication between Sardis and Magnesia would be through the Ephesian territory, which was friendly to them. In this view of the matter ὁρῶντες should not be interpreted too strictly, although from Tmolus (see note 293, above) one probably could actually *see* the Persian columns marching towards the Cayster, before they reached the bank, and consequently while there was time to retreat.

τὸ οὖρος, τὸν Τμῶλον καλεόμενον· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὑπὸ νύκτα ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐπὶ τὰς νέας.

102 *The Persian army is concentrated, and defeats the Ionians at Ephesus.*

Καὶ Σάρδις μὲν ἐνεπρήσθησαν, ἐν δὲ αὐτῇσι καὶ ἱρὸν ἐπιχωρίης θεοῦ Κυβήβης[297]· τὸ σκηπτόμενοι οἱ Πέρσαι, ὕστερον ἀντενεπίμπρασαν τὰ ἐν Ἕλλησι ἱρά· τότε δὲ οἱ Πέρσαι οἱ ἐντὸς Ἅλυος ποταμοῦ νομοὺς ἔχοντες, προπυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα[298], συνηλίζοντο καὶ ἐβοήθεον τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι. καί κως ἐν μὲν Σάρδισι οὐκέτι ἐόντας τοὺς Ἴωνας εὑρίσκουσι· ἑπόμενοι δὲ κατὰ στίβον, αἱρέουσι αὐτοὺς[299] ἐν Ἐφέσῳ· καὶ ἀντετάχθησαν μὲν οἱ Ἴωνες,

[297] ἐπιχωρίης θεοῦ Κυβήβης. This passage shows that in the time of Herodotus Κυβέλη and Κυβήβη were regarded as two distinct deities. For at that period the former was completely identified in Hellenic notions with the μεγάλη μητήρ (see iv. 76), and if the latter had been so likewise, she would never have been described merely as in the text. The most probable supposition is that Κυβήβη was nearly identical with the Sidonian Astarte (Ashtaroth), the Assyrian Mylitta (see i. 131. 199), the Ἀφροδίτη Οὐρανία of the Cyprians (see i. 105), the Artemis Callisto of the Pelasgian-Arcadians, and the Venus of Latium,—that is to say, that she was a personification of the generative powers of Nature,—worshipped by rituals varying in detail, but in all cases of an impure character. The Syrian goddess described by LUCIAN (vol. ix. pp. 86—131, ed. Bipont), whose temple was at Hierapolis, near the Euphrates, may be regarded as furnishing the most developed of all recorded instances of this worship; and it appears not unlikely that from this centre the ritual spread in very early times throughout Asia Minor. (See note 329 on i. 93.) Lucian's description of the divinities (*Zeus* and *Here*, as he calls them) in the θάλαμος of the temple at Hierapolis is very instructive: ἄμφω ἕζονται· ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν Ἥρην λέοντες φορέουσι· ὁ δὲ [Ζεὺς] ταύροισιν ἐφέζεται· καὶ δῆτα τὸ μὲν τοῦ Διὸς ἄγαλμα ἐς Δία πάντα ὁρῇ, καὶ κεφαλὴν καὶ εἵματα καὶ ἕδρην· καί μιν οὐδὲ ἐθέλων ἄλλως εἰκάσεις· ἡ δὲ Ἥρη σκοπέοντί τοι πολυειδέα μορφὴν ἐκφανέει. καὶ τὰ μὲν σύμπαντα ἀτρεκέει λόγῳ Ἥρη ἐστί· ἔχει δέ τι καὶ Ἀθηναίης, καὶ Ἀφροδίτης, καὶ Σεληναίης, καὶ Ῥέης, καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ Νεμέσιος, καὶ Μοιρέων. χειρὶ δὲ τῇ μὲν ἑτέρῃ σκῆπτρον ἔχει, τῇ ἑτέρῃ δὲ ἄτρακτον· καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἀκτῖνας τε φορεῖ καὶ πύργον καὶ κεστὸν, τῷ μούνην τὴν Οὐρανίην κοσμέουσι. (*De Dea Syr.* § 31.) Lucian does not give the native name of the deity,—STRABO calls her Atargatis,—but it seems not impossible that it was Κομβήβη or Κόμβη (for Κομβάβος is the Atys of the Syrian mythology, and stands in the same relation to Κομβήβη that κύβηβος (=ὁ κατεχόμενος τῇ μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν, PHOTIUS) does to Κυβήβη. And if we further suppose that Κυβ-έλη and Κυβ-ήβη represent the same deity in different relations,—for instance the former as Rhea, and the latter as Aphrodite,—an explanation is afforded of the two names being subsequently used indifferently. That the first syllable constitutes the root of the word seems likely from the word κυβηαίζοντα, explained by HESYCHIUS as a Laconian word for ἐνθουσιῶντα, and from the name Κόμβη, the mother of the Curetes (NONNUS, xiii. 135), and a nymph, afterwards called *Chalcis*, the eponymous foundress of the Eubœan town opposite to Aulis. (HECATÆUS, *Fr.* 105.) For the particular site of the temple see note 292 on i. 84. See the note 366 on i. 105 for another form of the same goddess, and see also note 121 on ii. 41.

[298] προπυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα. One manuscript (S) has προσπυνθανόμενοι. But Herodotus apparently wishes to show that intelligence of an intended outbreak had reached the Persian satraps, who began to concentrate their forces, although this operation was not completed in time to save Sardis. See note 296, above.

[299] αὐτούς. The Ionians, apparently *without* the Athenians, who had retreated to their ships on the first appearance of a concentration of the enemy's force. The completion of this operation by the Persians ἐντὸς Ἅλυος ποταμοῦ νομοὺς ἔχον-

συμβαλόντες δὲ πολλὸν ἑσσώθησαν· καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν οἱ Πέρσαι φονεύουσι, ἄλλους τε ὀνομαστοὺς, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Εὐαλκίδεα στρατηγέοντα Ἐρετριέων, στεφανηφόρους τε ἀγῶνας ἀναραιρηκότα καὶ ὑπὸ Σιμωνίδεω τοῦ Κηΐου πολλὰ αἰνεθέντα. οἳ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπέφυγον τὴν μάχην, ἐσκεδάσθησαν ἀνὰ τὰς πόλιας.

103 Τότε μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἠγωνίσαντο· μετὰ δὲ, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀπολιπόντες τοὺς Ἴωνας, ἐπικαλεομένου σφέας πολλὰ δι' ἀγγέλων Ἀρισταγόρεω, οὐκ ἔφασαν τιμωρήσειν σφίσι. Ἴωνες δὲ τῆς Ἀθηναίων συμμαχίης στερηθέντες, (οὕτω γάρ σφι ὑπῆρχε πεποιημένα ἐς Δαρεῖον,) οὐδὲν δὴ ἧσσον τὸν πρὸς βασιλέα πόλεμον ἐσκευάζοντο. πλώσαντες δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, Βυζάντιόν τε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλις ἁπάσας [300] τὰς ταύτῃ ὑπ' ἑωυτοῖσι ἐποιήσαντο· ἐκπλώσαντές τε ἔξω τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, Καρίης τὴν πολλὴν προσεκτήσαντο σφίσι σύμμαχον εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ τὴν Καῦνον πρότερον οὐ βουλομένην συμμαχέειν, ὡς ἐνέπρησαν τὰς Σάρδις τότε σφι καὶ αὕτη προσεγένετο.

The Athenians desert the cause, but the rebellion is continued. The allies sail to the *Hellespont*, and gain *Byzantium* and the other cities, also the greater part of *Caria* and *Caunia*.

104 Κύπριοι δὲ ἐθελονταί σφι πάντες προσεγένοντο, πλὴν Ἀμαθουσίων. ἀπέστησαν γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι ὧδε ἀπὸ Μήδων· ἦν Ὀνήσιλος Γόργου μὲν τοῦ Σαλαμινίων βασιλέος ἀδελφεὸς νεώτερος, Χέρσιος δὲ τοῦ Σιρώμου [301] τοῦ Εὐέλθοντος παῖς· οὗτος ὡνὴρ πολλάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον τὸν Γόργον παρηγορέετο ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέος· τότε δ', ὡς καὶ τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐπύθετο ἀπεστάναι, πάγχυ ἐπικείμενος ἐνῆγε· ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Γόργον, ἐνθαῦτά μιν φυλάξας ἐξελθόντα τὸ ἄστυ τὸ Σαλαμινίων ὁ Ὀνήσιλος ἅμα τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ στασιώτῃσι, ἀπεκλήϊσε τῶν

All *Cyprus* revolts under the influence of *Onesilus* of *Salamis*, except *Amathus*, to which Onesilus lays siege.

τες, must have required a considerable time. Dascyleum on the Bithynian coast was another important military station (iii. 120. 126; vi. 33), besides Magnesia on the Mæander, and probably troops were moved from both positions upon Sardis. From thence the combined army may be conceived to have marched upon Ephesus, where in the mean time an Ionian force was collected, the component portions of which, after an unsuccessful battle, ἐσκεδάσθησαν ἀνὰ τὰς πόλιας. It is observable that a different account from that of Herodotus, so far as the reputation of the Athenians is concerned, was given by CHARON OF LAMPSACUS: Ἀθηναῖοι εἴκοσι τριήρεσι ἔπλευσαν ἐπικουρήσοντες τοῖς Ἴωσι καὶ εἰς Σάρδεις ἐστρατεύσαντο· καὶ εἷλον τὰ περὶ Σάρδεις ἅπαντα, χωρὶς τοῦ τείχους τοῦ βασιληΐου· ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἐπαναχωροῦσιν εἰς Μίλητον. (*ap. Plutarch. De Malign. Herod.* p. 861, D.)

[300] τὰς ἄλλας πόλις ἁπάσας. Under these *Doriscus* cannot well be included. See note 289, above. But that place is rather to be considered as a stronghold, the Mantua of the Persian Lombardy, than a city.

[301] Σιρώμου. This seems to be a Phœnician name in vii. 98, where several of the MSS have the form Σειρώμου. JOSEPHUS (c. *Apion.* i. 18) calls *Hiram* Εἴρωμος, and the form in the text is perhaps a variation of the same word, as *serpo* of ἕρπω, *sex* of ἕξ, and the like. Onesilus very probably had Phœnician blood in his veins, being a Cyprian.

πυλέων. Γόργος μὲν δὴ στερηθεὶς τῆς πόλιος ἔφευγε ἐς Μήδους[302], Ὀνήσιλος δὲ ἦρχε Σαλαμῖνος, καὶ ἀνέπειθε πάντας Κυπρίους συναπίστασθαι. τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἄλλους ἀνέπεισε· Ἀμαθουσίους δὲ οὐ βουλομένους οἱ πείθεσθαι[303] ἐπολιόρκεε προσκατήμενος.

105 Ὀνήσιλος μέν νυν ἐπολιόρκεε Ἀμαθοῦντα. βασιλέϊ δὲ Δαρείῳ ὡς ἐξαγγέλθη Σάρδις ἁλούσας ἐμπεπρῆσθαι ὑπό τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἰώνων, τὸν δὲ ἡγεμόνα γενέσθαι τῆς συλλογῆς ὥστε ταῦτα συνυφανθῆναι τὸν Μιλήσιον Ἀρισταγόρην, πρῶτα μὲν λέγεται αὐτὸν, ὡς ἐπύθετο ταῦτα, Ἰώνων οὐδένα λόγον ποιησάμενον, εὖ εἰδότα ὡς οὗτοί γε οὐ καταπροΐξονται[304] ἀποστάντες, εἴρεσθαι οἵτινες εἶεν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι; μετὰ δὲ, πυθόμενον, αἰτῆσαι τὸ τόξον, λαβόντα δὲ καὶ ἐπιθέντα ὀϊστὸν ἄνω ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπεῖναι, καί μιν ἐς τὸν ἠέρα βάλλοντα εἰπεῖν· "ὦ Ζεῦ, ἐκγενέσθαι μοι Ἀθηναίους τίσασθαι·" εἴπαντα δὲ ταῦτα προστάξαι ἑνὶ τῶν θεραπόντων, δείπνου προκειμένου αὐτῷ ἐς τρὶς ἑκάστοτε εἰπεῖν· "δέσποτα, μέμνεο

During the siege of Amathus, news of the revolt is brought to Darius,

106 τῶν Ἀθηναίων." Προστάξας δὲ ταῦτα, εἶπε, καλέσας ἐς ὄψιν Ἱστιαῖον τὸν Μιλήσιον, [τὸν ὁ Δαρεῖος κατεῖχε χρόνον ἤδη πολλόν·] "πυνθάνομαι, Ἱστιαῖε, ἐπίτροπον τὸν σὸν τῷ σὺ Μίλητον ἐπέτρεψας νεώτερα ἐς ἐμὲ πεποιηκέναι πρήγματα· ἄνδρας γάρ μοι ἐκ τῆς ἑτέρης ἠπείρου ἐπαγαγὼν, καὶ Ἴωνας σὺν αὐτοῖσι,—τοὺς δώσοντας ἐμοὶ δίκην τῶν ἐποίησαν,—τούτους ἀναγνώσας ἅμα ἐκείνοισι ἕπεσθαι, Σαρδίων με ἀπεστέρηκε· νῦν ὦν κῶς τοι φαίνεται ταῦτα ἔχειν καλῶς; κῶς δ' ἄνευ τῶν σῶν βουλευμάτων τοιοῦτόν τι ἐπρήχθη; ὅρα μὴ ἐξ ὑστέρης[305] σεωυτὸν ἐν αἰτίῃ σχῇς." εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ἱστιαῖος· "βασιλεῦ, κοῖον ἐφθέγξαο ἔπος; ἐμὲ βουλεῦσαι πρῆγμα, ἐκ τοῦ σοί τι ἢ μέγα ἢ σμικρὸν

who upbraids Histiæus as the cause of it,

but is persuaded by him of his innocence,

[302] Γόργος . . . ἔφευγε ἐς Μήδους. He appears again holding a prominent rank in the expedition of Xerxes against Hellas (vii. 35).

[303] οὐ βουλομένους οἱ πείθεσθαι. The Amathusians were probably free from commixture of the Hellenic race in a greater degree than the population of the other Cyprian towns. SCYLAX (p. 41) describes them as autochthonous. And STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS (*sub v.*) states that the Adonis-Osiris was worshipped there as an aboriginal deity, although really Egyptian. There was also a temple of *Aphroditus*, in which Aphrodite was represented *bearded*, and with a sceptre in her hand (HESYCHIUS, *sub v.* Ζεῦς ξένιος.) Such a deity would be a θεὸς γαμήλιος, analogous to the Here of Mycenæ, a goddess of the very earliest times (see note 422 on ii. 141), and perhaps originally androgynous. (See the curious practice connected with her ritual related by PLUTARCH, quoted in the note on viii. 104.) A representation of a bearded female is given by MINUTOLI (t. xxix. 3) as that of an Egyptian priestess.

[304] οὐ καταπροΐξονται. See note 106 on iii. 36.

[305] ἐξ ὑστέρης. See note 382 on i. 108.

ἔμελλε λυπηρὸν ἀνασχήσειν; τί δ' ἂν ἐπιδιζήμενος ποιέοιμι ταῦτα; τεῦ δὲ ἐνδεὴς ἐών, τῷ πάρα μὲν πάντα ὅσα περ σοὶ, πάντων δὲ πρὸς σέο βουλευμάτων ἐπακούειν ἀξιεῦμαι; ἀλλ' εἴ περ τι τοιοῦτον οἷον σὺ εἴρηκας πρήσσει ὁ ἐμὸς ἐπίτροπος, ἴσθι αὐτὸν ἐπ' ἑωυτοῦ βαλλόμενον πεπρηχέναι. ἀρχὴν δὲ ἔγωγε οὐδὲ ἐνδέκομαι τὸν λόγον, ὅκως τι Μιλήσιοι καὶ ὁ ἐμὸς ἐπίτροπος νεώτερον πρήσσουσι περὶ πρήγματα τὰ σά· εἰ δ' ἄρα τι τοιοῦτο ποιεῦσι, καὶ σὺ τὸ ἐὸν ἀκήκοας, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μάθε οἷον πρῆγμα ἐργάσαο ἐμὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀνάσπαστον ποιήσας· Ἴωνες γὰρ οἴκασι, ἐμεῦ ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν σφι γενομένου, ποιῆσαι τῶν πάλαι ἵμερον εἶχον· ἐμέο δ' ἂν ἐόντος ἐν Ἰωνίῃ οὐδεμία πόλις ὑπεκίνησε· νῦν ὦν ὡς τάχος με ἄφες πορευθῆναι ἐς Ἰωνίην, ἵνα τοι κεῖνά τε πάντα καταρτίσω ἐς τὠυτὸ [306], καὶ τὸν Μιλήτου ἐπίτροπον τοῦτον τὸν ταῦτα μηχανησάμενον ἐγχειρίθετον παραδῶ· ταῦτα δὲ κατὰ νόον τὸν σὸν ποιήσας, θεοὺς ἐπόμνυμι τοὺς βασιληΐους, μὴ μὲν πρότερον ἐκδύσασθαι τὸν ἔχων κιθῶνα καταβήσομαι ἐς Ἰωνίην, πρὶν ἂν τοι Σαρδὼ νῆσον τὴν μεγίστην [307] δασμοφόρον ποιήσω." Ἱστιαῖος 107
μὲν δὴ λέγων ταῦτα διέβαλλε [308]. Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐπείθετο καί μιν ἀπίει, ἐντειλάμενος ἐπεὰν τὰ ὑπέσχετό οἱ ἐπιτελέα ποιήσῃ, παραγίνεσθαί οἱ ὀπίσω ἐς τὰ Σοῦσα.

and sends him to put down the revolt.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἡ ἀγγελίη τε περὶ τῶν Σαρδίων παρὰ βασιλέα ἀνήϊε, 108
καὶ Δαρεῖος τὰ περὶ τὸ τόξον ποιήσας Ἱστιαίῳ ἐς λόγους ἦλθε,

306 καταρτίσω ἐς τὠυτὸ, "get them into order, as they were." See note 72 on § 28.

307 νῆσον τὴν μεγίστην. Sardinia probably obtained this reputation from its commercial importance,—it being for the Carthaginians what Sicily was for the Roman Republic and Egypt for the Roman Empire,—the place from which they habitually drew their supplies. They held firm possession of the plains, the aboriginal inhabitants retiring to the mountainous interior, where they bred cattle and sheep with extraordinary success. (Diod. Sic. v. 15.) No doubt it was mercenaries drawn from these highlanders which constituted the Sardinian force in the army with which Hamilcar attacked Gelon (vii. 165). The knowledge which the Hellenic cities of Herodotus's time had of all the islands west of Sicily was confined to the accounts brought by traders; in which nothing would be more natural than that the geographical size of any place should be inferred from the magnitude of its exports, estimated in the rough manner which alone at that time was possible. And these accounts no doubt came directly or indirectly from Carthaginian sources; as the Carthaginian policy prohibited even their allies, the Tyrrhenes and Romans, from trading with the parts in question, except either at Carthage or the factories in Sicily. (Polybius, iii. 24.) Eratosthenes (*ap. Strabon.* xvii. c. 1, p. 440) related that the Carthaginians made it a regular practice to sink any strange sail they fell in with, bound either for *Sardinia* or the straits. It was the importance of the island to them which suggested the advice of Bias to the Ionians (i. 170).

308 διέβαλλε. See note 124 on § 50, above.

Events which occurred in *Cyprus* between the capture of Sardis and the arrival of Histiæus on the coast.

καὶ Ἱστιαῖος μεμετιμένος[309] ὑπὸ Δαρείου ἐκομίζετο ἐπὶ θάλασσαν· ἐν τούτῳ παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐγίνετο τάδε· πολιορκέοντι τῷ Σαλαμινίῳ Ὀνησίλῳ Ἀμαθουσίους ἐξαγγέλλεται, νηυσὶ στρατιὴν πολλὴν ἄγοντα Περσικὴν Ἀρτύβιον, ἄνδρα Πέρσην[310], προσδόκιμον ἐς τὴν Κύπρον εἶναι· πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ὀνήσιλος, κήρυκας διέπεμπε ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην ἐπικαλεύμενός σφεας· Ἴωνες δὲ οὐκ ἐς μακρὴν βουλευσάμενοι ἧκον πολλῷ στόλῳ. Ἴωνές τε δὴ παρῆσαν ἐς τὴν Κύπρον, καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι νηυσὶ διαβάντες ἐκ τῆς Κιλικίης[311] ἤισαν ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα πεζῇ· τῇσι δὲ νηυσὶ οἱ Φοίνικες περιέπλωον τὴν ἄκρην αἳ καλεῦνται Κληΐδες τῆς Κύπρου. Τούτου δὲ

An Ionian force arrives to co-operate with the Cyprians under Onesilus against a Persian and Phœnician armada from Cilicia under Artybius.

109 τοιούτου γινομένου, ἔλεξαν οἱ τύραννοι τῆς Κύπρου συγκαλέσαντες τῶν Ἰώνων τοὺς στρατηγούς· "ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, αἵρεσιν ὑμῖν δίδομεν ἡμεῖς οἱ Κύπριοι, ὁκοτέροισι βούλεσθε προσφέρεσθαι, ἢ Πέρσῃσι ἢ Φοίνιξι· εἰ μὲν γὰρ πεζῇ βούλεσθε ταχθέντες Περσέων διαπειρᾶσθαι, ὥρη ἂν εἴη ὑμῖν ἐκβάντας ἐκ τῶν νεῶν τάσσεσθαι πεζῇ, ἡμέας δὲ ἐς τὰς νέας ἐμβαίνειν τὰς ὑμετέρας Φοίνιξι ἀνταγωνιευμένους· εἰ δὲ Φοινίκων μᾶλλον βούλεσθε διαπειρᾶσθαι, ποιέειν χρεόν ἐστι ὑμέας, (ὁκότερα ἂν δὴ τούτων ἕλησθε,) ὅκως τὸ κατ' ὑμέας ἔσται ἥ τε Ἰωνίη καὶ ἡ Κύπρος ἐλευθέρη." εἶπαν [οἱ]

[309] *μεμετιμένος.* The manuscripts S and V have the form *μεμετημένος* (perhaps a genuine one) both here and in vi. 1. But in vii. 229 *all* the MSS have *μεμετιμένοι*. Whichever reading be adopted, the reduplication of the preposition is remarkable.

[310] *Ἀρτύβιον, ἄνδρα Πέρσην.* The same name was borne by a Persian, who probably was the nephew of king Darius (vii. 66), if the reading of the manuscripts S, V, and *d* be genuine. But the others have *Ἀρτύφιος*.

[311] *διαβάντες ἐκ τῆς Κιλικίης.* The transit probably took place from *Anemurium*, a headland of Cilicia, from whence the run to *Κρομμύου ἄκρα* in Cyprus was estimated at only 350 *stades*, while the name of the Cilician cape (*Fair-wind*) would induce the belief that the predominant wind was favourable to persons who wished to cross. From 'Point Onion' to 'the Keys' was a run to the east of 700 *stades*; but in the interval the coast was favourable to such navigation as that of the ancients. In it was the *Ἀχαιῶν ἀκτή*, where the legend made Teucer, the founder of Salamis, first land; and from Aphrodisium (which was a little to the west of this), the march over land to Salamis was only 70 *stades*. 'The Keys' were really two little islands among a group lying off the mountainous promontory Olympus, on which was a temple of Aphrodite, and which is visible from the coast of Syria as well as that of Cilicia. The run to them direct from the mouth of the Pyramus was estimated at 700 *stades*, and from them to the high promontory *Πηδάλιον*, also crowned with an Aphrodite-temple, at 680 more. (STRABO, xiv. c. 6, pp. 242, 3.) From their name and from the circumstance of their distances from several points being recorded, it may probably be inferred that it was the practice for the coasting merchant vessels to pass through them or by them. It is very clear that Herodotus's informant knew the coast only as a navigator, who called the promontory and group of islets by the name which his landmark bore; just as a pilot on the south coast of England will call the point of the Isle of Wight "the Needles."

Ἴωνες πρὸς ταῦτα· "ἡμέας ἀπέπεμψε τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἰώνων φυλάξοντας τὴν θάλασσαν [312], ἀλλ' οὐκ ἵνα Κυπρίοισι τὰς νέας παραδόντες αὐτοὶ Πέρσῃσι πεζῇ προσφερώμεθα. ἡμεῖς μέν νυν ἐπ' οὗ ἐτάχθημεν, ταύτῃ πειρησόμεθα εἶναι χρηστοί· ὑμέας δὲ χρεόν ἐστι ἀναμνησθέντας οἷα ἐπάσχετε δουλεύοντες πρὸς τῶν Μήδων [313] γίνεσθαι ἄνδρας ἀγαθούς." Ἴωνες μὲν τούτοισι ἀμείψαντο· μετὰ 110
δέ, ἡκόντων ἐς τὸ πεδίον τὸ Σαλαμινίων τῶν Περσέων, διέτασσον οἱ βασιλέες τῶν Κυπρίων τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους Κυπρίους κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας ἀντιτάσσοντες, Σαλαμινίων δὲ καὶ Σολίων [314] ἀπολέξαντες τὸ ἄριστον ἀντέτασσον Πέρσῃσι. Ἀρτυβίῳ δὲ τῷ στρατηγῷ τῶν Περσέων ἐθελοντὴς ἀντετάσσετο Ὀνήσιλος.

A pitched battle is fought.

Ἤλαυνε δὲ ἵππον ὁ Ἀρτύβιος δεδιδαγμένον πρὸς ὁπλίτην ἵστασθαι ὀρθόν. πυθόμενος ὦν ταῦτα ὁ Ὀνήσιλος, ἦν γάρ οἱ ὑπασπιστὴς γένος μὲν Κὰρ τὰ δὲ πολέμια κάρτα δόκιμος καὶ ἄλλως λήματος πλέος, εἶπε πρὸς τοῦτον· "πυνθάνομαι τὸν Ἀρτυβίου ἵππον ἱστάμενον ὀρθόν, καὶ ποσὶ καὶ στόματι κατεργάζεσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἂν προσενεχθῇ· σὺ ὦν βουλευσάμενος αὐτίκα εἰπὲ ὁκότερον βούλεαι φυλάξας πλῆξαι, εἴτε τὸν ἵππον εἴτε αὐτὸν Ἀρτύβιον." εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ ὀπάων αὐτοῦ· ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἑτοῖμος μὲν ἐγώ εἰμι ποιέειν καὶ ἀμφότερα καὶ τὸ ἕτερον αὐτῶν, καὶ πάντως τὸ ἂν ἐπιτάσσῃς σύ· ὡς μέντοι ἔμοιγε δοκέει εἶναι τοῖσι σοῖσι πρήγμασι προσφερέστερον, φράσω· βασιλέα μὲν καὶ στρατηγὸν χρεὸν εἶναί φημι βασιλέϊ τε καὶ στρατηγῷ προσφέρεσθαι· ἤν τε γὰρ κατέλῃς ἄνδρα στρατηγόν, μέγα τοι γίνεται· καὶ δεύτερα, ἢν σὲ ἐκεῖνος τὸ μὴ γένοιτο, ὑπὸ ἀξιόχρεω καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ἡμίσεα συμφορή· ἡμέας δὲ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας ἑτέροισί τε ὑπηρέτῃσι προσφέρεσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἵππον· τοῦ σὺ τὰς μηχανὰς μηδὲν φοβηθῇς· ἐγὼ γάρ [δή] τοι ὑποδέκομαι μή μιν ἀνδρὸς ἔτι γε μηδενὸς στή- 111

[312] φυλάξοντας τὴν θάλασσαν. See note on vi. 5.

[313] ἀναμνησθέντας οἷα ἐπάσχετε δουλεύοντες πρὸς τῶν Μήδων. There is nothing to show the bad condition of the Cyprians under the Median rule. Cyprus was reduced (for the first time according to Herodotus) by Amasis (ii. *ult.*), and it would seem that the desire of throwing off the Egyptian yoke induced them voluntarily to put themselves under the empire of Cambyses. (See note 56, *a*, on iii. 19.) Yet there may have been an Egyptian party in Cyprus of whom what is said in the text was true.

[314] Σαλαμινίων δὲ καὶ Σολίων. *Soli* was on the opposite side of the island from *Salamis*, but only a little to the west of 'Point Onion.' (STRABO, xiv. c. 6, p. 245.) The distance therefore between it and Salamis (see note 311, above) cannot have been great.

in which the Phœnician fleet is beaten by the Ionian, and the Persian general slain by Onesilus;

112 σεσθαι ἐναντίον." Ταῦτα εἶπε, καὶ μεταυτίκα συνέμισγε τὰ στρατόπεδα πεζῇ καὶ νηυσί[315]. νηυσὶ μέν νυν Ἴωνες, ἄκροι γενόμενοι ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην, ὑπερεβάλοντο τοὺς Φοίνικας· καὶ τούτων Σάμιοι ἠρίστευσαν· πεζῇ δὲ, ὡς συνῆλθε τὰ στρατόπεδα, συμπεσόντα ἐμάχοντο. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἀμφοτέρους τάδε ἐγίνετο· ὡς προσεφέρετο πρὸς τὸν Ὀνήσιλον ὁ Ἀρτύβιος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου κατήμενος, ὁ Ὀνήσιλος κατὰ τὰ συνεθήκατο[316] τῷ ὑπασπιστῇ παίει προσφερόμενον αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀρτύβιον· ἐπιβαλόντος δὲ τοῦ ἵππου τοὺς πόδας ἐπὶ τὴν Ὀνησίλου ἀσπίδα, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κὰρ δρεπάνῳ πλήξας ἀπαράσσει τοῦ ἵππου τοὺς πόδας. Ἀρτύβιος μὲν δὴ ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Περσέων ὁμοῦ τῷ ἵππῳ πίπτει αὐτοῦ

but the treachery of Stesanor of Curium turns the scale, and the Persian army is victorious.

113 ταύτῃ. Μαχομένων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, Στησήνωρ, τύραννος ἐὼν Κουρίου[317], προδιδοῖ ἔχων δύναμιν ἀνδρῶν περὶ ἑωυτὸν οὐ σμικρήν· (οἱ δὲ Κουριέες οὗτοι λέγονται εἶναι Ἀργείων ἄποικοι·) προδόντων δὲ τῶν Κουριέων, αὐτίκα καὶ τὰ Σαλαμινίων πολεμιστήρια ἅρματα τὠυτὸ τοῖσι Κουριεῦσι ἐποίεε· γινομένων δὲ τούτων, κατυπέρτεροι ἦσαν οἱ Πέρσαι τῶν Κυπρίων. τετραμμένου δὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ἄλλοι τε ἔπεσον πολλοὶ καὶ δὴ καὶ Ὀνήσιλός τε ὁ Χέρσιος, ὅσπερ τὴν Κυπρίων ἀπόστασιν ἔπρηξε, καὶ ὁ Σολίων βασιλεὺς Ἀριστόκυπρος ὁ Φιλοκύπρου, (Φιλοκύπρου δὲ τούτου, τὸν Σόλων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἀπικόμενος ἐς Κύπρον ἐν ἔπεσι αἴνεσε τυράννων μά-

114 λιστα.) Ὀνησίλου μέν νυν Ἀμαθούσιοι[318], ὅτι σφέας ἐπολιόρκησε,

[315] πεζῇ καὶ νηυσί. Although the Phœnician fleet had to sail round the easternmost point of Cyprus, and then a considerable distance along the S.E. coast of the island before reaching Salamis, the engagement of the land and sea forces is described as simultaneous. But from the narrowness of the island in this part (see note 311, above), it would be very easy to gain a point from which the arrival of the fleet of Salamis could be signaled to the Persian commander at or near Aphrodisium, and he would time his movements so as to produce a combined operation. By this he doubtless expected so fully to employ the Cyprian troops as to relieve Amathus, and enable the Amathusians to come out in force and menace the rear of Onesilus.

[316] κατὰ τὰ συνεθήκατο. See note 211 on iv. 76.

[317] τύραννος ἐὼν Κουρίου. The territory of Curium was conterminous to that of Amathus. (STRABO, xiv. c. 6. 243.) From this circumstance, and those pointed out in the note 315, one may infer that the plan of Onesilus was to keep Amathus in check by means of the Curian contingent, and to stop the Phœnician fleet by means of the Ionian, while he himself fought a pitched battle with the Persian army advancing from the north of the island. This plan was defeated by the treachery of Stesanor, who, instead of fulfilling his engagement, appears to have combined his forces with those of the Amathusians (see next note), and attacked Onesilus in the rear.

[318] Ἀμαθούσιοι. The mention of Amathusians on the field of battle seems to indicate that in some way or other the siege of their town had been raised. See the last note.

ἀποταμόντες τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκόμισαν ἐς Ἀμαθοῦντα, καί μιν ἀνεκρέμασαν ὑπὲρ τῶν πυλέων· κρεμαμένης δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ ἤδη ἐούσης κοίλης, ἐσμὸς μελισσέων ἐσδὺς ἐς αὐτὴν, κηρίων μιν ἐνέπλησε· τούτου δὲ γενομένου τοιούτου, ἐχρέωντο γὰρ περὶ αὐτῆς οἱ Ἀμαθούσιοι, ἐμαντεύθη σφι τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν κατελόντας θάψαι, Ὀνησίλῳ δὲ θύειν ὡς ἥρωϊ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος· καί σφι ποιεῦσι ταῦτα ἄμεινον συνοίσεσθαι. Ἀμαθούσιοι μέν νυν ἐποίευν ταῦτα καὶ τὸ

The Amathusians insult the dead body of Onesilus, but afterwards are commanded by an oracle to worship him as a hero.

μέχρι ἐμεῦ. Ἴωνες δὲ οἱ ἐν Κύπρῳ ναυμαχήσαντες, ἐπεί τε ἔμαθον 115
τὰ πρήγματα τὰ Ὀνησίλου διεφθαρμένα καὶ τὰς πόλιας τῶν Κυπρίων πολιορκευμένας τὰς ἄλλας πλὴν Σαλαμῖνος, ταύτην δὲ Γόργῳ τῷ προτέρῳ βασιλέϊ τοὺς Σαλαμινίους παραδόντας, αὐτίκα μαθόντες οἱ Ἴωνες ταῦτα ἀπέπλωον ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην. τῶν δὲ ἐν Κύπρῳ πολίων ἀντέσχε χρόνον ἐπὶ πλεῖστον πολιορκευμένη Σόλοι· τὴν πέριξ ὑπορύσσοντες τὸ τεῖχος[319] πέμπτῳ μηνὶ εἷλον οἱ Πέρσαι.

The Ionians return to their own cities, and the Persians recover Cyprus.

Κύπριοι μὲν δὴ[320], ἐνιαυτὸν ἐλεύθεροι γενόμενοι, αὖτις ἐκ νέης 116
κατεδεδούλωντο. Δαυρίσης δὲ ἔχων Δαρείου θυγατέρα, καὶ Ὑμέης τε καὶ Ὀτάνης καὶ ἄλλοι Πέρσαι στρατηγοὶ[321] ἔχοντες καὶ οὗτοι Δαρείου θυγατέρας, ἐπιδιώξαντες τοὺς ἐν Σάρδισι στρατευσαμένους Ἰώνων, καὶ ἐσαράξαντές σφεας ἐς τὰς νέας τῇ μάχῃ ὡς ἐπεκράτησαν, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐπιδιελόμενοι τὰς πόλις ἐπόρθεον. Δαυρίσης μὲν 117
τραπόμενος πρὸς τὰς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ πόλις, εἷλε μὲν Δάρδανον, εἷλε δὲ Ἄβυδόν τε καὶ Περκώτην καὶ Λάμψακον καὶ Παισόν· ταύτας μὲν ἐπ' ἡμέρης ἑκάστης αἵρεε· ἀπὸ δὲ Παισοῦ ἐλαύνοντί οἱ ἐπὶ Πάριον πόλιν ἦλθε ἀγγελίη, τοὺς Κᾶρας[322] τὠυτὸ Ἴωσι φρονήσαντας ἀπεστάναι ἀπὸ Περσέων· ἀποστρέψας ὦν ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ἤλαυνε τὸν στρατὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Καρίην. Καί κως 118

The Persian army in three divisions attacks the Greek cities.

Daurises secures the shore of the Hellespont, but is compelled to move, in order to put down a

319 πέριξ ὑπορύσσοντες τὸ τεῖχος. See note 512 on iv. 200.

320 Κύπριοι μὲν δή. The thread of the narrative is resumed from § 103.

321 ἄλλοι Πέρσαι στρατηγοί. These different officers, all of them sons-in-law of Darius, must be conceived of as holding subordinate rank to his brother Artaphernes. Otanes may perhaps be the same person who is mentioned as the στρατηγὸς τῶν παραθαλασσίων ἀνδρῶν (v. 25). As the husbands of *different* daughters, they were unlikely to combine together against their father, and conjointly they perhaps operated as a check upon their uncle. (See note 65, above.) Indeed it is possible that two of them may have been husbands of daughters borne by Darius's *first* wife, the daughter of Gobryas. (See vii. 2.) It is very plain however (from § 123) that the three here named were superior in rank to the rest of the Persian generals.

322 τοὺς Κᾶρας. See § 103, above.

movement in Caria. ταῦτα τοῖσι Καρσὶ ἐξαγγέλθη πρότερον πρὶν[323] ἢ τὸν Δαυρίσην ἀπικέσθαι· πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Κᾶρες, συνελέγοντο ἐπὶ Λευκάς τε Στήλας καλεομένας καὶ ποταμὸν Μαρσύην· ὃς ῥέων ἐκ τῆς Ἰδριάδος χώρης ἐς τὸν Μαίανδρον ἐκδιδοῖ· συλλεχθέντων δὲ τῶν Καρῶν ἐνθαῦτα, ἐγίνοντο βουλαὶ ἄλλαι τε πολλαὶ καὶ ἀρίστη γε δοκέουσα εἶναι ἐμοὶ Πιξωδάρου τοῦ Μαυσώλου, ἀνδρὸς Κινδυέος[a], ὃς τοῦ Κιλίκων βασιλέος Συεννέσιος εἶχε θυγατέρα[324]· τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡ γνώμη ἔφερε, διαβάντας τὸν Μαίανδρον τοὺς Κᾶρας καὶ κατὰ νώτου ἔχοντας τὸν ποταμὸν οὕτω συμβάλλειν, ἵνα μὴ ἔχοντες ὀπίσω φεύγειν οἱ Κᾶρες αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἀναγκαζόμενοι γενοίατο ἔτι ἀμείνονες τῆς φύσιος. αὕτη μέν νυν οὐκ ἐνίκα ἡ γνώμη, ἀλλὰ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι κατὰ νώτου γίνεσθαι τὸν Μαίανδρον μᾶλλον ἢ σφίσι· δηλαδὴ, ἢν φυγὴ τῶν Περσέων γένηται καὶ ἑσσωθέωσι τῇ συμβολῇ, ὡς οὐκ ἀπονοστήσουσι ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐσπίπτοντες.

119 The Carians are beaten on the bank of the *Mar-* Μετὰ δὲ, παρεόντων καὶ διαβάντων τὸν Μαίανδρον τῶν Περσέων, ἐνθαῦτα ἐπὶ τῷ Μαρσύῃ ποταμῷ[325] συνέβαλόν τε τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι οἱ Κᾶρες, καὶ μάχην ἐμαχέσαντο ἰσχυρὴν καὶ ἐπὶ χρόνον πολλόν· τέλος δὲ ἑσσώθησαν διὰ πλῆθος. Περσέων μὲν δὴ ἔπεσον ἄνδρες

[323] πρότερον πρίν. Several of the MSS omit πρὶν, which undoubtedly is not required. But in vii. 8 all without exception have οὐ πρότερον παύσομαι πρὶν ἢ ἕλω.

[a] Polybius (xvi. 12) speaks of a statue of Artemis Κινδυὰς, (which was not far from Caryanda, according to Strabo, xiv. c. 2, p. 203), that although in the open air, never had either snow or rain fall upon it. The inhabitants of the neighbouring town *Iasus* believed exactly the same of their statue of *Hestia*. Strabo says that there once *was* a place called Κινδύη, but neither he nor Polybius speak of it as existing. Possibly the original is a mere sanctuary of the goddess whose native name was Κινδυὰς, an Enyo, or Bellona, or Amazon. The advice of Pixodarus is quite in accordance with the worshipper of a war goddess. Κανδαῖος is a war god (see note 9 on v. 3), and Candaules a Lydian deity, identified sometimes with Heracles, sometimes with Hermes (Hesychius, *sub v.*).

[324] ὃς τοῦ Κιλίκων βασιλέος Συεννέσιος εἶχε θυγατέρα. It seems not improbable that the word Syennesis really denotes some title of honour assumed by the Cilician chiefs, and (like Battus) is not strictly speaking a proper name. Herodotus here represents the son-in-law of a Syennesis as taking part with the Carians against Darius, while Æschylus (*Persæ*, 326) mentions a Syennesis as among the distinguished warriors on the Persian side slain at Marathon. He is described as Κιλίκων ἔπαρχος. Another Syennesis (a Cilician), together with Labynetus the Babylonian, mediates a peace between the Lydian and Median monarchs in the year 610 B.C. (i. 74.) And a third, the son of Oromedon, commands a Cilician galley in the expedition of Xerxes (vii. 98).

[325] ἐπὶ τῷ Μαρσύῃ ποταμῷ. This river is not to be confounded with that which issued from a grotto at *Celænæ*, and fell almost immediately afterwards into the upper Mæander. That one, which is called *Marsyas* by Xenophon, Herodotus designates by the name *Cataract*. See the notes on vii. 26, below. The Marsyas of the text is one of the streams from the south of Caria which fall into the lower Mæander.

ἐς δισχιλίους, Καρῶν δὲ ἐς μυρίους· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ οἱ διαφυγόντες αὐτῶν κατειλήθησαν ἐς Λάβρανδα[326], ἐς Διὸς Στρατίου ἱρὸν[327], μέγα τε καὶ ἅγιον ἄλσος πλατανίστων. μοῦνοι δὲ, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, Κᾶρές εἰσι οἳ Διῒ Στρατίῳ θυσίας ἀνάγουσι. κατειληθέντες ὦν οὗτοι ἐνθαῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ σωτηρίης, ὁκότερα, ἢ παραδόντες σφέας αὐτοὺς Πέρσῃσι ἢ ἐκλιπόντες τὸ παράπαν τὴν Ἀσίην, ἄμεινον πρήξουσι. Βουλευομένοισι δέ σφι ταῦτα παρα- 120
γίνονται βοηθέοντες Μιλήσιοί τε καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι αὐτῶν· ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τὰ μὲν πρότερον οἱ Κᾶρες ἐβουλεύοντο μετῆκαν, οἱ δὲ αὖτις πολεμεῖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀρτέοντο· καὶ ἐπιοῦσί τε τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι συμβάλλουσι, καὶ μαχεσάμενοι ἐπὶ πλεῦν[328] ἢ πρότερον ἑσσώθησαν· πεσόντων δὲ τῶν πάντων[329] πολλῶν, Μιλήσιοι μάλιστα ἐπλήγησαν. Μετὰ δὲ, τοῦτο τὸ τρῶμα ἀνέλαβόν τε καὶ ἀνεμα- 121
χέσαντο οἱ Κᾶρες· πυθόμενοι γὰρ ὡς στρατεύεσθαι ὁρμέαται οἱ Πέρσαι ἐπὶ τὰς πόλις σφέων, ἐλόχησαν τὴν ἐν Πηδάσῳ[330] ὁδόν· ἐς τὴν ἐμπεσόντες οἱ Πέρσαι νυκτὸς διεφθάρησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ

syas, but rally in the sacred wood of Zeus Stratius.

The Milesians join them, and in a second battle the Persian division gains a bloody victory,

but subsequently is cut off in an ambuscade near *Pedasus.*

[326] ἐς Λάβρανδα. Several MSS, including S and V, have Λάβρυνδα, and one (M) Λάβραυνδα, which is the form given by the Oxford marble.

[327] Διὸς Στρατίου ἱρόν. The image of Zeus here was represented holding not a sceptre, or a thunderbolt, but a double-headed axe, a symbol identical with the Amazonian hatchet, and probably also with the *hammer* of the Scandinavian Thor. PLUTARCH (*Quæstiones Græcæ*, § 45) gives the following legend accounting for this. When Heracles slew the Amazon Hippolyta, he took away her hatchet as a trophy and presented it to Omphale. From her time the kings of the Lydians themselves bore it until the time of Candaules. He, disdaining the ensign, committed it to a companion to carry. When Gyges revolted from him, one Arselis, a Carian from Mylasa, was his ally, and succeeded in destroying both Candaules and his friend. After this exploit he carried the axe among other spoils back to Caria, and making an image of Zeus, put the axe into its hands, and called the deity Labradeus, from the circumstance that λάβρα was the Lydian word for an axe. This deity is an entirely different one from the Ζεὺς Κάριος of i. 171, where see the note 577. Labranda was a village situated on the mountain which separated Alabanda from Mylasa. A made-road ran from the latter town to the temple, which was sixty *stades* off, and sacred processions used to take place along it, the principal Mylasians being priests of the deity. In the town of Mylasa itself there was another temple of Zeus under the local name of *Osogos*, the worship in which was confined to the Mylasians. That of *Labrandeus* seems to have been common to the Mylasians and the rural population, while again that of *Ogos*, the Ζεὺς Κάριος of i. 171 and PAUSANIAS (viii. 10. 4), was shared in by Lydians and Mysians as well. (STRABO, xiv. c. 2, p. 204.)

[328] πλεῦν. Gaisford adopts this form on the authority of the two manuscripts S and V, but the rest have πλέον, which is the form generally used in Herodotus.

[329] τῶν πάντων, i. e. τῶν συμμάχων.

[330] ἐν Πηδάσῳ. The MSS vary between ἐν Πιδάσω, ἐμπιδάσῳ, ἐπὶ δάσῳ, ἐπὶ δαύσῳ, and ἐπὶ λασοῖσιν (which last is the reading of S and V). Valcknaer's conjecture ἐν Πηδασεῦσι is a very plausible one; but the reading adopted by Gaisford was found by STRABO in the text. If therefore a corruption (which is not improbable), it is a very ancient one.

στρατηγοὶ αὐτῶν, Δαυρίσης καὶ Ἀμόργης καὶ Σισιμάκης[331]· σὺν δέ σφι ἀπέθανε καὶ Μύρσος ὁ Γύγεω[332]. τοῦ δὲ λόχου τούτου ἡγεμὼν ἦν Ἡρακλείδης Ἰβανώλιος, ἀνὴρ Μυλασεύς[333]. οὗτοι μέν νυν τῶν Περσέων οὕτω διεφθάρησαν.

122 *Hymeas, after taking Cius in Mysia, falls back upon the Hellespont, and dies in the Troad.* Ὑμέης δὲ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐὼν τῶν ἐπιδιωξάντων τοὺς ἐς Σάρδις στρατευσαμένους Ἰώνων, τραπόμενος ἐς τὴν Προποντίδα εἷλε Κῖον τὴν Μυσίην. ταύτην δὲ ἐξελὼν, ὡς ἐπύθετο τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐκλελοιπέναι Δαυρίσην καὶ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Καρίης, καταλιπὼν τὴν Προποντίδα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἦγε τὸν στρατόν· καὶ εἷλε μὲν Αἰολέας πάντας ὅσοι τὴν Ἰλιάδα[334] νέμονται, εἷλε δὲ Γέργιθας τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας τῶν ἀρχαίων Τευκρῶν[335]· αὐτός τε Ὑμέης αἱρέων ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα νούσῳ τελευτᾷ ἐν τῇ Τρῳάδι.

123 *Artaphernes and Otanes* Οὗτος μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἐτελεύτησε· Ἀρταφέρνης δὲ ὁ Σαρδίων ὕπαρχος καὶ Ὀτάνης ὁ τρίτος στρατηγὸς[336], ἐτάχθησαν[337] ἐπὶ τὴν

331 Ἀμόργης καὶ Σισιμάκης. The manuscripts S and V have Ἀρμόγης καὶ Συσαμάγκης.

332 Μύρσος ὁ Γύγεω. The individual here spoken of is probably the agent of Orœtes in his treachery against Polycrates; and perhaps owes his mention in this place to the evil notoriety which he acquired by connexion with the story of that remarkable prince. See iii. 122. Some MSS have the form Μύρσης instead of Μύρσος.

333 Μυλασεύς. The MSS have Μυλασσεὺς, which Gaisford follows. But Μυλασὰ is unquestionably the true form of the town, and therefore both here and above (§ 37) I have adopted the ethnic Μυλασεύς.

334 τὴν Ἰλιάδα. Valcknaer's conjecture, γῆν Ἰλιάδα, has great plausibility; for ἡ Ἰλιὰς can scarcely mean any thing else than ἡ Τρῳὰς, which immediately follows.

335 τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας τῶν ἀρχαίων Τευκρῶν. See note on vii. 20.

336 ὁ τρίτος στρατηγὸς, *i. e.* with two others (Hymeas and Daurises), in coordinate rank with himself. See note 321 on § 116.

337 ἐτάχθησαν. This word is appropriate to the case of orders received from a higher quarter. It is not impossible that Darius sent a sketch of the plan of operations which he desired to have followed out. It was quite in accordance with a system of centralization that the satrap of Sardis, even if formally the military superior of the generals commanding the troops in Asia, should not be selected for his military talents, and therefore might prove unfit on a great emergency for directing extensive combinations; and here we see him acting under special instructions, co-ordinately with an officer who usually must have been his inferior. (See notes 79 and 321, above.) Such a state of things offers a curious parallel to the conduct of Napoleon twenty-three centuries later, directing the operations of his generals in Spain (among whom was his own brother, ἐπιτροπαίην λαβὼν τὴν βασίλειαν) from his own camp at Moscow. The great importance attached to the command of the Hellespont shows itself in the proceedings of the Persian generals. The towns captured so rapidly by Daurises (§ 117) all lie, one after the other, along the Asiatic shore of the strait, while Hymeas, moving apparently from Dascyleum upon Cius, no sooner finds that the division which had occupied the Hellespontine towns is withdrawn in order to crush the Carian revolt, than he at once puts himself by a retrograde movement in a position to supply their place (§ 120). It is plain that the Carian movement must have been a very dangerous one, otherwise troops would not have been marched from such a distance as the Hellespont to put it down. Another circumstance worthy of remark is, that no Persian troops seem to have been directed upon any place between *Dardanus* on the north and *Cuma* on the south, although in the interval lies *Lesbos*, which contri-

Ἰωνίην καὶ τὴν προσεχέα Αἰολίδα στρατεύεσθαι. Ἰωνίης μέν νυν
Κλαζομενὰς αἱρέουσι, Αἰολέων δὲ Κύμην.

attack Ionia.

Ἁλισκομενέων δὲ τῶν πολίων, ἦν γὰρ δή, ὡς διέδεξε, Ἀρισταγόρης 124
ὁ Μιλήσιος ψυχὴν οὐκ ἄκρος, ὃς ταράξας τὴν Ἰωνίην καὶ
ἐγκερασάμενος πρήγματα μεγάλα δρησμὸν ἐβούλευε, ὁρέων ταῦτα·
πρὸς δέ οἱ καὶ ἀδύνατα ἐφάνη βασιλέα Δαρεῖον ὑπερβαλέσθαι·
πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ ὦν συγκαλέσας τοὺς συστασιώτας ἐβουλεύετο,
λέγων ὡς ἄμεινόν σφι εἴη κρησφύγετόν τι ὑπάρχον εἶναι, ἢν ἄρα
ἐξωθέωνται ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου· εἴτε δὴ ὦν ἐς Σαρδὼ[338] ἐκ τοῦ
τόπου τούτου ἄγοι ἐς ἀποικίην, εἴτε ἐς Μύρκινον τὴν Ἠδωνῶν
τὴν Ἱστιαῖος ἐτείχεε[339] παρὰ Δαρείου δωρεὴν λαβών[340];
ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης· Ἑκαταίου[341] μέν νυν τοῦ Ἡγη- 125
σάνδρου, ἀνδρὸς λογοποιοῦ, τουτέων μὲν ἐς οὐδετέρην στέλλειν
ἔφερε ἡ γνώμη, ἐν Λέρῳ δὲ τῇ νήσῳ τεῖχος οἰκοδομησάμενον
ἡσυχίην ἄγειν, ἢν ἐκπέσῃ ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου· ἔπειτα δὲ ἐκ ταύτης
ὁρμεώμενον κατελεύσεσθαι ἐς τὴν Μίλητον. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Ἑκαταῖος
συνεβούλευε. Αὐτῷ δὲ Ἀρισταγόρῃ ἡ πλείστη γνώμη ἦν 126
ἐς τὴν Μύρκινον ἀπάγειν. τὴν μὲν δὴ Μίλητον ἐπιτρέπει Πυθαγόρῃ,
ἀνδρὶ τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμῳ[342]· αὐτὸς δὲ παραλαβὼν πάντα
τὸν βουλόμενον ἔπλεε ἐς τὴν Θρηΐκην, καὶ ἔσχε τὴν χώρην ἐπ'
ἣν ἐστάλη. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ὁρμεώμενος ἀπόλλυται ὑπὸ Θρηΐκων
αὐτός τε ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ, πόλιν περικατημένος,
καὶ βουλομένων τῶν Θρηΐκων ὑποσπόνδων ἐξιέναι.

Aristagoras loses courage, and proposes to abandon Ionia and go either to Sardinia or Myrcinus.

The advice of Hecatæus, to occupy Leros,

is rejected, and Aristagoras goes to Myrcinus, where he is killed.

buted no less than seventy galleys to the allied fleet (vi. 8). But it will be observed that the Lesbians were the first to follow the example of the treacherous Samians (vi. 14). Perhaps therefore Darius felt all along secure of the Æolian interest, even when matters looked worst. (See notes 476 and 593 on Book i.)

338 εἴτε δὴ ὦν ἐς Σαρδώ. See note 565 on i. 170.

339 ἐτείχεε. The more common expression would be ἐτείχιζε, and S and V have the variation ἐτείχισε. But the form τειχέοντος appears in § 23.

340 τὴν Ἱστιαῖος ἐτείχεε παρὰ Δαρείου δωρεὴν λαβών. See §§ 11. 23.

341 Ἑκαταίου. See note 85, above. It is rather curious that having mentioned Hecatæus more than once in a way to show his notoriety, Herodotus should here describe him as he might have done had he been naming him for the first time. See the note 566 on i. 170. It is not impossible that in this brief summary of the Ionian war he has the written work of Hellanicus before him.

342 ἀνδρὶ τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμῳ. Nearly the same phrase is applied to Telesarchus, the individual whose violence thwarted Mæandrius in his desire to establish a more liberal government at Samos. See note 396 on iii. 143, and on vi. 5.

ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ Ε′.

ʽΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ

ʽΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ʽΕΚΤΗ.

ΕΡΑΤΩ.

1 ʼΑΡΙΣΤΑΓΟΡΗΣ μέν νυν ʼΙωνίην ἀποστήσας, οὕτω τελευτᾷ. ʽΙστιαῖος δὲ ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος μεμετιμένος[1] ὑπὸ Δαρείου παρῆν ἐς Σάρδις. ἀπιγμένον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν Σούσων εἴρετο ʼΑρταφέρνης ὁ Σαρδίων ὕπαρχος, κατὰ κοῖόν τι δοκέοι ʼΙωνας ἀπεστάναι; ὁ δὲ οὔτε εἰδέναι ἔφη ἐθώμαζέ τε τὸ γεγονὸς, ὡς οὐδὲν δῆθεν τῶν παρεόντων πρηγμάτων ἐπιστάμενος· ὁ δὲ ʼΑρταφέρνης ὁρέων αὐτὸν τεχνάζοντα, εἶπε, εἰδὼς τὴν ἀτρεκίην τῆς ἀποστάσιος· "οὕτω τοι, ʽΙστιαῖε, ἔχει κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ πρήγματα· τοῦτο τὸ ὑπόδημα ἔρραψας μὲν σὺ, ὑπεδήσατο δὲ ʼΑρισταγόρης[2]." ʼΑρταφέρνης μὲν ταῦτα ἐς τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἔχοντα εἶπε· ʽΙστιαῖος δὲ δείσας ὡς συνιέντα ʼΑρταφέρνεα, ὑπὸ τὴν πρώτην ἐπελθοῦσαν νύκτα ἀπέδρη ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, βασιλέα Δαρεῖον ἐξηπατηκώς· ὃς Σαρδὼ νῆσον τὴν μεγίστην[3] ὑποδεξάμενος κατεργάσασθαι, ὑπέδυνε τῶν ʼΙώνων τὴν ἡγεμονίην τοῦ πρὸς Δαρεῖον πολέμου. διαβὰς δὲ ἐς Χίον ἐδέθη ὑπὸ Χίων, καταγνωσθεὶς πρὸς αὐτῶν νεώτερα πρήσσειν πρήγματα ἐς ἑωυτοὺς ἐκ Δαρείου[4]· μαθόντες μέντοι οἱ Χῖοι τὸν πάντα λόγον, ὡς πολέ-

Histiæus arrives at Sardis, and finding his plans seen through by Artaphernes,

2 flies to Chios, and is ill-received, but succeeds in justifying himself

[1] μεμετιμένος. See note 309 on v. 108.

[2] τοῦτο τὸ ὑπόδημα ἔρραψας, κ.τ.λ. This saying seems very early to have passed into a proverb. It must have done so at the time ARISTOPHANES put into the mouth of Cleon the words: οἶδ' ἐγὼ τὸ πρᾶγμα τοὐθ' ὅθεν πάλαι καττύεται (*Equit.* 314).

[3] νῆσον τὴν μεγίστην. See note 307 on v. 106.

[4] νεώτερα πρήσσειν πρήγματα ἐς ἑωυ-

μιος εἴη βασιλέϊ, ἔλυσαν αὐτόν. Ἐνθαῦτα δὴ [5] εἰρωτεώμενος ὑπὸ 3
τῶν Ἰώνων ὁ Ἱστιαῖος, κατ' ὅ τι προθύμως οὕτω ἐπέστειλε τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέος, καὶ κακὸν τοσοῦτον εἴη Ἴωνας ἐξεργασμένος; τὴν μὲν γενομένην αὐτοῖσι αἰτίην οὐ μάλα ἐξέφαινε, ὁ δὲ ἔλεγέ σφι, ὡς βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος ἐβουλεύσατο Φοίνικας μὲν ἐξαναστήσας ἐν τῇ Ἰωνίῃ κατοικίσαι, Ἴωνας δὲ ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ· καὶ τούτων εἵνεκα ἐπιστείλειε· οὐδέν τι πάντως ταῦτα βασιλέος βουλευσαμένου. ἐδειμάτου τοὺς Ἴωνας [6].

both to the Chians and Ionians.

Μετὰ δὲ, ὁ Ἱστιαῖος δι' ἀγγέλου ποιεύμενος Ἑρμίππου, ἀνδρὸς 4
Ἀταρνείτεω, τοῖσι ἐν Σάρδισι ἐοῦσι Περσέων ἔπεμπε βυβλία, ὡς προλελεσχηνευμένων αὐτῷ [7] ἀποστάσιος πέρι. ὁ δὲ Ἕρμιππος πρὸς τοὺς μὲν ἀπεπέμφθη οὐ διδοῖ, φέρων δὲ ἐνεχείρισε τὰ βυβλία Ἀρταφέρνεϊ· ὁ δὲ μαθὼν ἅπαν τὸ γινόμενον, ἐκέλευε τὸν Ἕρμιππον τὰ μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Ἱστιαίου δοῦναι φέροντα τοῖσί περ ἔφερε, τὰ δὲ ἀμοιβαῖα τὰ παρὰ τῶν Περσέων ἀντιπεμπόμενα Ἱστιαίῳ ἑωυτῷ δοῦναι. τούτων δὲ γενομένων φανερῶν, ἀπέκτεινε ἐνθαῦτα

He endeavours to get up a conspiracy at Sardis, but the scheme is discovered and baffled.

τοὺς ἐκ Δαρείου. Chios was apparently, even if inferior in resources to Miletus,—which the number of ships furnished by it (§ 8) renders doubtful,—at any rate sufficiently powerful to avoid being subjected to it by an unequal alliance. The dynast of Chios, Strattis, was an immediate vassal of the Persian crown at the time of the Scythian expedition. (See the note 354 on iv. 137.) It seems far from unlikely that Histiæus had been intriguing with Darius for the purpose of getting Chios put upon the same footing on which it would appear the majority of the Ionian cities at that time were, *i. e.* in immediate subjection to himself, he receiving the whole as a grant from the Persian king. (See the note above cited.) Histiæus, in this case, would be able to clear himself by pleading that his proceeding was one step in the scheme by which he hoped to render the whole of Ionia independent of Persia; that his intrigue was directed not against Chios, but against Strattis, the nominee of Darius;—a proof of which would be that when the revolt broke out, in pursuance of his instructions, all the dynasts were seized and delivered up to their respective compatriots (v. 37). This would be a plausible defence; but then the objection would occur, 'why so precipitately (προθύμως οὕτω) send orders exactly when the pecuniary resources of Miletus were exhausted?' (See v. 34. 36.) It would not do to declare the truth, that the failure of the expedition against Naxos threatened in its consequences to deprive Aristagoras of his position (see vi. 35). Accordingly Histiæus with ready wit extemporised a project for Darius, quite in keeping with the ordinary proceedings of oriental sovereigns. (See 2 *Kings* xvii. 24; xviii. 31, 32; and the case of the Pæonians, v. 14.)

[5] ἐνθαῦτα δή. These words imply that the question put by the Ionians arose out of the defence which Histiæus made for himself to the Chians. See the last note.

[6] ἐδειμάτου τοὺς Ἴωνας. Some of the MSS have ἐδειμᾶτο or ἐδείματο, and one (F) has Ἕλληνας. The clause appears to me an interpolated marginal note explaining the effects of Histiæus's statement upon his audience.

[7] ὡς προλελεσχηνευμένων αὐτῷ, "as if they had in former days chatted with him." See the note 513 on i. 153, and that on ix. 71.

πολλοὺς Περσέων ὁ Ἀρταφέρνης. περὶ Σάρδις μὲν δὴ ἐγίνετο ταραχή.

5 The Milesians refuse to receive him, and he commences a partisan warfare, capturing the Pontine trading vessels by the aid of the Mytilenæans.

Ἱστιαῖον δὲ ταύτης ἀποσφαλέντα τῆς ἐλπίδος Χῖοι κατῆγον ἐς Μίλητον, αὐτοῦ Ἱστιαίου δεηθέντος. οἱ δὲ Μιλήσιοι ἄσμενοι ἀπαλλαχθέντες καὶ Ἀρισταγόρεω, οὐδαμῶς πρόθυμοι ἦσαν ἄλλον τύραννον δέκεσθαι[8] *ἐς τὴν χώρην, οἷά τε ἐλευθερίης γευσάμενοι. καὶ δή, νυκτὸς γὰρ ἐούσης βίῃ ἐπειρᾶτο κατιὼν ὁ Ἱστιαῖος ἐς τὴν Μίλητον, τιτρώσκεται τὸν μηρὸν ὑπό τευ τῶν Μιλησίων. ὁ μὲν δὴ ὡς ἀπωστὸς τῆς ἑωυτοῦ γίνεται, ἀπικνέεται ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Χίον· ἐνθεῦτεν δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἔπειθε τοὺς Χίους*[9] *ὥστε ἑωυτῷ δοῦναι νέας, διέβη ἐς Μυτιλήνην*[10] *καὶ ἔπεισε Λεσβίους δοῦναί οἱ νέας. οἱ δὲ πληρώσαντες ὀκτὼ τριήρεας ἔπλεον ἅμα Ἱστιαίῳ ἐς Βυζάντιον· ἐνθαῦτα δὲ ἱζόμενοι, τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἐκπλωούσας τῶν νεῶν ἐλάμβανον*[11]*, πλὴν ἢ ὅσοι αὐτῶν Ἱστιαίῳ ἔφασαν ἑτοῖμοι εἶναι πείθεσθαι*[12].

[8] *οὐδαμῶς πρόθυμοι ἦσαν ἄλλον τύραννον δέκεσθαι.* From this expression it would appear that Pythagoras, who held the most prominent position in Miletus subsequently to the departure of Aristagoras (v. 126), was by no means a retainer of the dynasty of Histiæus. Probably, in deference to the circumstances of the time, he was selected from the number of the commercial aristocracy, whose houses had been thrown into obscurity by the peculiar splendour of the family of Histiæus, elevated through its connexion with Persia. See note 396 on iii. 143, and 409 on iii. 148.

[9] *οὐ γὰρ ἔπειθε τοὺς Χίους.* See note 17, below.

[10] *διέβη ἐς Μυτιλήνην.* The feeling against Darius was probably much stronger here than in the Ionian states. Coës was the only one of the dynasts seized upon by Aristagoras, who was put to death by his emancipated subjects (v. 38). In the affair of Cyprus too, the Ionians were obviously unwilling to be brought into personal collision with the Persians, although glad of any opportunity of crippling the naval power of their commercial rivals the Phœnicians (v. 109).

[11] *τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἐκπλωούσας τῶν νεῶν ἐλάμβανον.* This was not so petty a warfare as it appears at first sight. Byzantium entirely commanded the Pontine traffic; and therefore the trade of all the Milesian colonies in the Euxine (see note 64 on i. 17) was at Histiæus's mercy. He would prevent them from taking their cargoes either to Miletus or to any port on the main which was in the possession of the Persians, and thus cripple their revenue. Besides this a more direct injury would be inflicted upon the enemy's army. For the commissariat of the large bodies of troops maintained by them in Asia, doubtless the corn grown in the valley of the Borysthenes and shipped at the Milesian ports Olbia and Odessus was resorted to. The only other corn country available was Egypt, and independently of the resources of that country having been crippled by Cambyses, and required for the purpose of maintaining the standing army there, the expense of transport would be great. And it was the belief of the ancients (Aristotle, *Prob.* xiv. 2, p. 909, A), that the grain grown in northern countries kept far better than any other, and consequently was best adapted for military magazines. Histiæus might therefore expect to starve out the garrisons at Doriscus and Dascyleum, or at any rate to make supplies so difficult as to prevent any considerable army from operating together for a length of time. Besides all this a great part of Hellas was at this time mainly dependent upon the Euxine trade for supplying the bulk of the population with their only articles of food, bread and salt fish (*ὄψον*). (See vii. 147.)

Ἱστιαῖος μέν νυν καὶ Μυτιληναῖοι ἐποίευν ταῦτα· ἐπὶ δὲ 6
Μίλητον αὐτὴν ναυτικὸς πολλὸς καὶ πεζὸς ἦν στρατὸς προσδόκιμος. συστραφέντες γὰρ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Περσέων, καὶ ἓν ποιήσαντες στρατόπεδον, ἤλαυνον ἐπὶ τὴν Μίλητον, τὰ ἄλλα πολίσματα περὶ ἐλάσσονος ποιησάμενοι· τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ Φοίνικες μὲν ἦσαν προθυμότατοι[13]· συνεστρατεύοντο δὲ καὶ Κύπριοι νεωστὶ κατεστραμμένοι, καὶ Κίλικές[14] τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ 7
τὴν Μίλητον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰωνίην ἐστράτευον[15]. Ἴωνες δὲ πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα, ἔπεμπον προβούλους σφέων αὐτῶν ἐς Πανιώνιον[16]· ἀπικομένοισι δὲ τούτοισι ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον καὶ βουλευομένοισι ἔδοξε πεζὸν μὲν στρατὸν μὴ συλλέγειν ἀντίξοον Πέρσῃσι, ἀλλὰ τὰ τείχεα ῥύεσθαι αὐτοὺς Μιλησίους[17]· τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν πληροῦν ὑπολειπομένους μηδεμίαν τῶν νεῶν· πληρώσαντες δὲ συλλέγεσθαι τὴν ταχίστην ἐς Λάδην, προναυμαχήσοντας Μιλήτου. ἡ δὲ Λάδη ἐστὶ νῆσος σμικρὴ ἐπὶ τῇ πόλι τῇ Μιλησίων κειμένη. Μετὰ 8
δὲ ταῦτα, πεπληρωμένῃσι τῇσι νηυσὶ παρῆσαν οἱ Ἴωνες, σὺν δέ σφι καὶ Αἰολέων οἳ Λέσβον νέμονται· ἐτάσσοντο δὲ ὧδε· τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἕω εἶχον κέρας αὐτοὶ Μιλήσιοι, νέας παρεχόμενοι ὀγδώ-

Proceedings of the Ionian confederates in the mean-time.

Hence the possession of Byzantium was the most powerful lever Histiæus could possess for furthering any diplomatic combinations he might contemplate. He would also cut off the communication with the military posts of the Persians in Thrace. See note 111 on § 44.

[12] πείθεσθαι. This is the reading of the majority of the MSS. Gaisford, on the authority of a few, reads πείσεσθαι.

[13] ἦσαν προθυμότατοι. See note 10, above.

[14] Κίλικες. These Cilicians are not the mountaineers of v. 52, but the inhabitants of the southern flanks of Taurus in the immediate neighbourhood of the bay of Issus.

[15] ἐστράτευον. See note 687 on i. 204.

[16] ἐς Πανιώνιον. It would seem from this that whatever modifications the Persian conquest under Harpagus had introduced, the form of a congress still continued, but that a predominant influence was possessed by Miletus. Apparently Miletus, under the influence of Histiæus, was made the seat of the federal government for certain purposes (probably those connected with the employment of the military and naval contingents; see note 81 on v. 33); and hence the advice of Thales (i. 170): ἓν βουλευτήριον Ἴωνας ἐκτῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ εἶναι ἐν Τέῳ. He would have selected Teos somewhat on the principle on which the site of Washington was selected for the capital of the United States of America. Teos could never become formidable to the independence of the members of the confederation. Thales obviously belonged to a different party in Miletus from Histiæus, as appears from the circumstances brought together in the note 566 on i. 170. *Now*, a revolution having been effected, commissioners are sent, with a special reference to the conduct of the war, to sit in congress. See vii. 172.

[17] αὐτοὺς Μιλησίους, "the Milesians themselves," *i. e.* that no confederate force should be allowed. This probably would have been under the command of a Milesian chief, under the system which had prevailed since the downfall of the Lydian monarchy. Jealousy of this Milesian influence perhaps affected the conduct of the Chians to Histiæus (above, § 5).

κοντα. εἴχοντο δὲ τουτέων Πριηνέες δυώδεκα νηυσὶ[18], καὶ Μυούσιοι
τρισὶ νηυσί[19]· Μυουσίων δὲ Τήϊοι[20] εἴχοντο ἑπτακαίδεκα νηυσί· Τηΐων
δὲ εἴχοντο Χῖοι ἑκατὸν νηυσί· πρὸς δὲ τούτοισι Ἐρυθραῖοί τε ἐτάσ-
σοντο καὶ Φωκαέες[21], Ἐρυθραῖοι μὲν ὀκτὼ νέας παρεχόμενοι Φωκαέες
δὲ τρεῖς. Φωκαέων δὲ εἴχοντο Λέσβιοι νηυσὶ ἑβδομήκοντα. τελευταῖοι
δὲ ἐτάσσοντο ἔχοντες τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέρην κέρας, Σάμιοι ἑξήκοντα
νηυσί[22]. πασέων δὲ τουτέων ὁ σύμπας ἀριθμὸς ἐγένετο τρεῖς καὶ πεν-

They assemble a fleet of 353 ships against 600 of the enemy.

9 τήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσιαι τριήρεες· αὗται μὲν Ἰώνων ἦσαν[23]. Τῶν δὲ
βαρβάρων τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν ἦσαν ἑξακόσιαι. ὡς δὲ καὶ αὗται
ἀπίκατο πρὸς τὴν Μιλησίην καὶ ὁ πεζός σφι ἅπας παρῆν, ἐνθαῦτα
οἱ Περσέων στρατηγοὶ πυθόμενοι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰάδων νεῶν,
καταρρώδησαν μὴ οὐ δυνατοὶ γένωνται ὑπερβαλέσθαι, καὶ οὕτω
οὔτε τὴν Μίλητον οἷοί τε ἔωσι ἐξελεῖν μὴ οὐκ ἐόντες ναυκράτορες[24],

The Persian commanders have recourse to treachery,

[18] Πριηνέες δυώδεκα νηυσί. The Prienians were sold as slaves by Mazares shortly after the fall of Crœsus (i. 161). Possibly a fresh population was sent to the territory from Miletus, which had made terms with the Persian conqueror (i. 143. 169); and it may have been put on the footing of a dependency of that state after the usual Persian policy: προβαίνειν ἄρχον τε καὶ ἐπιτροπεῦον (i. 134). If so, there is an especial reason for the Prienian galleys flanking those of Miletus. See also note 354 on iv. 138.

[19] καὶ Μυούσιοι τρισὶ νηυσί. In the place of these words the manuscript S has the words Πριηνέων δὲ εἴχοντο Τήϊοι εἴκοσι νηυσὶ, and omits Μυουσίων δὲ Τήϊοι εἴχοντο ἑπτακαίδεκα νηυσί. This variation is one which cannot have arisen from any casualty. It will be observed that the ships of Myus are entirely omitted, but that the Teian contingent is proportionally increased.

[20] Τήϊοι. These Teians were a population imported since the time when Harpagus overran Ionia. On that occasion the whole original population deserted the city, and went as colonists to Abdera (i. 168). It is not unlikely that the gap may have been filled by Milesians; Miletus and Teos being the exact opposite among all the Ionian confederate towns in their feeling towards Persia at the time of the conquest by Cyrus.

[21] πρὸς δὲ τούτοισι Ἐρυθραῖοί τε ἐτάσσοντο καὶ Φωκαέες. Erythræ and Phocæa do not appear in the list of towns given in iv. 138. From the small numbers of the ships furnished, it seems possible that they were manned not by the towns, but by exiles who had fled at the time of the conquest by Harpagus,—at any rate those of Phocæa, the population of which must have been mainly changed (i. 165). The Erythræans may possibly have been placed (or confirmed) in the position of dependants on the Chians at the time of Cyrus's invasion. See notes 67 on i. 19 and 354 on iv. 138. The hardihood of the Phocæan commander (§ 12) bespeaks a man seasoned by a semi-piratical life such as that of exiles would have been.

[22] Σάμιοι ἑξήκοντα νηυσί. It is remarkable that so soon after the vicissitudes through which Samos had passed (see iii. 149), its resources should have enabled it to send a contingent so nearly equal to that of Miletus. The colonization under Otanes probably took place before Darius's campaign in Scythia (see note 38 on § 13, below); but the destruction of property under such circumstances as those described in iii. 147. 149 must have been nearly total. Possibly as the new dynasty was favourable to Persian interests, funds were advanced to the new colonists of the island from the Persian government.

[23] αὗται μὲν Ἰώνων ἦσαν, "these were the ships *on the Ionian side.*" It will be observed that a considerable portion of the force, viz. the Lesbian, was not Ionian, but Æolian. But the whole is called *Ionian,* apparently on the same principle as in iv. 137 and viii. 90.

[24] ναυκράτορες. See note 86 on v. 36.

πρός τε Δαρείου κινδυνεύσωσι κακόν τι λαβεῖν. ταῦτα ἐπιλεγόμενοι, συλλέξαντες τῶν Ἰώνων τοὺς τυράννους οἳ ὑπ' Ἀρισταγόρεω μὲν τοῦ Μιλησίου καταλυθέντες τῶν ἀρχέων ἔφευγον ἐς Μήδους—ἐτύγχανον δὲ τότε συστρατευόμενοι ἐπὶ τὴν Μίλητον—τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς παρεόντας συγκαλέσαντες ἔλεγόν σφι τάδε· "ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, νῦν τις ὑμέων εὖ ποιήσας φανήτω τὸν βασιλέος οἶκον· τοὺς γὰρ ἑωυτοῦ ἕκαστος ὑμέων πολιήτας πειράσθω ἀποσχίζων[25] ἀπὸ τοῦ λοιποῦ συμμαχικοῦ. προϊσχόμενοι δὲ ἐπαγγείλασθε τάδε, ὡς πείσονταί τε ἄχαρι οὐδὲν διὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν, οὐδέ σφι οὔτε τὰ ἱρὰ οὔτε τὰ ἴδια ἐμπεπρήσεται[26], οὐδὲ βιαιότερον ἕξουσι οὐδὲν ἢ πρότερον εἶχον· εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν οὐ ποιήσουσι οἱ δὲ πάντως διὰ μάχης ἐλεύσονται[27], τάδε σφι λέγετε ἐπηρεάζοντες τάπερ σφέας κατέξει· ὡς ἑσσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ ἐξανδραποδιεῦνται, καὶ ὡς σφεων τοὺς παῖδας ἐκτομίας ποιήσομεν τὰς δὲ παρθένους ἀνασπάστους ἐς Βάκτρα[28], καὶ ὡς τὴν χώρην ἄλλοισι παραδώσομεν."

10 Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἔλεγον ταῦτα· τῶν δὲ Ἰώνων οἱ τύραννοι διέπεμπον νυκτὸς ἕκαστος ἐς τοὺς ἑωυτοῦ ἐξαγγελλόμενος. οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες ἐς τοὺς καὶ ἀπίκοντο

through the agency of the expelled dynasts.

[25] *πειράσθω ἀποσχίζων*, "let him make a trial in detaching." See i. 84: *ἐπειρᾶτο προσβαίνων*. The manuscripts S and V have *ἀποσχίζειν*.

[26] *οὔτε τὰ ἱρὰ οὔτε τὰ ἴδια ἐμπεπρήσεται*, "neither their temples nor their houses shall be fired." The distinction is the same as that made in slightly different terms, below, § 25: *οὔτε ἡ πόλις οὔτε τὰ ἱρὰ ἐνεπρήσθη*.

[27] *οἱ δὲ πάντως διὰ μάχης ἐλεύσονται*, "and if nothing will serve them but to fight it out." So iv. 127: *εἰ δὲ δέοι πάντως ἐς τοῦτο κατὰ τάχος ἀπικνέεσθαι*.

[28] *ἀνασπάστους ἐς Βάκτρα*. It is not easy to say with confidence why this expression should be used; but possibly it is because the line of traffic along which the female slaves destined for the oriental harems were carried passed in that direction. It was probably always the practice of the Caucasian mountaineers (as it is at present), to sell their *own* children for this purpose. At any rate they would habitually kidnap those of their neighbours, and the most convenient mart for these would be *Dioscurias*, a Milesian colony in the extreme eastern recess of the Euxine. This market was frequented by no less than seventy different Caucasian and Sarmatian tribes (according to some accounts 300), all speaking different languages and having no friendly intercourse with each other. (Strabo, xi. c. 2, p. 408.) The commodity for which they bartered their prisoners was chiefly *salt*. (Strabo, l. c., p. 421.) From Dioscurias there can be little doubt that the female slaves would be shipped to Phasis (on the river of the same name), and from thence arrive on the eastern coast of the Caspian by the route indicated in the note 363 on i. 104. There they would get into the line of caravan traffic which led to Balk (which is, with more or less exactness, the Bactra of the text), and from thence over the mountains to Caubul and the Punjaub. It is a very remarkable circumstance that Herodotus should never mention Dioscurias, nor yet the name of the *town* Phasis. Perhaps the traffic was not strictly confined to barbarian slaves, and some of the Bosporane Greeks may have been the victims of a system which undoubtedly they at a subsequent time carried on to the prejudice of their extra-Bosporane countrymen. Under such circumstances a Phasian or Sinopian trader would preserve a discreet silence as to the locality both of the barracoons and of the port to which their inmates were consigned.

αὗται αἱ ἀγγελίαι, ἀγνωμοσύνῃ τε διεχρέωντο καὶ οὐ προσίεντο τὴν προδοσίην· ἑωυτοῖσί τε ἕκαστοι ἐδόκεον μούνοισι ταῦτα τοὺς Πέρσας ἐξαγγέλλεσθαι. ταῦτα μέν νυν ἰθέως ἀπικομένων ἐς τὴν Μίλητον τῶν Περσέων ἐγίνετο.

11 *Μετὰ δὲ, τῶν Ἰώνων συλλεχθέντων ἐς τὴν Λάδην, ἐγίνοντο ἀγοραί· καὶ δή κου σφι καὶ ἄλλοι ἠγορόωντο, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ* [ὁ] *Φωκαεὺς* [*στρατηγὸς*[29]] *Διονύσιος λέγων τάδε· "ἐπὶ ξυροῦ γὰρ ἀκμῆς ἔχεται ἡμῖν τὰ πρήγματα, ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, ἢ εἶναι ἐλευθέροισι ἢ δούλοισι, καὶ τούτοισι ὡς δρηπέτῃσι· νῦν ὦν ὑμέες ἢν μὲν βούλησθε ταλαιπωρίας ἐνδέκεσθαι, τὸ παραχρῆμα μὲν πόνος ὑμῖν ἔσται, οἷοί τε δὲ ἔσεσθε ὑπερβαλλόμενοι τοὺς ἐναντίους εἶναι ἐλεύθεροι· εἰ δὲ μαλακίῃ τε καὶ ἀταξίῃ διαχρήσεσθε, οὐδεμίαν ὑμέων ἔχω ἐλπίδα μὴ οὐ δώσειν ὑμέας δίκην τῷ βασιλέϊ τῆς ἀποστάσιος. ἀλλ᾽ ἐμοί τε πείθεσθε καὶ ἐμοὶ ὑμέας αὐτοὺς ἐπιτρέψατε· καὶ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ, θεῶν τὰ ἴσα νεμόντων, ὑποδέκομαι ἢ οὐ συμμίξειν τοὺς πολεμίους, ἢ συμμίσγοντας πολλὸν ἐλασσώσεσθαι."*

Dionysius from Phocæa endeavours to enforce strict discipline in the allied fleet,

12 *Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἴωνες ἐπιτρέπουσι σφέας αὐτοὺς τῷ Διονυσίῳ. ὁ δὲ, ἀνάγων ἑκάστοτε ἐπὶ κέρας*[30] *τὰς νέας, ὅκως τοῖσι ἐρέτῃσι χρήσαιτο, διέκπλοον ποιεύμενος τῇσι νηυσὶ δι᾽ ἀλληλέων, καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ὁπλίσειε, τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρης τὰς νέας ἔχεσκε ἐπ᾽ ἀγκυρέων*[31]*· παρεῖχέ τε τοῖσι Ἴωσι πόνον δι᾽ ἡμέρης. μέχρι μέν νυν ἡμερέων ἑπτὰ ἐπείθοντό τε καὶ ἐποίευν τὸ κελευόμενον· τῇ δὲ ἐπὶ ταύτῃσι,* [*οἱ Ἴωνες*] *οἷα ἀπαθέες ἐόντες πόνων τοιούτων τετρυμένοι τε ταλαιπωρίῃσί τε καὶ ἡλίῳ, ἔλεξαν πρὸς ἑωυτοὺς τάδε· "τίνα δαιμόνων παραβάντες τάδε ἀναπίμπλαμεν, οἵτινες παραφρονήσαντες καὶ ἐκπλώσαντες ἐκ τοῦ νόου*[32]*, ἀνδρὶ Φωκαέϊ*

against which the Ionians revolt.

[29] *ὁ Φωκαεὺς στρατηγός*. The article is omitted by the manuscripts S and V, and the word *στρατηγὸς* by K, and in a citation by LONGINUS, *De Subl.* c. 22.

[30] *ἀνάγων . . . ἐπὶ κέρας*. The form used by Thucydides and Xenophon is *ἐπὶ κέρως*, but these phrases differ only as *πρὸς νότον* and *πρὸς νότου*, "to the south" and "southwards,"—both of which are used indifferently by Herodotus. The operation intended is 'rowing in columns,' which is a movement 'wing-wards,' as contradistinguished from a charge upon an enemy drawn up opposite.

[31] *τὰς νέας ἔχεσκε ἐπ᾽ ἀγκυρέων*. Instead of allowing the galleys to be hauled up high and dry, he kept them riding at anchor, head to sea, with the marines on board in complete armour ready for action all the remainder of the day. His object probably was to throw the Phœnicians off their guard. Having his ships always ready for action, while they appeared to be merely practising, he would watch his opportunity, when the crews had been brought into thorough condition, to strike the same blow which Lysander afterwards did at Ægos Potami.

[32] *ἐκπλώσαντες ἐκ τοῦ νόου*. A similar expression is used below (iii. 155): *πῶς οὐκ ἐξεπλώσας τῶν φρενῶν;*

ἀλαζόνι παρεχομένῳ νέας τρεῖς[33] ἐπιτρέψαντες ἡμέας αὐτοὺς ἔχομεν ; ὁ δὲ παραλαβὼν ἡμέας, λυμαίνεται λύμῃσι ἀνηκέστοισι· καὶ δὴ πολλοὶ μὲν ἡμέων ἐς νούσους πεπτώκασι, πολλοὶ δὲ ἐπίδοξοι τὠυτὸ τοῦτο πείσεσθαί εἰσι· πρό τε τούτων τῶν κακῶν ἡμῖν γε[34] κρέσσον καὶ ὁτιῶν ἄλλο παθέειν ἐστὶ, καὶ τὴν μέλλουσαν δουληΐην ὑπομεῖναι, ἥτις ἔσται, μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ παρεούσῃ συνέχεσθαι[35]. φέρετε, τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ πειθώμεθα αὐτοῦ." ταῦτα ἔλεξαν· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα πείθεσθαι οὐδεὶς ἤθελε· ἀλλ', οἷα στρατιὴ[36], σκηνάς τε πηξάμενοι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐσκιητροφέοντο, καὶ ἐσβαίνειν οὐκ ἐθέλεσκον ἐς τὰς νέας, οὐδ' ἀναπειρᾶσθαι. Μαθόντες δὲ ταῦτα γινόμενα[37] ἐκ τῶν Ἰώνων οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Σαμίων, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ παρ' Αἰάκεος τοῦ Συλοσῶντος[38] κείνους τοὺς πρότερον ἔπεμπε λόγους ὁ Αἰάκης, κελευόντων τῶν Περσέων, δεόμενός σφεων ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν Ἰώνων συμμαχίην,—οἱ Σάμιοι ὦν, ὁρέωντες ἅμα μὲν ἐοῦσαν ἀταξίην πολλὴν ἐκ τῶν Ἰώνων, ἐδέκοντο τοὺς λόγους, ἅμα δὲ κατεφαίνετό σφι εἶναι ἀδύνατα τὰ βασιλέος πρήγματα ὑπερβαλέσθαι, εὖ τε ἐπιστάμενοι ὡς, εἰ καὶ τὸ παρεὸν ναυτικὸν ὑπερ-

13 The *Samians* seeing the bad prospects of the allied cause,

[33] παρεχομένῳ νέας τρεῖς. See note 354 on iv. 138; 512 on i. 152; and 542 on i. 165. The inveterate dislike of Milesians and Chians to the native of a city once a rival is in this passage combined with the commercial feeling in favour of property,—which not even their perilous situation could eradicate from the breasts of the wealthy traders. The epithet ἀλαζὼν is very characteristic and expressive of the disgust which a number of landsmen would entertain towards a martinet commander.

[34] ἡμῖν γε, "for *us* at any rate," as if they were in a very different position from the Phocæan contingent. (See note 21, above.) Perhaps the terms of the Persian generals' proclamation induced them to think, in the fashion of Lucullus's soldier, that the interests of a few exiles were not identical with their own. "Ibit, ibit eo quo vis, qui zonam perdidit." (HORACE, *Epp.* ii. 2. 40.) The Phocæans were probably obnoxious to the sneer which Adimantus, the Corinthian, afterwards let fall against Themistocles (viii. 61).

[35] μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ παρεούσῃ συνέχεσθαι, "rather than be kept without respite in this present one." See the note 361 on iii. 131.

[36] οἷα στρατιὴ, "like a land-force." Dobree, considering that Herodotus would have added the word πεζὴ, proposes to read οἷα ἀστρατηΐης, "as if on furlough," comparing ARISTOPHANES, *Peace*, 525. But the alteration seems uncalled for. The discipline to which Dionysius kept his men was specially *naval.* (See note 31, above.) The pitching tents for shelter would be the ordinary proceeding of a land army, even on service.

[37] ταῦτα γινόμενα. Gaisford prints ταῦτα τὰ γινόμενα on the authority of some MSS. But S, V, P, and K omit the article, and the sense is certainly better without it.

[38] Αἰάκεος τοῦ Συλοσῶντος. He was tyrant of Samos at the time of the expedition of Darius to Scythia (see iv. 138); and as this would imply the possession of considerable force, it must be supposed that the fresh colonization under the auspices of Otanes (iii. 149) took place before that expedition. It is likely that the new population would be mainly, though not entirely, composed of persons favourable to the dynasty of Syloson, and consequently to the Persian alliance; and hence perhaps one cause of the success which the proposals of Æaces met with among the Samians. The remains of the old aristocracy thought very differently of the matter (below, § 22).

βαλοίατο τὸν Δαρεῖον, ἄλλο σφι παρέσται πενταπλήσιον, προφάσιος ὦν ἐπιλαβόμενοι, ἐπεί τε τάχιστα εἶδον τοὺς Ἴωνας ἀρνευμένους εἶναι χρηστούς, ἐν κέρδεϊ ἐποιεῦντο περιποιῆσαι τά τε ἱρὰ τὰ σφέτερα καὶ τὰ ἴδια[39]. ὁ δὲ Αἰάκης, παρ' ὅτευ τοὺς λόγους ἐδέκοντο οἱ Σάμιοι, παῖς μὲν ἦν Συλοσῶντος τοῦ Αἰάκεος· τύραννος δὲ ἐὼν Σάμου, ὑπὸ τοῦ Μιλησίου Ἀρισταγόρεω ἀπεστέρητο τὴν ἀρχήν, κατάπερ οἱ ἄλλοι τῆς Ἰωνίης τύραννοι[40].

make separate terms for themselves,

14 Τότε ὦν ἐπεὶ ἐπέπλωον οἱ Φοίνικες, οἱ Ἴωνες ἀντανῆγον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς νέας ἐπὶ κέρας. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἀγχοῦ ἐγίνοντο καὶ συνέμισγον ἀλλήλοισι, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως συγγράψαι οἵτινες τῶν Ἰώνων ἐγένοντο ἄνδρες κακοὶ ἢ ἀγαθοὶ ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ταύτῃ· ἀλλήλους γὰρ καταιτιῶνται. λέγονται δὲ Σάμιοι ἐνθαῦτα, κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα πρὸς τὸν Αἰάκεα, ἀειράμενοι τὰ ἱστία ἀποπλῶσαι ἐκ τῆς τάξιος ἐς τὴν Σάμον, πλὴν ἕνδεκα[41] νεῶν· τουτέων δὲ οἱ τριήραρχοι παρέμενον καὶ ἐναυμάχεον, ἀνηκουστήσαντες τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι· καί σφι τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Σαμίων ἔδωκε διὰ τοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα[42] ἐν στήλῃ ἀναγραφῆναι πατρόθεν, ὡς ἀνδράσι ἀγαθοῖσι γενομένοισι· καὶ ἔστι αὕτη ἡ στήλη ἐν τῇ ἀγορῇ. ἰδόμενοι δὲ καὶ Λέσβιοι τοὺς προσεχέας φεύγοντας, τὠυτὸ ἐποίευν τοῖσι Σαμίοισι·

and on an engagement taking place, all but eleven ships desert in a body.

[39] οἱ Σάμιοι ὦν, κ.τ.λ. The sentence appears rather a complicated one from the compression (after the manner of the Greeks) of two propositions into one. It would run quite smoothly in point of grammar if it had proceeded after the words τοὺς λόγους, thus: ἅμα δὲ ὄντα ἀδύνατα τὰ β. πρ. But although they had the evidence of their *senses* for the disorderly proceedings of the Ionians, the strength of the enemy was only a matter of opinion. Hence the second clause required the qualification ὡς κατεφαίνετό σφι. But instead of this being inserted, it is implied by the change of construction, and the two propositions are condensed into the one: ἅμα δὲ κατεφαίνετό σφι εἶναι ἀδύνατα τὰ β. πρ. ὑπερβαλέσθαι. But the sentence is then regularly continued as if the compression had not taken place, the whole of it being complete within the clause which had suffered the change. Translate: "The Samians, then, listened to the proposals, seeing that there was an utter want of discipline on the part of the Ionians, while the king's game appeared to them one impossible to baffle,—moreover being quite sure that even if the fleet they had should beat Darius, another force five times as great would arrive,—laying hold then (I say) of an excuse, the instant they saw the Ionians refusing to do their duty, they snatched at the luck of saving their own temples and their property." The subject of ὑπερβαλοίατο is τὸ παρεὸν ναυτικόν, which has a plural verb with it as a noun of multitude. The construction would unquestionably be much simplified in the latter part of the passage by reading τοῦ Δαρείου, but the MSS are unanimous in giving the accusative. If that conjecture be adopted, or if the words τὸν Δαρεῖον be erased, τὸ παρεὸν ναυτικὸν will be not the *subject* but the *object* of ὑπερβαλοίατο.

[40] κατάπερ οἱ ἄλλοι τῆς Ἰωνίης τύραννοι. See v. 38.

[41] ἕνδεκα. The manuscripts S and V have δέκα. PAUSANIAS (vii. 10. 1) appears to have found ἕνδεκα in the copy he used.

[42] διὰ τοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα. S and V omit these words.

ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ πλεῦνες τῶν Ἰώνων ἐποίευν τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα. Τῶν δὲ παραμεινάντων ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ περιέφθησαν τρηχύτατα Χῖοι, ὡς ἀποδεικνύμενοί τε ἔργα λαμπρὰ καὶ οὐκ ἐθελοκακέοντες. παρείχοντο μὲν γὰρ, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον εἰρέθη, νέας ἑκατὸν, καὶ ἐπ' ἑκάστης αὐτέων ἄνδρας τεσσεράκοντα τῶν ἀστῶν λογάδας ἐπιβατεύοντας. ὁρέοντες δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν συμμάχων προδιδόντας, οὐκ ἐδικαίευν γενέσθαι τοῖσι κακοῖσι αὐτῶν ὁμοῖοι· ἀλλὰ μετ' ὀλίγων συμμάχων μεμουνωμένοι, διεκπλώοντες ἐναυμάχεον, ἐς ὃ τῶν πολεμίων ἑλόντες νέας συχνὰς ἀπέβαλον τῶν σφετέρων νεῶν τὰς πλεῦνας. Χῖοι μὲν δὴ τῇσι λοιπῇσι τῶν νεῶν ἀποφεύγουσι ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῶν. 15 Their example is followed by the *Lesbians* and the greater part of the Ionians. The *Chians* suffer the most,

Ὅσοισι δὲ τῶν Χίων ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν αἱ νέες ὑπὸ τρωμάτων, οὗτοι δὲ, ὡς ἐδιώκοντο, καταφυγγάνουσι πρὸς τὴν Μυκάλην. νέας μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ ἐποκείλαντες κατέλιπον, οἱ δὲ πεζῇ ἐκομίζοντο διὰ τῆς ἠπείρου. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἐφεσίην κομιζόμενοι οἱ Χῖοι, νυκτός τε ἀπικέατο ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ ἐόντων τῇσι γυναιξὶ αὐτόθι θεσμοφορίων· ἐνθαῦτα δὴ οἱ Ἐφέσιοι, οὔτε προακηκοότες ὡς εἶχε περὶ τῶν Χίων[43] ἰδόντες τε στρατὸν ἐς τὴν χώρην ἐσβεβληκότα, πάγχυ σφέας καταδόξαντες εἶναι κλῶπας καὶ ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, ἐξεβοήθεον πανδημεὶ καὶ ἔκτεινον τοὺς Χίους. 16 and many who escape fall in a night attack on them by the *Ephesians*, who take them for enemies.

Οὗτοι μέν νυν τοιαύτῃσι περιέπιπτον τύχῃσι. Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ Φωκαεὺς ἐπεί τε ἔμαθε τῶν Ἰώνων τὰ πρήγματα διεφθαρμένα, νέας ἑλὼν τρεῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέπλεε, ἐς μὲν Φώκαιαν οὐκέτι, εὖ εἰδὼς ὡς ἀνδραποδιεῖται σὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἰωνίῃ· ὁ δὲ ἰθέως ὡς εἶχε ἔπλωε ἐς Φοινίκην· γαύλους[44] δὲ ἐνθαῦτα καταδύσας καὶ χρήματα λαβὼν πολλὰ, ἔπλωε ἐς Σικελίην· ὁρμεώμενος δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ληϊστὴς κατεστήκεε, Ἑλλήνων μὲν οὐδενὸς, Καρχηδονίων δὲ καὶ Τυρσηνῶν. 17 Dionysius retreats to Sicily, and turns pirate.

[43] οὔτε προακηκοότες ὡς εἶχε περὶ τῶν Χίων. One may suspect from this passage that the Ephesians had not taken a very active part in the Ionian alliance against Persia; and it will be observed that they do not appear in the list of the allied forces given in § 8. In this case, the pretext of mistaking the nature of the Chian inroad may have been subsequently coined, at a time when partisanship with Persia had become the most heinous crime a Greek could commit. The mistake was the more possible, as the Chians and Ephesians spoke an entirely different language (i. 142). Still this very difference of language would go to prove that there was little intercourse between them, and afford a presumption that they belonged to rival commercial confederacies: Chios and Miletus appear from very early times to have stood quite apart from the rest of the Ionian cities in Asia (i. 18).

[44] γαύλους. See note 373 on iii. 136.

18 Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπεί τε τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ἐνίκων τοὺς Ἴωνας[45], τὴν Μίλητον πολιορκέοντες ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, καὶ ὑπορύσσοντες τὰ τείχεα[46] καὶ παντοίας μηχανὰς προσφέροντες, αἱρέουσι κατ' ἄκρης, ἕκτῳ ἔτεϊ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀποστάσιος τῆς Ἀρισταγόρεω· καὶ ἠνδραποδίσαντο τὴν πόλιν ὥστε συμπεσέειν τὸ πάθος τῷ χρη-

Miletus is captured, and the inhabitants enslaved, in the sixth year of the war.

19 στηρίῳ τῷ ἐς Μίλητον γενομένῳ. Χρεωμένοισι γὰρ Ἀργείοισι ἐν Δελφοῖσι περὶ σωτηρίης τῆς πόλιος τῆς σφετέρης, ἐχρήσθη ἐπίκοινον χρηστήριον· τὸ μὲν ἐς αὐτοὺς τοὺς Ἀργείους φέρον, τὴν δὲ παρενθήκην[47] ἔχρησε ἐς Μιλησίους. τὸ μέν νυν ἐς τοὺς Ἀργείους ἔχον, ἐπεὰν κατὰ τοῦτο γένωμαι τοῦ λόγου τότε μνησθήσομαι[48]· τὰ δὲ τοῖσι Μιλησίοισι οὐ παρεοῦσι ἔχρησε ἔχει ὧδε·

> Καὶ τότε δή, Μίλητε, κακῶν ἐπιμήχανε ἔργων[49],
> πολλοῖσι δεῖπνόν τε καὶ ἀγλαὰ δῶρα γενήσει·
> σαὶ δ' ἄλοχοι πολλοῖσι πόδας νίψουσι κομήταις·
> νηοῦ δ' ἡμετέρου Διδύμοις ἄλλοισι μελήσει.

τότε δὴ ταῦτα τοὺς Μιλησίους κατελάμβανε, ὅτε γε ἄνδρες μὲν οἱ πλεῦνες ἐκτείνοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Περσέων ἐόντων κομητέων, γυναῖκες δὲ καὶ τέκνα ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ ἐγίνοντο· ἱρὸν δὲ τὸ ἐν Διδύμοισι[50], ὁ νηός τε καὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, συληθέντα ἐνεπίμπρατο. τῶν δ' ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τούτῳ χρημάτων πολλάκις μνήμην ἑτέρωθι τοῦ

20 λόγου[51] ἐποιησάμην. Ἐνθεῦτεν οἱ ζωγρηθέντες τῶν Μιλησίων ἤγοντο ἐς Σοῦσα. βασιλεὺς δέ σφεας Δαρεῖος κακὸν οὐδὲν ἄλλο

The inhabitants are

[45] τοὺς Ἴωνας. The manuscript F has τοὺς Ἕλληνας Ἴωνας, which appears to originate in a double reading. (See note 6, above.) The corrector has erased Ἕλληνας.

[46] ὑπορύσσοντες τὰ τείχεα. See note 512 on iv. 200.

[47] τὴν δὲ παρενθήκην. S has τὸ δὲ παρενθήκην, which is preferred by Dobree.

[48] τότε μνησθήσομαι. See below, § 77.

[49] κακῶν ἐπιμήχανε ἔργων. It would be interesting to discover when the oracle was delivered in which these words occur. Such an expression indicates disapprobation on the part of Apollo with the course upon which Miletus was entering, but what that course was does not appear on the face of things. I am inclined to suspect that it refers to the dissociation of themselves from the rest of the Ionians, which was manifested by the separate treaty with Cyrus (i. 141). That treaty was to the prejudice of Crœsus, who was undoubtedly a favourite at Delphi.

[50] ἱρὸν δὲ τὸ ἐν Διδύμοισι. It is singular that Herodotus, who elsewhere speaks of this temple as τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Βραγχίδῃσι (v. 36), or as αἱ Βράγχιδαι (i. 92; ii. 159), or even οἱ Βράγχιδαι (i. 157), should here use a different phrase without any explanation. It seems that the name Branchidæ came to be disused, and that of Apollo Didymæus to be the one habitually given to the oracle. (Pliny, *N. H.* v. 29.) Possibly the treacherous conduct of the Branchidæ at the time of the Persian invasion (see notes 327 and 527 on Book i.) was the cause of the change.

[51] ἑτέρωθι τοῦ λόγου. See i. 92; v. 36.

ποιήσας κατοίκισε ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ καλεομένῃ θαλάσσῃ, ἐν Ἄμπῃ πόλι[52], παρ' ἣν Τίγρης ποταμὸς παραρρέων ἐς θάλασσαν ἐξίει[53]. τῆς δὲ Μιλησίης χώρης αὐτοὶ μὲν οἱ Πέρσαι εἶχον τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ πεδίον, τὰ δὲ ὑπεράκρια ἔδοσαν Καρσὶ Πηδασεῦσι ἐκτῆσθαι[54].

conveyed to Susa, and planted by Darius in the city *Ampe*, on the bank of the Tigris.

21 Παθοῦσι δὲ ταῦτα Μιλησίοισι πρὸς Περσέων οὐκ ἀπέδοσαν τὴν ὁμοίην Συβαρῖται, οἳ Λάον τε καὶ Σκίδρον οἴκεον[55] τῆς πόλιος ἀπεστερημένοι. Συβάριος γὰρ ἁλούσης ὑπὸ Κροτωνιητέων, Μιλήσιοι πάντες ἡβηδὸν[56] ἀπεκείραντο τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ πένθος μέγα προεθήκαντο· πόλιες γὰρ αὗται μάλιστα δὴ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν[57]

Sorrow of the Athenians for the misfortunes of Miletus shown in their treatment of

[52] ἐν Ἄμπῃ πόλι. This city is from the description to be looked for very low down on the Tigris, perhaps subsequently to the union of its waters with those other rivers which according to some writers procured for it, in its lowest part, the name of Pasitigris. (STRABO xv. c. 3, p. 319.) *Opis*, with which some have endeavoured to identify Ampe, was on the contrary very high up the stream. See note 636 on i. 189.

[53] ἐξίει. See note 604 on i. 180.

[54] Πηδασεῦσι ἐκτῆσθαι. See note 590 on i. 175. It seems strange that the Pedasians, the only Carians who offered a formidable resistance to Harpagus, should have been settled by the conqueror in the *highlands* overhanging the Milesian territory. One may almost suspect that the Carians in the text were mainly a remnant of the old Lelegian population which had been kept in a dependant condition by the Milesians, and that the Persians restored them to a certain state of independence. The Pedasians who survived the taking of their own town, or perhaps a party among them favourable to Persia, may have been transported to the Milesian territory and mixed with the emancipated periœcians, who would be of the same race with themselves, and thus the whole called Pedasians. It is to be observed that FELLOWES enumerates among the "Ancient Lycian" towns, in which he observed remains, a *Pedassis*. (See note 585 on i. 173.) Herodotus seems to be quite ignorant of the existence of a town of that name in Lycia; but if there really was such a one, it is possible that the Milesian Pedasians had been transported from thence. They too would probably be of Lelegian race.

[55] οἳ Λάον τε καὶ Σκίδρον οἴκεον. The former of these two towns is mentioned by STRABO (vi. c. 1, p. 3) as situated on the river of the same name, 120 *stades* from Velia, and as being a colony from Sybaris. Of Scidrus nothing is known. It is strange that this notice should appear here; but perhaps the passage was written after the author's arrival at Thurii, where his auditors would be more familiar with the localities.

[56] ἡβηδὸν, "including all adults." The phrase is probably derived from a classification of the population for military purposes. See i. 172, where it may be rendered "in full force."

[57] μάλιστα δὴ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἀλλήλῃσι ἐξεινώθησαν. The commercial interests of these two cities could not, from their relative situations, at all interfere with one another; and both in the one and the other the *Achæan* element was a very important one in the population. For Sybaris, see especially the passage of Aristotle quoted in the note 561 in i. 167, and see also note 108 on v. 44. As for Miletus, its coins show that the predominant religious worship was that of Apollo Didymæus, whose temple, according to the *native legends*, was far more ancient than the emigration under Neleus. (PAUSANIAS vii. 2, 4.) This deity was in fact identical with the Apollo at Thornax and at Amyclæ (see note 236 on i. 70); that is to say, the Apollo not of the Heraclide invaders of the Peloponnese, but of the Achæan population they found there. (See note 189 on v. 72.) Independently of ethnical affinity, TIMÆUS (*ap. Athenæum* xii. p. 519) says that the Milesian woollen manufactures were in great demand at Sybaris.

Phrynichus the tragedian. ἀλλήλῃσι ἐξεινώθησαν. οὐδὲν ὁμοίως καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι[58]. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν γὰρ δῆλον ἐποίησαν ὑπεραχθεσθέντες τῇ Μιλήτου ἁλώσει, τῇ τε ἄλλῃ πολλαχῇ, καὶ δὴ καὶ ποιήσαντι Φρυνίχῳ δρᾶμα Μιλήτου ἅλωσιν καὶ διδάξαντι[59], ἐς δάκρυά τε ἔπεσε τὸ θέητρον καὶ ἐζημίωσάν μιν, ὡς ἀναμνήσαντα οἰκήϊα κακὰ, χιλίῃσι δραχμῇσι· καὶ ἐπέταξαν μηκέτι μηδένα χρᾶσθαι τούτῳ τῷ δράματι.

22 Μίλητος μέν νυν Μιλησίων ἐρήμωτο. Σαμίων δὲ τοῖσί τι ἔχουσι[60] τὸ μὲν ἐς τοὺς Μήδους ἐκ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν σφετέρων ποιηθὲν οὐδαμῶς ἤρεσκε. ἐδόκεε δὲ μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίην αὐτίκα βουλευομένοισι, πρὶν ἤ σφι ἐς τὴν χώρην ἀπικέσθαι τὸν τύραννον Αἰάκεα ἐς ἀποικίην ἐκπλέειν, μηδὲ μένοντας Μήδοισί τε καὶ Αἰάκεϊ δουλεύειν. Ζαγκλαῖοι γὰρ οἱ ἀπὸ Σικελίης τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῦτον πέμποντες ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην ἀγγέλους ἐπεκαλέοντο τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐς Καλὴν Ἀκτὴν, βουλόμενοι αὐτόθι πόλιν κτίσαι Ἰώνων. ἡ δὲ Καλὴ αὕτη Ἀκτὴ καλεομένη ἔστι μὲν Σικελῶν, πρὸς δὲ Τυρσηνίην τετραμμένη τῆς Σικελίης[61]. τούτων ὦν ἐπικαλεομένων, οἱ Σάμιοι μοῦνοι Ἰώνων ἐστάλησαν σὺν δέ σφι Μιλησίων οἱ ἐκπεφευγότες.

Some of the Samians united with Milesians fly to Sicily,

23 Ἐν ᾧ τοιόνδε δή τι συνήνεικε γενέσθαι· Σάμιοι γὰρ κομιζόμενοι ἐς Σικελίην ἐγίνοντο ἐν Λοκροῖσι τοῖσι Ἐπιζεφυρίοισι, καὶ Ζαγκλαῖοι αὐτοί τε καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Σκύθης[a], περιεκατέατο πόλιν τῶν Σικελῶν ἐξελεῖν βουλόμενοι·

and seize on Zancle.

[58] *οὐδὲν ὁμοίως καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι.* This is a very slovenly expression to connect the following anecdote with what had preceded. It is worth remarking, that STRABO, while recounting the anecdote, gives as the authority for it, not Herodotus, but Callisthenes (xiv. c. 1, p. 167). It seems not impossible that the passage is an interpolated note of some one between the time of STRABO and that of LONGINUS, who quotes it as from Herodotus (*De Sublim.* § 24).

[59] *διδάξαντι.* This term is used of the production of a public performance, from the circumstance that the author himself had to superintend the instruction of the performers during their long practice in order to qualify themselves for the public display of his composition. The phrase is equally applicable to a play, a hymn, or a dance, where the parts were distributed among several persons, and each had not only to be made perfect in that which fell to him, but to be brought into combination with the rest. Thus (i. 23) Arion is said to have been the first person *διδάξαι διθύραμβον*.

[60] *τοῖσί τι ἔχουσι.* See note 396 on iii. 143, and note 8, above.

[61] *πρὸς Τυρσηνίην τετραμμένη τῆς Σικελίης*, "turned towards Tyrrhenia in its bearing from Sicily." Herodotus gives the name *καλὴ ἀκτὴ* to the promontory which running out from the shore and returning upon it produced that *sickle-like* appearance which gave the town built in the vicinity its name Ζάγκλη. Although really a portion of the island Sicily, it was, to the eye, so much cut off from it as to be susceptible of the description in the text. (See note 292 on i. 84.) The name *καλὴ ἀκτὴ* was not only adopted by the Romans in the word *Calacte*, but even the ethnic *Calactini* formed upon it. CICERO says, "*Calactinis* quamobrem imperasti anno tertio ut decumas agri sui, quas *Calactæ* dare consueverant, Amestrati M. Cæsio decumano darent?" (*Verrin.* iii. 43.)

[a] *τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Σκύθης.* In order to combine what is related of this Scythes

μαθὼν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ῥηγίου τύραννος Ἀναξίλεως[62], τότε ἐὼν διάφορος τοῖσι Ζαγκλαίοισι, συμμίξας τοῖσι Σαμίοισι ἀναπείθει ὡς χρεὸν εἴη Καλὴν μὲν Ἀκτὴν ἐπ' ἣν ἔπλεον ἐᾶν χαίρειν, τὴν δὲ Ζάγκλην σχεῖν ἐοῦσαν ἐρῆμον ἀνδρῶν· πειθομένων δὲ τῶν Σαμίων καὶ σχόντων τὴν Ζάγκλην, ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Ζαγκλαῖοι ὡς ἐπύθοντο ἐχομένην τὴν πόλιν ἑωυτῶν, ἐβοήθεον αὐτῇ καὶ ἐπεκαλέοντο Ἱπποκράτεα τὸν Γέλης τύραννον· ἦν γὰρ δή σφι οὗτος σύμμαχος· ἐπεί τε δὲ αὐτοῖσι καὶ ὁ Ἱπποκράτης σὺν τῇ στρατιῇ ἧκε βοηθέων, Σκύθην μὲν τὸν μούναρχον τῶν Ζαγκλαίων ἀποβαλόντα τὴν πόλιν ὁ Ἱπποκράτης πεδήσας, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ Πυθογένεα, ἐς Ἴνυκον πόλιν ἀπέπεμψε· τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς Ζαγκλαίους, κοινολογησάμενος τοῖσι Σαμίοισι καὶ ὅρκους δοὺς καὶ δεξάμενος, προέδωκε. μισθὸς δέ οἱ ἦν εἰρημένος ὅδε ὑπὸ τῶν Σαμίων, πάντων τῶν ἐπίπλων καὶ ἀνδραπόδων τὰ ἡμίσεα μεταλαβεῖν[63] τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλι,

with the narrative in vii. 163, 164, Perizonius has conjectured that this Scythes was the *father* of Cadmus, dynast of Cos; while Valcknaer supposes he may have been his great uncle. But there is no historical foundation for these guesses, and the necessity for them rests entirely on the assumption that the two narratives proceed from the same sources. See note on vii. 164, ἔνθα μετὰ Σαμίων, κ.τ.λ., and also note 86 (a) below.

[62] ὁ Ῥηγίου τύραννος Ἀναξίλεως. He had changed the form of government from an oligarchy to a tyranny. (Aristotle, *Polit.* vi. p. 1316.) Pausanias relates that this Anaxilaus was fourth in descent from Alcidamidas, who led a colony of Messenians to Rhegium in Italy, after the disastrous termination of the first Messenian war by the capture of *Ithome;* and that he himself, after the termination of the second by the capture of *Ira*, in the first year of the twenty-eighth Olympiad, invited some of the survivors who had retreated to Cyllene, the port of Elis, to come over and join him in an attack on Zancle, which at that time was occupied by pirates who interrupted the navigation of the straits, under the leadership of *Cratæmenes a Samian*, and Perieres from Chalcis in Eubœa (iv. 23. 3). This appears to me to describe the *condition* of Zancle, after the compact with Hippocrates presently related, and the refusal of the Samians to kill the 300 Zanclæans who were put into their power. But the chronology is nearly 200 years too early (as Bentley has shown in the *Dissertation on Phalaris*, pp. 210, seqq. ed. 1836); and in fact Cratæmenes, *a Cumæan*, and Perieres of Chalcis are named by Thucydides as the œkists of the early Zancle (vi. 4). Pausanias goes on to say that the Messenians in Cyllene, under the leadership of Gorgus and Manticlus, accepted Anaxilaus's invitation, and together with him captured Zancle, the Zanclæans flying for refuge to the altars of the gods. Anaxilaus wished his allies to put them to death and make slaves of their wives and children; but they refused to do this, and instead of it united in one population with them and changed the name of the town to Messana. This Pausanias puts in the first year of the twenty-ninth Olympiad, consistently with what he has said before. It appears to me to be really the dislocated account of the recapture of Zancle from the Samian bucaniers slightly alluded to by Thucydides (quoted in note 64, below), but not noticed at all by Herodotus.

[63] μεταλαβεῖν. This word is in sense to be separated into its component parts. It means μετ' αὐτῶν λαβεῖν, "to take on division with them." See note 686 on i. 204. So Athenagoras says to his aristocratic opponents (Thucyd. vi. 40): ἀλλ' ἤτοι μαθόντες γε ἢ μεταγνόντες τὸ τῆς πόλεως ξύμπασι κοινὸν αὔξετε, ἡγησάμενοι τοῦτο μὲν ἂν καὶ ἴσον καὶ πλέον οἱ ἀγαθοὶ ὑμῶν ἤπερ τὸ τῆς πόλεως πλῆ-

τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν πάντα Ἱπποκράτεα λαγχάνειν. τοὺς μὲν δὴ πλεῦνας τῶν Ζαγκλαίων αὐτὸς ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ εἶχε δήσας, τοὺς δὲ κορυφαίους αὐτῶν τριηκοσίους ἔδωκε τοῖσι Σαμίοισι κατασφάξαι· οὐ μέντοι οἵ γε Σάμιοι ἐποίησαν ταῦτα.

24 *Anecdote of Scythes, tyrant of Zancle.*

Σκύθης δὲ ὁ τῶν Ζαγκλαίων μούναρχος ἐκ τῆς Ἰνύκου ἐκδιδρήσκει ἐς Ἱμέρην· ἐκ δὲ ταύτης παρῆν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, καὶ ἀνέβη παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον· καί μιν ἐνόμισε Δαρεῖος πάντων ἀνδρῶν δικαιότατον εἶναι ὅσοι ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος παρ' ἑωυτὸν ἀνέβησαν· καὶ γὰρ παραιτησάμενος βασιλέα ἐς Σικελίην ἀπίκετο, καὶ αὖτις ἐκ τῆς Σικελίης ὀπίσω παρὰ βασιλέα, ἐς ὃ γήραϊ μέγα ὄλβιος ἐὼν ἐτελεύτησε ἐν Πέρσῃσι. Σάμιοι δὲ ἀπαλλαχθέντες Μήδων, ἀπονητὶ πόλιν καλλίστην Ζάγκλην περιεβεβλήατο[64].

25 *The Persians place Æaces in Samos as dynast, and as a reward for his services spare the city.*

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ναυμαχίην τὴν ὑπὲρ Μιλήτου γενομένην, Φοίνικες κελευσάντων Περσέων κατῆγον ἐς Σάμον Αἰάκεα τὸν Συλοσῶντος, ὡς πολλοῦ τε ἄξιον γενόμενόν σφισι καὶ μεγάλα κατεργασάμενον· καὶ Σαμίοισι μούνοισι τῶν ἀποστάντων ἀπὸ Δαρείου, διὰ τὴν ἔκλειψιν τῶν νεῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ, οὔτε ἡ πόλις οὔτε τὰ ἱρὰ ἐνεπρήσθη. Μιλήτου δὲ ἁλούσης, αὐτίκα Καρίην ἔσχον οἱ Πέρσαι, τὰς μὲν ἐθελοντὴν τῶν πολίων ὑποκυψάσας, τὰς δὲ ἀνάγκῃ προσηγάγοντο. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἐγίνετο.

θος μετασχεῖν, where *μετασχεῖν τοῦτο* is equivalent to *μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων σχεῖν τοῦτο*, "have *your share with the rest* of this." So in iii. 3: *ἀνὴρ ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν διαβὰς ἐς Εὔβοιαν, καὶ πεζῇ ἐπὶ Γεραιστὸν ἐλθών, ὁλκάδος ἀναγομένης ἐπιτυχὼν* means that the messenger, *immediately upon arriving* at Geræstus (*ἐπὶ*), found a merchant vessel getting under way (*ὁλκάδος ἀναγομένης ἔτυχε*). In SOPHOCLES (*Philoctetes*, 320):

ὡς εἴσ' ἀληθεῖς οἶδα, συντυχὼν κακῶν
ἀνδρῶν Ἀτρειδῶν τῆς τ' Ὀδυσσέως
βίας.

Toup (against all the MSS) wished to read *κακοῖν ἀνδροῖν*, &c., but the Scholiast rightly explains the construction as conveying the same meaning as *σὺν σοὶ τυχών*. So (*Œdipus Colon.* 1482) we have

ἐναισίου δὲ συντύχοιμι,
μηδ' ἄλαστον ἄνδρ' ἰδών,
ἀκερδῆ χάριν μετάσχοιμί πως,

where the sense is *σὺν ἑταίροις τύχοιμι* . . and *μετ' αὐτῶν ἔχοιμι*.

The rationale of such passages as these has been concealed under the general rule, that compound verbs are sometimes used in the regimen of their simple themes; but in good authors the instances are very rare in which some difference of meaning is not intended.

64 *ἀπονητὶ πόλιν καλλίστην Ζάγκλην περιεβεβλήατο.* It should not be overlooked that these Samians are apparently the representatives of the same political party with the bucaniers who laid waste Siphnus and afterwards established a piratical hold at Cydonia in Crete (iii. 57—59). See notes 124 on iii. 42; 394 on iii. 143; 409 on iii. 148; and 8 on § 5, above. From THUCYDIDES (vi. 5) it appears that Anaxilaus himself *soon afterwards* expelled them from their ill-gotten possession, and, recolonizing the place with a mixed population, called it Messana after his own original country. Compare the distorted account of PAUSANIAS (note 62, above).

Ἱστιαίῳ δὲ τῷ Μιλησίῳ ἐόντι περὶ Βυζάντιον καὶ συλλαμ- 26
βάνοντι τὰς Ἰώνων ὁλκάδας ἐκπλωούσας ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου, ἐξαγγέλ-
λεται τὰ περὶ Μίλητον γενόμενα. τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον
ἔχοντα πρήγματα ἐπιτράπει Βισάλτῃ, Ἀπολλοφάνεος παιδὶ,
Ἀβυδηνῷ· αὐτὸς δὲ ἔχων Λεσβίους ἐς Χίον ἔπλεε, καὶ Χίων
φρουρῇ οὐ προσιεμένῃ μιν συνέβαλε ἐν Κοίλοισι καλεομένοισι τῆς
Χίης χώρης· τούτων τε δὴ ἐφόνευσε συχνοὺς, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν
Χίων οἷα δὴ κεκακωμένων ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίης ὁ Ἱστιαῖος ἔχων τοὺς
Λεσβίους ἐπεκράτησε, ἐκ Πολίχνης τῆς Χίων ὁρμεώμενος. Φιλέει 27
δέ κως προσημαίνειν εὖτ᾽ ἂν μέλλῃ μεγάλα κακὰ ἢ πόλι ἢ ἔθνεϊ
ἔσεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ Χίοισι πρὸ τούτων σημήϊα μεγάλα ἐγένετο·
τοῦτο μέν σφι πέμψασι ἐς Δελφοὺς χορὸν νεηνιέων ἑκατὸν δύο
μοῦνοι τούτων ἀπενόστησαν· τοὺς δὲ ὀκτώ τε καὶ ἐννενήκοντα
αὐτῶν λοιμὸς ὑπολαβὼν ἀπήνεικε· τοῦτο δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλι τὸν αὐτὸν
τοῦτον χρόνον, ὀλίγον πρὸ τῆς ναυμαχίης, παισὶ γράμματα διδα-
σκομένοισι ἐνέπεσε ἡ στέγη, ὥστε ἀπ᾽ ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι παίδων
εἷς μοῦνος ἀπέφυγε. ταῦτα μέν σφι σημήϊα ὁ θεὸς προέδεξε· μετὰ
δὲ ταῦτα, ἡ ναυμαχίη ὑπολαβοῦσα ἐς γόνυ τὴν πόλιν ἔβαλε· ἐπὶ
δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ἐπεγένετο Ἱστιαῖος Λεσβίους ἄγων· κεκακωμένων
δὲ τῶν Χίων, καταστροφὴν εὐπετέως αὐτῶν ἐποιήσατο.

Adventures of *Histiæus* after the capture of Miletus.

He occupies *Chios.*

Portents which happened at the time.

Ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὁ Ἱστιαῖος ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ Θάσον[65], ἄγων Ἰώνων 28
καὶ Αἰολέων συχνούς. περικατημένῳ δέ οἱ Θάσον ἦλθε ἀγγελίη,
ὡς οἱ Φοίνικες ἀναπλώουσι ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου ἐπὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰωνίην·
πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα Θάσον μὲν ἀπόρθητον λείπει, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν
Λέσβον ἠπείγετο ἄγων πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιήν· ἐκ Λέσβου δὲ,
λιμαινούσης οἱ τῆς στρατιῆς, πέρην διαβαίνει ἐκ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος[66]
ὡς ἀμήσων τὸν σῖτον, τόν τε ἐνθεῦτεν καὶ τὸν ἐκ Καΐκου πεδίου
τὸν τῶν Μυσῶν· ἐν δὲ τούτοισι τοῖσι χωρίοισι ἐτύγχανε ἐὼν
Ἅρπαγος, ἀνὴρ Πέρσης[67], στρατηγὸς στρατιῆς οὐκ ὀλίγης· ὅς οἱ

He then attacks *Thasus*, but in making a descent soon afterwards on *Atarneus* is captured,

[65] ἐπὶ Θάσον. The mines in this island and in its dependencies on the main (see § 46) were doubtless a principal object of this expedition. Histiæus could only hope to carry on the war by the aid of mercenaries, and above all things therefore required specie. See the note 88 on v. 36.

[66] Ἀταρνέος. Atarneus was the place which the Chians obtained as a grant in return for their extradition of the Persian refugee Pactyas (i. 160).

[67] Ἅρπαγος, ἀνὴρ Πέρσης. There is no notice in Herodotus of the appointment of this individual to the command he held. Perhaps he may have succeeded Daurises or Hymeas. It should not be overlooked that the Harpagus of Cyrus's time was a *Mede* (i. 162), whereas this person is expressly stated to be a *Persian.*

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ἀποβάντι συμβαλὼν αὐτόν τε Ἱστιαῖον ζωγρίῃ ἔλαβε καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν πλέω διέφθειρε.

29 Ἐζωγρήθη δὲ ὁ Ἱστιαῖος ὧδε· ὡς ἐμάχοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ἐν τῇ Μαλήνῃ τῆς Ἀταρνείτιδος χώρης, οἱ μὲν συνέστασαν χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλὸν, ἡ δὲ ἵππος ὕστερον ὁρμηθεῖσα ἐπιπίπτει τοῖσι Ἕλλησι· τότε δὴ ἔργον τῆς ἵππου τοῦτο ἐγένετο· καὶ τετραμμένων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὁ Ἱστιαῖος ἐλπίζων οὐκ ἀπολέεσθαι ὑπὸ βασιλέος διὰ τὴν παρεοῦσαν ἁμαρτάδα, φιλοψυχίην τοιήνδε τινὰ ἀναιρέεται· ὡς φεύγων τε κατελαμβάνετο ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω, καὶ ὡς καταιρεόμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἔμελλε συγκεντηθήσεσθαι, Περσίδα γλῶσσαν μετεὶς καταμηνύει ἑωυτὸν, ὡς εἴη Ἱστιαῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος.

30 Εἰ μέν νυν ὡς ἐζωγρήθη ἄχθη ἀγόμενος[68] παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον, ὁ δὲ οὔτ' ἂν ἔπαθε κακὸν οὐδὲν, δοκέειν ἐμοὶ, ἀπῆκέ τ' ἂν αὐτῷ τὴν αἰτίην· νῦν δέ μιν αὐτῶν τε τούτων εἵνεκα, καὶ ἵνα μὴ διαφυγὼν αὖτις μέγας παρὰ βασιλέϊ γένηται[69], Ἀρταφέρνης τε ὁ Σαρδίων ὕπαρχος καὶ ὁ λαβὼν Ἅρπαγος, ὡς ἀπίκετο ἀγόμενος ἐς Σάρδις, τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ ἀνεσταύρωσαν[a], τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν ταριχεύσαντες ἀνήνεικαν παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον ἐς Σοῦσα. Δαρεῖος δὲ πυθόμενος ταῦτα καὶ ἐπαιτιησάμενος τοὺς ταῦτα ποιήσαντας ὅτι μιν οὐ ζώοντα ἀνήγαγον ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ, τὴν κεφαλὴν τὴν Ἱστιαίου λούσαντάς τε καὶ περιστείλαντας εὖ ἐνετείλατο θάψαι, ὡς ἀνδρὸς μεγάλως ἑωυτῷ τε καὶ Πέρσῃσι εὐεργέτεω[70]. τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἱστιαῖον οὕτω ἔσχε.

and being taken to Sardis is put to death by Artaphernes and Harpagus against the wish of Darius.

31 Ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ὁ Περσέων χειμερίσας περὶ Μίλητον, τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτεϊ ὡς ἀνέπλωσε αἱρέει εὐπετέως τὰς νήσους τὰς πρὸς τῇ ἠπείρῳ κειμένας, Χίον καὶ Λέσβον καὶ Τένεδον[71]. ὅκως δὲ λάβοι τινὰ

In the next year the Persians reduce the

68 ἄχθη ἀγόμενος. This expression seems undoubtedly corrupt. Bekker conjectures ἀνάχθη ἀγόμενος.

69 αὖτις μέγας παρὰ βασιλέϊ γένηται. The enmity of Artaphernes towards Histiæus appears from the sarcasm addressed to him (above, § 1). Probably Darius would not have been sorry to have maintained some check upon the great Persian officers in Asia Minor by means of a Hellenic satrap of the coast and the islands. The union of Harpagus and Artaphernes in the execution of Histiæus is to be remarked. Perhaps neither, by himself, would have had authority to order it. See note 79 on v. 31.

a τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ ἀνεσταύρωσαν. So Gaisford prints with the majority of MSS. One however (S) has τὸ μὲν σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἀνεσταύρωσαν.

70 εὐεργέτεω. See note 421 on iii. 154.

71 Χίον καὶ Λέσβον καὶ Τένεδον. The weakness of Chios is remarked (§ 27). At Lesbos there was a scarcity of provisions (§ 28), so that the Persians commanding the seas with the Phœnician fleet would soon starve it into a surrender, especially after the defeat of the expedition and death of Histiæus. Tenedos was so near the main (see note 508 on i. 151), that under the circumstances an over-

τῶν νήσων, ὡς ἑκάστην αἱρέοντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἐσαγήνευον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. (σαγηνεύουσι δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον[72]· ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὸς ἁψάμενος τῆς χειρὸς, ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς βορηΐης ἐπὶ τὴν νοτίην διήκουσι, καὶ ἔπειτα διὰ πάσης τῆς νήσου διέρχονται ἐκθηρεύοντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.) αἵρεον δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ πόλιας τὰς Ἰάδας κατὰ τὰ αὐτά· πλὴν οὐκ ἐσαγήνευον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· οὐ γὰρ οἷά τ' ἦν.

rest of Ionia and the islands,

32 Ἐνθαῦτα Περσέων οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσαντο τὰς ἀπειλὰς τὰς ἐπηπείλησαν τοῖσι Ἴωσι στρατοπεδευομένοισι ἐναντία σφίσι· ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἐπεκράτησαν τῶν πολίων, παῖδάς τε τοὺς εὐειδεστάτους ἐκλεγόμενοι ἐξέταμνον καὶ ἐποίευν ἀντὶ εἶναι[73] ἐνόρχιας εὐνούχους, καὶ παρθένους τὰς καλλιστευούσας ἀνασπάστους παρὰ βασιλέα· ταῦτά τε δὴ ἐποίευν καὶ τὰς πόλιας ἐνεπίμπρασαν αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἱροῖσι[74]. οὕτω δὲ τὸ τρίτον Ἴωνες κατεδουλώθησαν, πρῶτον μὲν ὑπὸ Λυδῶν, δὶς δὲ ἐπεξῆς τότε ὑπὸ Περσέων[a].

and punish the rebels with extreme severity.

33 Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰωνίης ἀπαλλασσόμενος ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς τὰ ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ ἐσπλέοντι τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου αἵρεε πάντα· τὰ γὰρ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ αὐτοῖσι [τοῖσι] Πέρσῃσι ὑποχείρια ἦν γεγονότα κατ' ἤπειρον. εἰσὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ αἵδε τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου· Χερσόνησός τε ἐν τῇ πόλιες συχναὶ ἔνεισι, καὶ Πέρινθος[75], καὶ τὰ τείχεα τὰ ἐπὶ Θρηΐκης[76], καὶ Σηλυβρίη τε καὶ Βυζάντιον. Βυζάντιοι μέν νυν

The fleet then sails to the Hellespont.

The Byzan-

whelming force might be landed from thence in a single day.

72 σαγηνεύουσι δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. See the note 411 on iii. 149.

73 ἀντὶ εἶναι. See note 701 on. i. 210.

74 αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἱροῖσι. After making every allowance for exaggeration in these accounts of the destruction wrought by the Persians, it is still clear that enough must have been done to destroy almost every vestige of Hellenic civilisation, and to make a complete break in the history of the Asiatic Greeks. The policy of Artaphernes was a far sterner one than that of Cyrus as regards the conquered Hellenic race. The Phœnicians were in point of cruelty the Croats of antiquity; and to turn over the towns of commercial rivals to their mercies was to ensure their utter destruction. Besides the loss of property and of human life, almost all the old associations, kept up mainly through the religious rituals, would die away when the centre of union, the temple of the tutelary deity, was destroyed. All archives would likewise perish: and when the tide of fortune turned nearly twenty years afterwards, the history of the past would have to be reconstructed mainly from the recollections of the few exiles which returned.

a πρῶτον μὲν ὑπὸ Λυδῶν, δὶς δὲ ἐπεξῆς τότε ὑπὸ Περσέων. See i. 26, 27, and 169.

75 καὶ Πέρινθος. This town, after suffering severely from the Pæonians, was captured by Megabazus immediately after the return of Darius from Scythia (v. 1). It was therefore not likely to be strong enough to offer any resistance either to the Ionian fleet (v. 103) or to the Phœnician.

76 τὰ τείχεα τὰ ἐπὶ Θρηΐκης. SCYLAX classes *Perinthus* and *Selymbria* among the Θράκια τείχη. He gives a list of them after going through the Chersonese: πρῶτον Λευκὴ ἀκτὴ, Τειρίστασις, Ἡράκλεια, Γᾶνος, Γανίαι, Νέον τεῖχος, Πέρινθος πόλις καὶ λιμὴν, Δαμινὸν τεῖχος, Σηλυμβρία πόλις καὶ λιμὴν (p. 28, Hudson). Herodotus

tines and *Chalcedonians* fly and found *Mesembria* in the Euxine.

καὶ οἱ πέρηθεν Χαλκηδόνιοι[77] οὐδ' ὑπέμειναν ἐπιπλέοντας τοὺς Φοίνικας, ἀλλ' οἴχοντο ἀπολιπόντες τὴν σφετέρην ἔσω ἐς τὸν Εὔξεινον πόντον· καὶ ἐνθαῦτα πόλιν Μεσαμβρίην οἴκησαν. οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες κατακαύσαντες ταύτας τὰς χώρας τὰς καταλεχθείσας, τράπονται ἐπί τε Προκόννησον καὶ Ἀρτάκην· πυρὶ δὲ καὶ ταύτας νείμαντες ἔπλωον αὖτις ἐς τὴν Χερσόνησον, ἐξαιρήσοντες τὰς ἐπιλοίπους τῶν πολίων ὅσας πρότερον προσχόντες οὐ κατέσυραν.

All the Greek towns except *Cyzicus* and *Cardia* are sacked.

ἐπὶ δὲ Κύζικον οὐδὲ ἔπλωσαν ἀρχήν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ Κυζικηνοὶ ἔτι πρότερον[78] τοῦ Φοινίκων ἔσπλου ἐγεγόνεσαν ὑπὸ βασιλέϊ, Οἰβάρεϊ τῷ Μεγαβάζου[79] ὁμολογήσαντες τῷ ἐν Δασκυλείῳ ὑπάρχῳ. τῆς δὲ Χερσονήσου, πλὴν Καρδίης πόλιος[80], τὰς ἄλλας πάσας ἐχειρώσαντο οἱ Φοίνικες.

Story of the connexion of *Miltiades* with the Chersonese.

34 Ἐτυράννευε δὲ αὐτέων μέχρι τότε Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κίμωνος τοῦ Στησαγόρεω, κτησαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην πρότερον Μιλτιάδεω τοῦ Κυψέλου τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· εἶχον Δόλογκοι Θρήϊκες τὴν Χερσόνησον ταύτην. οὗτοι ὦν οἱ Δόλογκοι πιεσθέντες πολέμῳ ὑπὸ Ἀψινθίων[81], ἐς Δελφοὺς ἔπεμψαν τοὺς βασιλέας περὶ τοῦ πολέμου

appears to exclude from this class such towns as had a port of their own. *Selybria* was a Thracian name, the termination βρια signifying πόλις in the local dialect. (Stephanus Byzantinus, *sub v.*, and Strabo, quoted in note on vii. 58.) Perhaps the circumstance of its having a port produced such an influx of Hellenes as to destroy its Thracian character. In vii. 108 we hear of the Σαμοθρηΐκια τείχεα, and in vii. 112 of the τείχεα τὰ Πιέρων,—in both of which cases inland towns seem contemplated. In Thucydides (i. 59), τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᄊκης is a very wide expression, including even Potidæa.

[77] *καὶ οἱ πέρηθεν Χαλκηδόνιοι.* It is a proof of the efficiency of the operations of Histiæus that the city Chalcedon should not have fallen into the hands of the Persians before this time. No doubt however first the diversion effected by the revolt of Caria (v. 117), and afterwards the death of Hymeas (v. 122), contributed something to this result.

[78] *ἔτι πρότερον.* Dobree conjectures ἐτεῖ πρότερον.

[79] *Οἰβάρεϊ τῷ Μεγαβάζου.* It is natural to suppose that the Megabazus here spoken of is the same as the functionary who was left in command of the troops in Thrace (iv. 143), and succeeded after a time by Otanes (v. 26). The name *Œbaras* belongs to the groom to whose cunning Darius is said to have owed his kingdom (iii. 88). Another son of Megabazus was named *Bubaras* (v. 21). No doubt these names are significant in Persian.

[80] *πλὴν Καρδίης πόλιος.* It need not be supposed that Cardia successfully resisted the attack upon it; for at the time of Xerxes's expedition it served as a dépôt of naval stores for the Persians (ix. 115), and therefore must have been in their hands. And there is no mention of its being taken between this time and that. It was however inhabited by an Æolian population, and from the time of the fall of the Lydian dynasty there is no trace of any attempt of the Æolian towns to recover their independence. See note 476 on i. 141, and note 354 on iv. 138. It appears to me more likely that the inhabitants of Cardia were well affected to the Persian interests, and that on this account they were exempted from the visitation of the Phœnician fleet. They had been severely handled by their neighbours the *Bisaltæ* (Charon of Lampsacus, *ap. Athen.* xii. p. 520), and were probably very glad of the aid which Persia could afford.

[81] *πιεσθέντες πολέμῳ ὑπὸ Ἀψινθίων.* It is a curious circumstance that this story

χρησομένους· ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι ἀνεῖλε οἰκιστὴν ἐπάγεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν
χώρην τοῦτον, ὃς ἄν σφεας ἀπιόντας ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ πρῶτος ἐπὶ ξείνια
καλέσῃ· ἰόντες δὲ οἱ Δόλογκοι τὴν ἱρὴν ὁδὸν διὰ Φωκέων τε καὶ
Βοιωτῶν ἤϊσαν· καί σφεας ὡς οὐδεὶς ἐκάλεε, ἐκτράπονται ἐπ'
Ἀθηνέων. Ἐν δὲ τῇσι Ἀθήνῃσι τηνικαῦτα εἶχε μὲν τὸ πᾶν 35
κράτος Πεισίστρατος, ἀτὰρ ἐδυνάστευε[82] καὶ Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κυψέ-
λου ἐὼν οἰκίης τεθριπποτρόφου, τὰ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν ἀπ' Αἰακοῦ[83] τε
καὶ Αἰγίνης γεγονὼς τὰ δὲ νεώτερα Ἀθηναῖος, Φιλαίου τοῦ Αἴαντος
παιδὸς γενομένου πρώτου τῆς οἰκίης ταύτης Ἀθηναίου[84]. οὗτος ὁ
Μιλτιάδης κατήμενος ἐν τοῖσι προθύροισι τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ, ὁρέων τοὺς
Δολόγκους παριόντας ἐσθῆτα ἔχοντας οὐκ ἐγχωρίην καὶ αἰχμὰς,
προσεβώσατο· καί σφι προσελθοῦσι ἐπηγγείλατο καταγωγὴν καὶ
ξείνια. οἱ δὲ δεξάμενοι καὶ ξεινισθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἐξέφαινον πᾶν
οἱ τὸ μαντήϊον· ἐκφήναντες δὲ ἐδέοντο αὐτοὶ[85] τῷ θεῷ μιν πείθεσθαι.
Μιλτιάδεα δὲ ἀκούσαντα παραυτίκα ἔπεισε ὁ λόγος, οἷα ἀχθόμενόν
τε τῇ Πεισιστράτου ἀρχῇ καὶ βουλόμενον ἐκ ποδῶν εἶναι· αὐτίκα
δὲ ἐστάλη ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρησόμενος τὸ χρηστήριον, εἰ ποιοίη τά
περ αὐτοῦ οἱ Δόλογκοι προσεδέοντο; Κελευούσης δὲ καὶ τῆς 36
Πυθίης, οὕτω δὴ Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κυψέλου, Ὀλύμπια ἀναιρηκὼς
πρότερον τούτων τεθρίππῳ, τότε παραλαβὼν Ἀθηναίων πάντα

of the invitation to Miltiades appears elsewhere, agreeing in almost every feature with the text, except that the *Apsinthians* are represented as giving the invitation, owing to the losses they suffered from the *Dolonchi*. (*Schol. inedit. in Aristidem*, quoted by Valcknaer.) See the notes 8 and 9 on iii. 2; also 213, 214 on i. 63 and 64. The Apsinthians are perhaps the periœcians of Ænus. See note on vii. 58.

[82] ἐδυνάστευε. The word is used in the general sense of "influential." But that the power of Miltiades was actually much greater than that of an ordinary citizen can hardly be doubted. The leading men of Athens at this time may be compared with the heads of the great houses in the Italian republics of the middle ages. The occupation of the Chersonese by Miltiades, of Sigeum by Pisistratus, and of Lipsydrium by the Alcmæonids, indicate physical force which could only spring from the maintenance of a large number of retainers.

[83] τὰ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν ἀπ' Αἰακοῦ. See note 156 on v. 62.

[84] Φιλαίου τοῦ Αἴαντος . . . . Ἀθηναίου. The whole pedigree, although probably confused, is preserved in a quotation from Didymus, the Alexandrine grammarian, who cites as his authorities Pherecydes and Hellanicus. It runs (1) Philaias, (2) Daiclus, (3) Epidycus, (4) Acestor, (5) Agenor, (6) Olius, (7) Lyces, (8) Typhon, (9) Laius, (10) Agamestor, (11) Tisander, under whose archonship something took place, but what is concealed by a *lacuna*, (12) Miltiades, (13) Hippocleides, in whose archonship the Panathenæa were established, (14) Miltiades, the colonist of Chersonese (*ap. Marcellinum, Vit. Thucyd.*).

[85] αὐτοί. This is the reading of the manuscripts S and V. Gaisford, on the authority of the rest, prints αὐτοῦ. But there seems an especial force in αὐτοί. The personal feelings of the Thracians had become enlisted in favour of Miltiades from his treatment of them. They therefore ἐδέοντο αὐτοί, "prayed him on their own account."

τὸν βουλόμενον μετέχειν τοῦ στόλου, ἔπλεε ἅμα τοῖσι Δολόγκοισι καὶ ἔσχε τὴν χώρην[86]· καί μιν οἱ ἐπαγαγόμενοι τύραννον κατεστήσαντο[a]. ὁ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἀπετείχισε τὸν ἰσθμὸν τῆς Χερσονήσου ἐκ Καρδίης πόλιος ἐς Πακτύην, ἵνα μὴ ἔχοιέν σφεας οἱ Ἀψίνθιοι δηλέεσθαι ἐσβάλλοντες ἐς τὴν χώρην. εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι στάδιοι ἓξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ τούτου ἡ Χερσόνησος εἴσω πᾶσά ἐστι σταδίων εἴκοσι καὶ τετρακοσίων τὸ μῆκος.

37 *Relations between the elder Miltiades and Crœsus.* Ἀποτειχίσας ὦν τὸν αὐχένα τῆς Χερσονήσου ὁ Μιλτιάδης, καὶ τοὺς Ἀψινθίους τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ὠσάμενος, τῶν λοιπῶν πρώτοισι ἐπολέμησε Λαμψακηνοῖσι[87]· καί μιν οἱ Λαμψακηνοὶ λοχήσαντες αἱρέουσι ζωγρίῃ· ἦν δὲ ὁ Μιλτιάδης Κροίσῳ τῷ Λυδῷ ἐν γνώμῃ γεγονώς[88]· πυθόμενος ὦν ὁ Κροῖσος ταῦτα, πέμπων προ-

[86] ἔσχε τὴν χώρην. This, which is the reading of several MSS, is no doubt the true one. But both here and in § 47, below, the variant ἔσκε is found in others. It is now generally agreed that ἔσκε, whenever it is found in Ionic writers, has the sense of ἦν. But Aulus Gellius (*N. A.* vi. 16) speaks as if in his time ἔσκον was used as an Ionic form of ἔσχον. Such would be the case if ἔσκε were allowed to stand in the text; and if this be a corruption (which seems likely) it is one which neither Gellius nor a friend of his, whom he describes as 'multi studii atque in bonarum disciplinarum opere frequens,' recognized as such.

[a] τύραννον κατεστήσαντο. In the "treasury of the Sicyonians" at Elis, there was "a horn of Amalthea" of wrought ivory, on which was the inscription, "in ancient Attic letters,"

Ζηνί μ' ἄγαλμ' ἀνέθηκαν Ὀλυμπίῳ ἐκ Χερονήσου
τεῖχος ἑλόντες Ἀράτου· ἐπῆρχε δὲ Μιλτιάδης σφιν.

Pausanias (no doubt following the account he heard on the spot) says that the offering was made by "Miltiades, *son of Cimon*, who first of that house obtained sovereign power in the Thracian Chersonese" (vi. 19. 4). This is an instructive instance of the way in which the more celebrated person in a family attracts to himself in oral traditions the feats of the less distinguished. Ælian's *three* Miltiadeses, on the other hand (*Var. Hist.* xiii. 35)—like his *two* Perianders, *ten* Sibyls, and *three* Bacides,—spring from the assumption that different traditions must needs relate to different persons.

[87] τῶν λοιπῶν πρώτοισι ἐπολέμησε Λαμψακηνοῖσι. Lampsacus was only forty *stades* distant from a headland of the Chersonese, on which in the time of Strabo a little town called Callipolis (*Gallipoli*) was built (xiii. c. 1, p. 92). This site, like the similar one of Zancle in Sicily, offered opportunities to the piratical adventurers of Miltiades's time not likely to be neglected, and probably the war in question was of a predatory character. Lampsacus was a colony from Miletus.

[88] ἐν γνώμῃ γεγονώς. This expression seems to mean γνώριμος γενόμενος. It is far from unlikely that some sort of feudal relation had been entered into between Crœsus and Miltiades. (See note 40 on iv. 14.) The whole of the coast of the Troad and Propontis was claimed by the Lydian kings as lords of the soil, and Abydos was said to be founded *by the permission* of Gyges. (Strabo, xiii. c. 1, p. 95.) It is probable under such circumstances that certain seignorial rights would be reserved, and as the towns increased in wealth and commercial importance, a continual struggle would go on, the sovereigns endeavouring to increase the fund which they derived from the burghers, and the latter to get rid of the obligations under which they lay. To enforce payment in a summary manner, an effectual method would be to connive at the piratical proceedings of another vassal at the expense of the delinquent.

ηγόρευε τοῖσι Λαμψακηνοῖσι μετιέναι Μιλτιάδεα· εἰ δὲ μή, σφέας πίτυος τρόπον ἀπείλεε ἐκτρίψειν[89]· πλανωμένων δὲ τῶν Λαμψακηνῶν ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι, τὸ θέλει τὸ ἔπος εἶναι τό σφι ἀπείλησεν ὁ Κροῖσος, "πίτυος τρόπον ἐκτρίψειν," μόγις κοτὲ μαθὼν τῶν τις πρεσβυτέρων εἶπε τὸ ἐόν, ὅτι πίτυς μούνη πάντων δενδρέων ἐκκοπεῖσα βλαστὸν οὐδένα μετίει[90], ἀλλὰ πανώλεθρος ἐξαπόλλυται· δείσαντες ὦν οἱ Λαμψακηνοὶ Κροῖσον, λύσαντες μετῆκαν Μιλτιάδεα. Οὗτος μὲν δὴ διὰ Κροῖσον ἐκφεύγει· μετὰ δέ, τελευτᾷ 38
ἄπαις τὴν ἀρχήν τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα παραδοὺς Στησαγόρῃ τῷ Κίμωνος ἀδελφεοῦ παιδὶ ὁμομητρίου· καί οἱ τελευτήσαντι Χερσονησῖται θύουσι, ὡς νόμος οἰκιστῇ, καὶ ἀγῶνα ἱππικόν τε καὶ γυμνικὸν ἐπιστᾶσι ἐν τῷ Λαμψακηνῶν οὐδενὶ ἐγγίνεται ἀγωνίζεσθαι. πολέμου δὲ ἐόντος πρὸς Λαμψακηνούς, καὶ Στησαγόρεα κατέλαβε ἀποθανεῖν ἄπαιδα, πληγέντα τὴν κεφαλὴν πελέκεϊ ἐν τῷ πρυτανηΐῳ πρὸς ἀνδρὸς αὐτομόλου μὲν τῷ λόγῳ πολεμίου δὲ καὶ ὑποθερμοτέρου τῷ ἔργῳ.

Τελευτήσαντος δὲ καὶ Στησαγόρεω τρόπῳ τοιῷδε, ἐνθαῦτα Μιλ- 39
τιάδεα τὸν Κίμωνος, Στησαγόρεω δὲ τοῦ τελευτήσαντος ἀδελφεόν, καταλαμψόμενον τὰ πρήγματα ἐπὶ Χερσονήσου ἀποστέλλουσι τριήρεϊ οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι[91]· οἵ μιν καὶ ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι ἐποίευν εὖ, ὡς οὐ συνειδότες δῆθεν[92] τοῦ πατρὸς Κίμωνος αὐτοῦ τὸν θάνατον, τὸν ἐγὼ ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ[93] σημανέω ὡς ἐγένετο. Μιλτιάδης δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Χερσόνησον εἶχε κατ' οἴκους, τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Στησαγόρεα δηλαδὴ[94] ἐπιτιμέων· οἱ δὲ Χερσονησῖται πυνθανόμενοι

Relations of the younger Miltiades with the Pisistratids.

[89] πίτυος τρόπον ἀπείλεε ἐκτρίψειν. It has been concluded that Herodotus missed the real gist of this story, from the circumstance that he does not mention Lampsacus having been formerly called *Pityoessa* or *Pityea*, which is said to have been the case. (DEIOCHUS and EPAPHRODITUS, *ap. Steph. Byzant.* v. Λάμψακος.) But the name *Pityea* applied to some town in that region occurs even in the *Iliad* (ii. 829), and of this it is not likely that Herodotus would be ignorant. It does not seem to me necessary to suppose that Crœsus intended a pun by the phrase he made use of. He resorted to an illustration which would be appropriate to the region, abounding as it did in firs; just as in the prophetical writings of the Old Testament similar illustrations are supplied by the cedars of Lebanon and the vineyards and olive gardens of the valley of the Jordan.

[90] μετίει. See note 604 on i. 180.

[91] οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι. The connexion of the Pisistratids with the Troad appears by their holding Sigeum (v. 94.)

[92] ὡς οὐ συνειδότες δῆθεν, "as if, forsooth, they knew nothing about."

[93] ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ, "in another story." He fulfils his promise in *this* book, § 103, a circumstance which proves not only that the present division into nine books is not original (as LUCIAN'S story makes it), but that a different division must have been contemplated.

[94] δηλαδή. See note 346 on iv. 135.

ταῦτα, συνελέχθησαν ἀπὸ πασέων τῶν πολίων οἱ δυναστεύοντες πάντοθεν· κοινῷ δὲ στόλῳ ἀπικόμενοι ὡς συλλυπηθησόμενοι, ἐδέθησαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. Μιλτιάδης τε δὴ ἴσχει τὴν Χερσόνησον, πεντακοσίους βόσκων ἐπικούρους, καὶ γαμέει Ὀλόρου τοῦ Θρηΐκων

40 βασιλέος θυγατέρα Ἡγησιπύλην. Οὗτος δὲ ὁ Κίμωνος Μιλτιάδης νεωστὶ μὲν ἐληλύθεε[95] ἐς τὴν Χερσόνησον, κατελάμβανε δέ μιν ἐλθόντα ἄλλα τῶν κατεχόντων πρηγμάτων χαλεπώτερα· (τρίτῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔτεϊ τούτων[96] Σκύθας ἔφευγε· Σκύθαι γὰρ οἱ

His expulsion from the Chersonese by the Scythians.

[95] νεωστὶ μὲν ἐληλύθεε. On the assumption that this phrase refers to the *first* arrival of Miltiades in the Chersonese, Larcher and Clinton (*F. H.* a. 515) have created a greater difficulty than really exists in it, from erroneously supposing that "the Pisistratids" spoken of above must include Hipparchus, who was killed in the year 514 B.C. But "the Pisistratids" merely mean "the Pisistratid party," and the expression is so used by Herodotus (v. 62—65). The *first* arrival of Miltiades in the Chersonese need not therefore have taken place before 510 B.C. Yet even then it seems strange that such a phrase as νεωστὶ ἐληλύθεε should be applied to an event occurring at least seventeen years before. This inconvenience would be avoided by supposing that "the recent arrival" of Miltiades meant his return *after* his flight. In that case, τὰ κατέχοντα πράγματα, "the troubles which occupied him," must be taken to mean the troubles arising out of his relations with the Scythians, and the ἄλλα χαλεπώτερα to refer to the new dangers threatened by the Ionian rebellion and its consequences. The Scythian invasion will be regarded as happening in the third year of *these* (τρίτῳ ἔτεϊ τούτων), and his return from the exile occasioned by it, in the third year before the arrival of the Phœnician fleet at Tenedos, and "the troubles which *then* came upon him" (τῶν τότε μιν κατεχόντων). This interpretation synchronizes tolerably well with the course of events. Aristagoras was certainly slain in Thrace by a great Thracian movement in 497 B.C. (see CLINTON under the years 497 and 465), and it is natural that the natives, flushed by success, should proceed to try whether they might not be as successful in the Hellespont. The Phœnician fleet came to Tenedos in 493, so that about two years would be given for the limits within which Miltiades was expelled and returned. The words τρίτῳ ἔτεϊ τούτων will on this theory mean "in the third year of these troubles," *i.e.* the Ionian rebellion of which I am writing, which began with the burning of Sardis 499 B.C.

[96] τρίτῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔτεϊ τούτων. This ought to mean the same, or nearly the same, as the more common expression, τρίτῳ ἔτεϊ μετὰ ταῦτα. See below, δευτέρῳ ἔτεϊ τούτων (§ 46 and vii. 80). But the sense in which it has been generally taken is "in the third year before," and the time denoted regarded as the same with that expressed below by τρίτῳ ἔτεϊ πρότερον. This interpretation seems however to be commended mainly by the assumption that νεωστὶ ἐληλύθεε must refer to the first arrival of Miltiades in the Chersonese, and this appears to me far from certain. (See the last note.) I should rather be inclined to suppose that Herodotus has here got hold of a tradition belonging to a different cycle from that which he has just been following,—probably one derived from *Hellespontine* sources, which merely related that Miltiades, after flying from before the Scythians, whom Darius had provoked, remained in exile until he recovered his power by the aid of the *Dolonchi*,—an event which took place in the third year before the advent of the Phœnician fleet. Such a Hellespontine tradition would take no account of what might have happened to Miltiades's ancestors at Athens. Their adventures Herodotus probably obtained from some other quarter. We may perhaps suppose that the main thread of the narrative proceeded from the third line of § 34 to the beginning of § 40, thus: Ἐτυράννευε δὲ αὐτέων μέχρι τότε Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κίμωνος τοῦ Στησαγόρεω, κτησαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην πρότερον Μιλτιάδεω τοῦ Κυψέλου· οὗτος δὲ ὁ Κίμωνος Μιλτιάδης, κ.τ.λ., and that the author subsequently inserted the family history comprised in §§ 34—39.

νομάδες ἐρεθισθέντες ὑπὸ βασιλέος Δαρείου συνεστράφησαν, καὶ ἤλασαν μέχρι τῆς Χερσονήσου ταύτης· τούτους ἐπιόντας οὐκ ὑπομείνας ὁ Μιλτιάδης ἔφευγε ἀπὸ Χερσονήσου, ἐς ὃ οἵ τε Σκύθαι ἀπαλλάχθησαν καί μιν οἱ Δόλογκοι κατήγαγον ὀπίσω·) Ταῦτα 41
μὲν δὴ τρίτῳ ἔτεϊ πρότερον ἐγεγόνεε τῶν τότε μιν κατεχόντων[97]. τότε δὲ πυνθανόμενος εἶναι τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐν Τενέδῳ, πληρώσας τριήρεας πέντε χρημάτων τῶν παρεόντων ἀπέπλεε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. καὶ ὥσπερ ὡρμήθη ἐκ Καρδίης πόλιος, ἔπλεε διὰ τοῦ Μέλανος κόλπου· παραμείβετό τε τὴν Χερσόνησον καὶ οἱ Φοίνικές οἱ περιπίπτουσι τῇσι νηυσί. αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ Μιλτιάδης σὺν τῇσι τέσσαρσι τῶν νεῶν καταφεύγει ἐς Ἴμβρον, τὴν δέ οἱ πέμπτην τῶν νεῶν κατεῖλον διώκοντες οἱ Φοίνικες. τῆς δὲ νεὸς ταύτης ἔτυχε τῶν Μιλτιάδεω παίδων ὁ πρεσβύτατος ἄρχων Μητίοχος, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Ὀλόρου τοῦ Θρήϊκος ἐὼν θυγατρὸς ἀλλ' ἐξ ἄλλης· καὶ τοῦτον ἅμα τῇ νηῒ εἷλον οἱ Φοίνικες, καί μιν πυθόμενοι ὡς εἴη Μιλτιάδεω παῖς ἀνήγαγον παρὰ βασιλέα, δοκέοντες χάριτα μεγάλην καταθήσεσθαι[98]· ὅτι δὴ Μιλτιάδης γνώμην ἀπεδέξατο ἐν τοῖσι Ἴωσι πείθεσθαι κελεύων τοῖσι Σκύθῃσι, ὅτε οἱ Σκύθαι προσεδέοντο λύσαντας τὴν σχεδίην ἀποπλέειν ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῶν. Δαρεῖος δέ, ὡς οἱ Φοίνικες Μητίοχον τὸν Μιλτιάδεω ἀνήγαγον, ἐποίησε κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν[99] Μητίοχον ἀγαθὰ δὲ συχνά· καὶ γὰρ οἶκον καὶ κτῆσιν ἔδωκε καὶ Περσίδα γυναῖκα, ἐκ τῆς οἱ τέκνα ἐγένετο τὰ ἐς Πέρσας κεκοσμέαται. Μιλτιάδης δὲ ἐξ Ἴμβρου ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας.

His narrow escape from the Phœnician fleet which captures his son Metiochus.

whom Darius treats with great kindness.

He arrives at Athens.

42 Καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν Περσέων οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλέον

[97] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ . . . τῶν τότε μιν κατεχόντων. Dobree considers that this sentence is mainly derived from the hand of a commentator, who misunderstood the meaning of the words τρίτῳ ἔτεϊ τούτων in the beginning of the section. He would read as a substitute for them, ταῦτα μὲν δὴ πρότερον. But this change is unsupported by any variation in the MSS.

[98] χάριτα μεγάλην καταθήσεσθαι. Literally, "would deposit a great favour with him," *i.e.* lay him under a great *obligation.* The metaphor is taken from the depositing of a balance with a banker, on whom the depositor thus acquires a hold. Thus Felix left St. Paul in bonds, θέλων χάριτα καταθέσθαι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, wishing not "to *do* the Jews *a favour*," but "to *lay* the Jews *under an obligation*," i.e. to stop their mouths in the event of his official conduct being attacked. (*Acts* xxiv. 25.)

[99] ἐποίησε κακὸν μὲν οὐδέν. It seems not impossible that Darius rather wished than otherwise to attach to himself some person of influence among the number of the Hellenic dynasts in these regions. (See note 69 on § 30.) Both his temper and his comprehensive views would lead him to a very different policy from that which would occur to the merely military Persian commanders and the cruel semi-barbarous Phœnicians. (See note 74 on § 32.)

New settlement of Ionia.

ἐγένετο τούτων ἐς νεῖκος φέρον Ἴωσι, ἀλλὰ τάδε μὲν χρήσιμα κάρτα τοῖσι Ἴωσι ἐγένετο τούτου τοῦ ἔτεος. Ἀρταφέρνης ὁ Σαρδίων ὕπαρχος, μεταπεμψάμενος ἀγγέλους ἐκ τῶν πολίων συνθήκας σφίσι αὐτοῖσι τοὺς Ἴωνας ἠνάγκασε ποιέεσθαι, ἵνα δοσίδικοι εἶεν καὶ μὴ ἀλλήλους φέροιέν τε καὶ ἄγοιεν. ταῦτά τε ἠνάγκασε ποιέειν καὶ τὰς χώρας σφέων μετρήσας κατὰ παρασάγγας [100],—τοὺς καλέουσι οἱ Πέρσαι τὰ τριήκοντα στάδια [a],—κατὰ δὴ τούτους μετρήσας φόρους ἔταξε ἑκάστοισι, οἳ κατὰ χώρην διατελέουσι ἔχοντες ἐκ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου αἰεὶ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ [101], ὡς ἐτάχθησαν ἐξ Ἀρταφέρνεος· ἐτάχθησαν δὲ σχεδὸν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τὰ καὶ πρότερον εἶχον [102].

43 Καί σφι ταῦτα μὲν εἰρηναῖα ἦν. ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἔαρι, τῶν ἄλλων καταλελυμένων στρατηγῶν ἐκ βασιλέος [103], Μαρδο-

In the next spring *Mar-*

[100] *μετρήσας κατὰ παρασάγγας.* By this expression one may conjecture that the use of the Persian scale of measurement was at this time imposed upon the Ionians,—not a difficult matter, if the Persian scale was one adopted from Babylon. For it seems probable that this scale was identical with one which prevailed in Egypt from very early times (see note 511 on ii. 168), and this had been adopted for commercial purposes by the Samians, and probably also by all persons who had commercial intercourse either with Phœnicia or Egypt. Hence it is not unlikely that in the time of Herodotus any Ionian merchant (especially if his trade lay with the east) would speak in terms of the Perso-Babylonian scale. (See note 597 on i. 178.)

[a] *τοὺς καλέουσι οἱ Πέρσαι τὰ τριήκοντα στάδια.* This must not be regarded as strictly true. Strabo (xi. c. 11, p. 442) says that some put the *parasang* at sixty stades, some at thirty, and some at forty. He remarks a similar variation with regard to the Egyptian *schœnus.* (See note 24 on ii. 6.) These differences will not be surprising if we regard the measure as forming an element in an organized system of locomotion, such as the Persian estafette. A parasang would be the *posting unit of distance,* the space which on average ground a courier would perform in a given time. But in the *tariff* by which travellers would be guided there would be bye-laws to meet the varying conditions of road, of season, of climate, and perhaps even of fiscal or police regulations, which would materially affect the length of the parasang considered geographically. These considerations appear in the Roman Itineraries and in every modern system of posting conducted by the governments of the country. Col. Shiel in 1837 found considerable inconvenience from the Kurdistan muleteers whom he hired habitually *halting* every *farsakh,* i.e. parasang (*Journal of Geogr. Soc.* viii. p. 77), and on the road on which this occurred there were certainly no measured distances.

[101] *ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμέ.* This passage has been remarked as decisively proving the subjection of the Asiatic Hellenes to the king of Persia, at a time when the restoration of their liberty by Athenian arms was a favourite topic with the Attic orators. Müller (*Dorier.* i. pp. 186, 187) points out several other circumstances which show the same thing.

[102] *κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τὰ καὶ πρότερον εἶχον.* This mild treatment of the rebels is said by Diodorus Siculus (*Excerpt. Vat.* p. 38) to be due to the persuasions of Hecatæus, who was deputed by his countrymen to plead their cause with Artaphernes.

[103] *τῶν ἄλλων καταλελυμένων στρατηγῶν ἐκ βασιλέος.* Every thing which is related of Darius, with the exception of a single anecdote (see note 235 on iv. 84), goes to show that, like Alexander and Napoleon, his genius for consolidating the countries he conquered, and combining anew the elements of prosperity, was no less striking than his success as a conqueror. The generals mentioned in the text appear to have been superseded by direct orders from the king; and there seems every likelihood that the immediate occasion of this was the extreme harshness

νιος ὁ Γωβρύεω κατέβαινε ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, στρατὸν πολλὸν μὲν κάρτα πεζὸν ἅμα ἀγόμενος πολλὸν δὲ ναυτικὸν[104], ἡλικίην τε νέος ἐὼν, καὶ νεωστὶ γεγαμηκὼς βασιλέος Δαρείου θυγατέρα Ἀρταζώστρην[105]. ἄγων δὲ τὸν στρατὸν τοῦτον ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἐπεί τε ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ Κιλικίῃ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπιβὰς ἐπὶ νεὸς ἐκομίζετο ἅμα τῇσι ἄλλῃσι νηυσὶ[106], στρατιὴν δὲ τὴν πεζὴν ἄλλοι ἡγεμόνες ἦγον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. ὡς δὲ παραπλέων τὴν Ἀσίην ἀπίκετο ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην, ἐνθαῦτα μέγιστον θῶμα ἐρέω τοῖσι μὴ ἀποδεκομένοισι Ἑλλήνων[107] Περσέων τοῖσι ἑπτὰ Ὀτάνεα γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι ὡς χρεὸν εἴη δημοκρατέεσθαι Πέρσας· τοὺς γὰρ τυράννους τῶν Ἰώνων καταπαύσας πάντας ὁ Μαρδόνιος δημοκρατίας[108] κατίστα[109] ἐς τὰς πόλιας. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας, ἠπείγετο ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. ὡς δὲ συνελέχθη μὲν χρῆμα πολλὸν νεῶν, συνελέχθη δὲ καὶ πεζὸς πολλὸς στρατὸς, διαβάντες τῇσι νηυσὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπορεύοντο διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης· ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ἐπί τε Ἐρέτριαν καὶ Ἀθήνας.

Mardonius conducts an expedition over land, against Eretria and Athens nominally, but really for the subjugation of Hellas.

44 Αὗται μὲν ὦν σφι πρόσχημα ἦσαν τοῦ στόλου· ἀτὰρ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες ὅσας ἂν πλείστας δύναιντο καταστρέ-

The fleet in attend-

with which they treated the towns they overran. (See § 32.)

[104] πολλὸν δὲ ναυτικόν. See note 190 on i. 59. To the instances there quoted may be added CICERO (*Pro Rabirio*, § 4), "Hæc verba non solum tenebris vetustatis, sed etiam luce libertatis *oppressa* sunt."

[105] Ἀρταζώστρην. Gobryas himself was Darius's father-in-law (vii. 2), and brother-in-law (vii. 5). He appears in the account of the conspiracy against Smerdis as the most courageous and zealous of all the seven chiefs. The rock inscriptions make him "bow-bearer" of Darius. (See note 199 on iii. 70.) In the narrative of the Scythian expedition he is represented as the most sagacious and prudent of all the Persians. All these particulars go to the point of his being especially attached to Darius's person and possessing his confidence. The appointment of his son Mardonius, therefore, with extraordinary powers in the existing conjuncture looks like the consummation of Darius's policy of *imperial* order, as contradistinguished from the violent individual despotism of the great chiefs belonging to the old Persian régime. Perhaps even the feature of Mardonius's youth is significant. He was not old enough to have imbibed the prejudices of the ruffianly school who mutilated attendants (iii. 119), and considered all regulation of fiscal imposts worthy only of a huckster (iii. 89). Among the generals superseded is an Otanes, who, though not himself the conspirator, was probably connected with him.

[106] ἅμα τῇσι ἄλλῃσι νηυσί. Perhaps to keep in check the savagery of the Phœnicians. See note 74 on § 32, above.

[107] τοῖσι μὴ ἀποδεκομένοισι Ἑλλήνων. See iii. 80.

[108] δημοκρατίας. These constitutional governments would be no inconvenient machinery for carrying on the ordinary business of the respective towns, while at the same time the imperial interests were protected by the existence of a considerable Persian force at Dascyleum and Magnesia. But the argument from such measures in favour of the historical truth of the views attributed to Otanes, is of the same kind as one would be, which should infer the probability of a republican government being suggested in the council chamber of a Plantagenet, from the fact that the kings of that dynasty were not unfriendly to municipal institutions.

[109] κατίστα. See note 287 on ii. 102.

ance on the army is wrecked off Athos,

φεσθαι τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πολίων, τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῇσι νηυσὶ Θασίους οὐδὲ χεῖρας ἀνταειραμένους καταστρέψαντο, τοῦτο δὲ τῷ πεζῷ Μακεδόνας πρὸς τοῖσι ὑπάρχουσι δούλους προσεκτήσαντο[110]· τὰ γὰρ ἐντὸς Μακεδόνων ἔθνεα πάντα σφι ἦν ἤδη ὑποχείρια γεγονότα[111]. ἐκ μὲν δὴ Θάσου διαβαλόντες πέρην, ὑπὸ τὴν ἤπειρον ἐκομίζοντο μέχρι Ἀκάνθου· ἐκ δὲ Ἀκάνθου ὁρμεώμενοι, τὸν Ἄθων περιέβαλλον· ἐπιπεσὼν δέ σφι περιπλέουσι βορῆς ἄνεμος μέγας τε καὶ ἄπορος, κάρτα τρηχέως περιέσπε πλήθεϊ πολλὰς τῶν νεῶν ἐκβάλλων πρὸς τὸν Ἄθων· λέγεται γὰρ κατὰ τριηκοσίας μὲν τῶν νεῶν τὰς διαφθαρείσας εἶναι, ὑπὲρ δὲ δύο μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων. ὥστε γὰρ θηριωδεστάτης ἐούσης τῆς θαλάσσης[112] ταύτης τῆς περὶ τὸν Ἄθων οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων διεφθείροντο ἁρπαζόμενοι, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὰς πέτρας ἀρασσόμενοι, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν νέειν οὐκ ἐπιστέατο, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο διεφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ ῥίγεϊ. ὁ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς στρα-
45 τὸς οὕτω ἔπρησσε. Μαρδονίῳ δὲ καὶ τῷ πεζῷ στρατοπεδευομένῳ
ἐν Μακεδονίῃ νυκτὸς Βρύγοι Θρήϊκες[113] ἐπεχείρησαν· καὶ σφεων

and the land forces suffer

[110] Μακεδόνας πρὸς τοῖσι ὑπάρχουσι δούλους προσεκτήσαντο. Possibly at this time Alexander the Macedonian became formally a vassal of Persia. See notes on v. 21, vii. 127, and viii. 136.

[111] σφι ἦν ἤδη ὑποχείρια γεγονότα. The operations of Megabazus, who had been left in Sestos with 80,000 men by Darius on his return from Scythia (iv. 143), were continued by Otanes (v. 25), and it would seem likely that the services of the former were confined to the European shore, where, after taking Perinthus, ἤλαυνε τὸν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Θρηΐκης πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ πᾶν ἔθνος τῶν ταύτῃ οἰκημένων ἡμερούμενος βασιλέϊ (v. 2). The only *particulars* given of those operations relate to the Pæonians; but it appears incidentally that Doriscus was then strongly garrisoned, and Eion on the Strymon occupied (vii. 106, 7). From the anecdotes related of him (iv. 143, 144) it is plain that Megabazus was not only highly valued by the king, but that he had an eye for an effective military position; which latter quality is further evinced by his seeing through the plans of Histiæus (v. 23). Possibly therefore when he had completed the arrangements for the permanent military occupation of the European shore, he returned, and Otanes was put in his place to carry out the details which were necessary on the Asiatic coast and the Hellespont for connecting the two continents by a chain of posts. By the list which Herodotus gives of the places taken by Otanes (v. 26), it is plain that the main consideration which influenced him was to command the straits so as to secure an uninterrupted communication. It should not be overlooked that the phrase τὰ ἐντὸς Μακεδόνων is only appropriate to a narrator who takes some place in the neighbourhood of the straits for his centre.

[112] θηριωδεστάτης ἐούσης τῆς θαλάσσης. This expression has been put forward as an instance of gross incorrectness on the part of Herodotus; and, in the view of defending him from the charge, it has been suggested that his meaning may be, that the *shore* of the sea in question was thickly tenanted with wild animals. But the words can hardly bear such a meaning; and a better defence would be, that by them the author intends to describe the existence of *sharks* in large numbers.

[113] Βρύγοι Θρήϊκες. It can scarcely be doubted that these are the same tribes elsewhere called Βρίγες or Βρύγες. See note on vii. 73.

πολλοὺς φονεύουσι οἱ Βρύγοι, Μαρδόνιον δὲ αὐτὸν τρωματίζουσι. οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ δουλοσύνην διέφυγον πρὸς Περσέων· οὐ γὰρ δὴ πρότερον ἀπανέστη ἐκ τῶν χωρέων τουτέων Μαρδόνιος, πρὶν ἤ σφεας ὑποχειρίους ἐποιήσατο. τούτους μέντοι καταστρεψάμενος ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατιὴν ὀπίσω, ἅτε τῷ πεζῷ τε προσπταίσας πρὸς τοὺς Βρύγους[114] καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ μεγάλως περὶ Ἄθων. οὗτος μέν νυν ὁ στόλος αἰσχρῶς ἀγωνισάμενος ἀπαλλάχθη ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

severely from a night attack of the Thracians, and the expedition returns.

46 Δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτεϊ τούτων ὁ Δαρεῖος, πρῶτα μὲν Θασίους διαβληθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων ὡς ἀπόστασιν μηχανοίατο, πέμψας ἄγγελον ἐκέλευέ σφεας τὸ τεῖχος περιαιρέειν καὶ τὰς νέας ἐς Ἄβδηρα κομίζειν[115]. οἱ γὰρ δὴ Θάσιοι, οἷα ὑπὸ Ἱστιαίου τε τοῦ Μιλησίου πολιορκηθέντες καὶ προσόδων ἐουσέων μεγαλέων, ἐχρέοντο τοῖσι χρήμασι νέας τε ναυπηγεύμενοι μακρὰς καὶ τεῖχος ἰσχυρότερον περιβαλλόμενοι. ἡ δὲ πρόσοδός σφι ἐγίνετο ἔκ τε τῆς ἠπείρου καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μετάλλων· ἐκ μέν γε τῶν ἐν Σκαπτῇ Ὕλῃ[116], τῶν χρυσέων μετάλλων, τὸ ἐπίπαν ὀγδώκοντα τάλαντα προσήϊε· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ Θάσῳ ἐλάσσω μὲν τούτων, συχνὰ δὲ οὕτω ὥστε τὸ ἐπίπαν Θασίοισι, ἐοῦσι καρπῶν ἀτελέσι[117], προσήϊε ἀπό τε τῆς ἠπείρου καὶ τῶν μετάλλων ἔτεος ἑκάστου διηκόσια τάλαντα· ὅτε δὲ τὸ πλεῖστον προσῆλθε, τριηκόσια.

Next year the Persians seize the navy of Thasos, and destroy the walls.

Great wealth of the islanders, specially from their mines.

47 Εἶδον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ μέταλλα ταῦτα· καὶ μακρῷ ἦν αὐτῶν θωμασιώτατα τὰ οἱ Φοίνικες ἀνεῦρον, οἳ μετὰ Θάσου κτίσαντες τὴν νῆσον ταύτην ἥτις νῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ Θάσου τούτου τοῦ Φοίνικος τὸ οὔνομα ἔσχε[a]. τὰ δὲ μέταλλα τὰ Φοινικικὰ ταῦτα ἔστι τῆς Θάσου μεταξὺ Αἰνύρων τε χώρου καλεομένου καὶ Κοινύρων, ἀντίον δὲ Σαμοθρηΐκης· ὄρος μέγα, ἀνεστραμμένον ἐν τῇ ζητήσει. τοῦτο μέν νυν ἔστι

114 Βρύγους. One MS (*b*) has Βρύγας. See the last note.

115 τὰς νέας ἐς Ἄβδηρα κομίζειν. Herodotus (i. 168) represents Abdera as founded for the second time by the Teians flying from before the face of Harpagus. But by this time it would seem to have become Persian in feeling; otherwise it would hardly have been selected as a dépôt for the galleys. The story told in viii. 120 goes to prove that even the defeat of Xerxes failed to detach Abdera from his cause.

116 ἐν Σκαπτῇ Ὕλῃ. This name became *Scaptesyla* in Latin, the aspirate being represented by the sound *s*; just as ἕξ, ἑπτὰ, ἕρπω, ἅλς appear in their Latin equivalents as *sex*, *septem*, *serpo*, *sal*.

117 ἐοῦσι καρπῶν ἀτελέσι, "while free from imposts on their produce." The author apparently means to say that without the *islanders* paying any tithe or land-tax, the whole of the public expenses were defrayed from the profits of the mines, and the produce of the public demesne on the continent, a balance still remaining of two or three hundred talents. It must be remembered that among the public expenses would come the celebration of the religious festivals—a very heavy burden in ancient times.

a ἔσχε. See above, note 86.

τοιοῦτο· οἱ δὲ Θάσιοι τῷ βασιλέϊ κελεύσαντι καὶ τὸ τεῖχος τὸ
σφέτερον κατεῖλον, καὶ τὰς νέας τὰς πάσας ἐκόμισαν ἐς
Ἄβδηρα.

Darius summons all the Hellenic states to submit.

48 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, ἀπεπειρᾶτο ὁ Δαρεῖος τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὅ τι ἐν
νόῳ ἔχοιεν, κότερα πολεμέειν ἑωυτῷ ἢ παραδιδόναι σφέας αὐτούς.
διέπεμπε ὦν κήρυκας ἄλλους ἄλλῃ τάξας ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα,
κελεύων αἰτέειν βασιλέϊ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. τούτους μὲν δὴ ἐς τὴν
Ἑλλάδα ἔπεμπε· ἄλλους δὲ κήρυκας διέπεμπε ἐς τὰς ἑωυτοῦ
δασμοφόρους πόλιας τὰς παραθαλασσίους, κελεύων νέας τε μακρὰς
49 καὶ ἱππαγωγὰ πλοῖα ποιέεσθαι. οὗτοί τε δὴ παρεσκευάζοντο
ταῦτα· καὶ τοῖσι ἥκουσι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κήρυξι πολλοὶ μὲν
ἠπειρωτέων ἐδίδοσαν τὰ προΐσχετο αἰτέων ὁ Πέρσης, πάντες δὲ
οἱ νησιῶται ἐς τοὺς ἀπικοίατο αἰτήσοντες. οἵ τε δὴ ἄλλοι νησιῶται
διδοῦσι γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ Δαρείῳ καὶ δὴ καὶ Αἰγινῆται· ποιήσασι δέ
σφι ταῦτα ἰθέως Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπεκέατο, δοκέοντες ἐπὶ σφίσι ἔχοντας[118]
τοὺς Αἰγινήτας δεδωκέναι ὡς ἅμα τῷ Πέρσῃ ἐπὶ σφέας στρατεύωνται·
καὶ ἄσμενοι προφάσιος ἐπελάβοντο, φοιτέοντές τε ἐς τὴν
Σπάρτην κατηγόρεον τῶν Αἰγινητέων τὰ πεποιήκοιεν προδόντες
50 τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Πρὸς ταύτην δὲ τὴν κατηγορίην Κλεομένης ὁ
Ἀναξανδρίδεω, βασιλεὺς ἐὼν Σπαρτιητέων, διέβη ἐς Αἴγιναν
βουλόμενος συλλαβεῖν Αἰγινητέων τοὺς αἰτιωτάτους· ὡς δὲ ἐπειρᾶτο
συλλαμβάνων, ἄλλοι τε δὴ αὐτῷ ἐγίνοντο ἀντίξοοι τῶν
Αἰγινητέων ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Κριὸς ὁ Πολυκρίτου μάλιστα· ὃς οὐκ
ἔφη αὐτὸν οὐδένα ἄξειν χαίροντα Αἰγινητέων· ἄνευ γάρ μιν Σπαρτιητέων
τοῦ κοινοῦ ποιέειν ταῦτα ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἀναγνωσθέντα
χρήμασι· ἅμα γὰρ ἄν μιν τῷ ἑτέρῳ βασιλέϊ ἐλθόντα συλλαμβάνειν·
ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦτα ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς τῆς Δημαρήτου[119]. Κλεομένης
δὲ ἀπελαυνόμενος ἐκ τῆς Αἰγίνης, εἴρετο τὸν Κριὸν ὅ τι οἱ
εἴη τὸ οὔνομα; ὁ δὲ τὸ ἐὸν ἔφρασέ οἱ· ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης πρὸς αὐτὸν

Most of them comply, and among these the *Æginetæ*, to punish whom at the appeal of the Athenians,

Cleomenes goes to the island, but is thwarted by his colleague *Demaratus*.

118 ἐπὶ σφίσι ἔχοντας. Several MSS have ἐπὶ σφίσι ἐπέχοντας, but EUSTATHIUS (on *Od.* xix. 71, τί μοι ἐπέχεις;) takes occasion to remark that Herodotus separates the compound verb into its constituent parts. The expression ἐπέχειν here seems to answer to the old English phrase "to have at." Translate: "considering that the Æginetæ were aiming a blow at *them* when they rendered the symbols of submission, that they might make war upon them with the Persian king for an ally."

119 ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς τῆς Δημαρήτου. The first decided break between Cleomenes and Demaratus was with the army of confederates at Eleusis. See note 200 on v. 75. For the use of the word ἐπιστολῆς, see note 27 on iv. 10.

ἔφη· "ἤδη νῦν καταχάλκου, ὦ Κριέ, τὰ κέρεα[120], ὡς συνοισόμενος μεγάλῳ κακῷ."

51 Story of this Demaratus.

Ἐν δὲ τῇ Σπάρτῃ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ὑπομένων Δημάρητος ὁ Ἀρίστωνος διέβαλλε τὸν Κλεομένεα, ἐὼν βασιλεὺς καὶ οὗτος Σπαρτιητέων οἰκίης δὲ τῆς ὑποδεεστέρης· κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ὑποδεεστέρης,—ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γεγόνασι,—κατὰ πρεσβυγενείην δέ κως τετίμηται μᾶλλον ἡ Εὐρυσθένεος.

52 Early history of the kings of Sparta according to *Lacedæmonian* traditions.

Λακεδαιμόνιοι γὰρ ὁμολογέοντες οὐδενὶ ποιητῇ[121] λέγουσι αὐτὸν Ἀριστόδημον, τὸν Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Ὕλλου, βασιλεύοντα ἀγαγεῖν σφέας ἐς ταύτην τὴν χώρην τὴν νῦν ἐκτέαται, ἀλλ' οὐ τοὺς Ἀριστοδήμου παῖδας· μετὰ δὲ χρόνον οὐ πολλόν, Ἀριστοδήμῳ τεκεῖν τὴν γυναῖκα τῇ οὔνομα εἶναι Ἀργείην· θυγατέρα δὲ αὐτὴν

[120] *καταχάλκου, ὦ Κριέ, τὰ κέρεα.* There is a bitterness about the Spartan king, whose authority was not only resisted, but resisted with the insolent words: *οὐδένα ἄξειν χαίροντα Αἰγινητέων,* which should have prevented any comparison of this expression with the jests of Cicero upon the name of Verres. It is rather the mask of levity under which the deepest feelings seek to conceal themselves; and may be more fitly compared with the words of Esau (*Gen.* xxvii. 36), which were spoken just after he had "cried with a great and exceeding bitter cry." SHAKESPEAR (*King Richard II., Act* 2, *Sc.* 1) furnishes a matchless specimen of this condition of mind, and at the same time gives the clue to its explanation:

"KING RICHARD. What comfort, man? How is't with aged Gaunt?
GAUNT. O, how that name befits my composition!
Old Gaunt, indeed; and gaunt in being old.
Within me grief hath kept a tedious fast;
And who abstains from meat, that is not gaunt?
For sleeping England long time have I watched;
Watching breeds leanness; leanness is all gaunt.
The pleasure that some fathers feed upon
Is my strict fast,—I mean my children's looks;
And therein fasting hast thou made me gaunt.
Gaunt am I for the grave, gaunt as the grave,
Whose hollow womb inherits nought but bones.
KING RICHARD. Can sick men *play so nicely* with their names?
GAUNT. No: *misery makes sport to mock itself:*
Since thou dost seek to kill my name in me,
I mock my name, great king, to flatter thee."

With the same propriety he makes Constance, who in an agony of passion at the compromise of her son's claim had thrown herself upon the earth in the presence of the assembled sovereigns (*King John, Act* 3, *Sc.* 1), rise up, on hearing the words of King Philip:

"The yearly course, that brings this day about,
Shall never see it but a holiday,"

with the reply—

"A *wicked* day, and not a *holy* day."

[121] *ὁμολογέοντες οὐδενὶ ποιητῇ.* The narrative which follows is extremely valuable, as containing the genuine Lacedæmonian traditions relative to the condition of their country at the period immediately following the Heraclide invasion. It may be put together with the account of Theras given in iv. 147—149, and from the combination of the two a very complete ethnological account (in terms of mythology) may be constructed of what the Lacedæmonians of the time of Herodotus thought about their own early history.

λέγουσι εἶναι Αὐτεσίωνος τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ τοῦ Θερσάνδρου τοῦ Πολυνείκεος· ταύτην δὲ τεκεῖν δίδυμα· ἐπιδόντα δὲ τὸν Ἀριστόδημον τὰ τέκνα νούσῳ τελευτᾶν, Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ τοὺς τότε ἐόντας βουλεῦσαι κατὰ νόμον βασιλέα τῶν παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτερον ποιήσασθαι· οὔκων δή σφεας ἔχειν ὁκότερον ἕλωνται, ὥστε καὶ ὁμοίων καὶ ἴσων ἐόντων, οὐ δυναμένους δὲ γνῶναι, ἢ καὶ πρὸ τούτου, ἐπειρωτᾶν τὴν τεκοῦσαν· τὴν δὲ οὐδὲ αὐτὴν φάναι διαγινώσκειν, εἰδυῖαν μὲν καὶ τὸ κάρτα λέγειν ταῦτα βουλομένην δὲ εἴ κως ἀμφότεροι γενοίατο βασιλέες· τοὺς ὦν δὴ Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπορέειν· ἀπορέοντας δὲ πέμπειν ἐς Δελφοὺς, ἐπειρησομένους ὅ τι χρήσονται τῷ πρήγματι; τὴν δὲ Πυθίην κελεύειν σφέας ἀμφότερα τὰ παιδία ἡγήσασθαι βασιλέας, τιμᾶν δὲ μᾶλλον τὸν γεραίτερον· τὴν μὲν δὴ Πυθίην ταῦτά σφι ἀνελεῖν· τοῖσι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοισι, ἀπορέουσι οὐδὲν ἔσσον ὅκως ἐξεύρωσι αὐτῶν τὸν πρεσβύτερον, ὑποθέσθαι ἄνδρα Μεσσήνιον τῷ οὔνομα εἶναι Πανίτην· ὑποθέσθαι δὲ τοῦτον τὸν Πανίτην τάδε τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι, φυλάξαι τὴν γειναμένην ὁκότερον τῶν παιδίων πρότερον λούει καὶ σιτίζει· καὶ ἢν μὲν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ φαίνηται αἰεὶ ποιεῦσα, τοὺς δὲ πᾶν ἕξειν ὅσον τι καὶ δίζηνται καὶ θέλουσι ἐξευρεῖν· ἢν δὲ πλανᾶται καὶ ἐκείνη ἐναλλὰξ ποιεῦσα, δῆλά σφι ἔσεσθαι ὡς οὐδὲ ἐκείνη πλέον οὐδὲν οἶδε· ἐπ' ἄλλην τέ σφεας τραπέσθαι ὁδόν· ἐνθαῦτα δὴ τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας, κατὰ τὰς τοῦ Μεσσηνίου ὑποθήκας, φυλάξαντας τὴν μητέρα τῶν Ἀριστοδήμου παίδων λαβεῖν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τιμῶσαν τὸν πρότερον καὶ σίτοισι καὶ λουτροῖσι, οὐκ εἰδυῖαν τῶν εἵνεκεν ἐφυλάσσετο· λαβόντας δὲ τὸ παιδίον τὸ τιμώμενον πρὸς τῆς γειναμένης, ὡς ἐὸν πρότερον τρέφειν ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ· καί οἱ οὔνομα τεθῆναι Εὐρυσθένεα, τῷ δὲ [νεωτέρῳ[122]] Προκλέα· τούτους ἀνδρωθέντας, αὐτούς τε ἀδελφεοὺς ἐόντας λέγουσι διαφόρους εἶναι τὸν πάντα χρόνον τῆς ζόης ἀλλήλοισι, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τούτων γενομένους ὡσαύτως διατελέειν.

53 Ταῦτα μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι μοῦνοι Ἑλλήνων· τάδε δὲ κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα[123] ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ἐγὼ γράφω· . . . . . τούτους τοὺς Δωριέων βασιλέας[124] μέχρι μὲν Περσέος τοῦ Δανάης, τοῦ

The account which is current among *the*

[122] [νεωτέρῳ]. This word is omitted from M, K, F, *d*. It is quite unnecessary, and seems to have crept in as a gloss.

[123] κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα. This is the reading of the majority of MSS. Gaisford follows Schweighæuser, who, on the authority of F, adopts κατὰ ταὐτὰ λεγόμενα.

[124] τούτους τοὺς Δωριέων βασιλέας. Before these words there appears to be a

θεοῦ ἀπεόντος [125], καταλεγομένους ὀρθῶς ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων καὶ ἀπο- *other Hellenes.*
δεικνυμένους ὡς εἰσι Ἕλληνες· (ἤδη γὰρ τηνικαῦτα ἐς Ἕλληνας
οὗτοι ἐτέλεον·) ἔλεξα δὲ μέχρι Περσέος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνέκαθεν ἔτι
ἔλαβον, τοῦδε εἵνεκα [126], ὅτι οὐκ ἔπεστι ἐπωνυμίη Περσέϊ οὐδεμία
πατρὸς θνητοῦ, ὥσπερ Ἡρακλέϊ Ἀμφιτρύων· ἤδη ὦν ὀρθῷ λόγῳ
χρεωμένῳ μέχρι τοῦ Περσέος ὀρθῶς εἴρηταί μοι. ἀπὸ δὲ Δανάης
τῆς Ἀκρισίου καταλέγοντι τοὺς ἄνω αἰεὶ πατέρας αὐτῶν, φαινοίατο
ἂν ἐόντες οἱ τῶν Δωριέων ἡγεμόνες Αἰγύπτιοι ἰθαγενέες. Ταῦτα 54
μέν νυν κατὰ τὰ Ἕλληνες λέγουσι γεγενεηλόγηται· ὡς δὲ ὁ Περ- The *Persian* account of *Perseus.*
σέων λόγος [127] λέγεται, αὐτὸς ὁ Περσεὺς ἐὼν Ἀσσύριος ἐγένετο
Ἕλλην, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἱ Περσέος πρόγονοι· τοὺς δὲ Ἀκρισίου γε
πατέρας ὁμολογέοντας κατ' οἰκηϊότητα Περσέϊ οὐδὲν [128], τούτους δὲ
εἶναι, κατάπερ Ἕλληνες λέγουσι, Αἰγυπτίους. Καὶ ταῦτα μέν νυν 55
περὶ τούτων εἰρήσθω· ὅ τι δὲ ἐόντες Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ ὅ τι ἀποδεξά-
μενοι ἔλαβον τὰς Δωριέων βασιληΐας [129], ἄλλοισι γὰρ περὶ αὐτῶν
εἴρηται, ἐάσομεν αὐτά, τὰ δὲ ἄλλοι οὐ κατελάβοντο τούτων μνήμην
ποιήσομαι.

Γέρεα δὲ δὴ τάδε τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι Σπαρτιῆται δεδώκασι· ἱρωσύ- 56
νας δύο, Διός τε Λακεδαίμονος καὶ Διὸς Οὐρανίου [130]· καὶ πόλεμόν Prerogatives of the kings

lacuna, which I apprehend was filled up with a genealogy connecting the Lacedæmonians with the royal houses of Mycenæ and Argos, perhaps derived from the γενεαλογίαι of Hecatæus. (See CREUZER, *Historicorum Græcorum antiquissimorum Fragmenta*, pp. 46—55.)

[125] τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπεόντος. The Hellenic genealogies invariably *ended* with the name of some deity, probably the tutelary deity of the family, but any how necessary as an hypothesis, in order that the list of ancestors might not be infinite. Thus Herodotus (ii. 143) speaks of the rivalry of the Egyptian genealogers with Hecatæus, γενεαλογήσαντι ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἀναδήσαντι ἐς ἑκκαιδέκατον θεόν. In this passage the author says that he has given the catalogue in its proper order, as the Greeks recognize it, all the names having clear evidence of being Greek, but has left out "the god," the *point d'appui* of the pedigree.

[126] ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνέκαθεν ἔτι ἔλαβον, τοῦδε εἵνεκα. The MSS and Gaisford reverse the order of the clauses: τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνέκαθεν ἔτι ἔλαβον.

[127] ὁ Περσέων λόγος. See notes 338 on i. 95, and 471 on i. 139.

[128] ὁμολογέοντας κατ' οἰκηϊότητα Περσέϊ οὐδέν. According to the "Persian" legend Perseus had nothing whatever to do with Acrisius, whom the Hellenic traditions made his maternal grandfather. Hence the ancestors of Acrisius are said "in no respect to agree with [the Persian] Perseus in the point of relationship;"—they indeed being, as the Hellenic legend made them, Egyptians.

[129] ὅ τι δὲ ἐόντες Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ ὅ τι ἀποδεξάμενοι ἔλαβον τὰς Δωριέων βασιληΐας, "but in what way they were Egyptian, and what feats they did, that they received the Dorian kingdoms." The "others" of whom the writer here speaks are, I conceive, especially Hecatæus.

[130] Διός τε Λακεδαίμονος καὶ Διὸς Οὐρανίου. This is the only passage in which Ζεὺς Λακεδαίμων is mentioned in any ancient writer. It can scarcely be doubted, whatever the original idea of the deity here spoken of, that he was invoked under this title as the guardian of the nation, and stands in the same relation to the Lacedæmonians that *Athene* did to the Athenians. It is not necessary to suppose that he had a separate *temple* under this title, or that the kings were priests of him

γε ἐκφέρειν ἐπ' ἣν ἂν βούλωνται χώρην· τούτου δὲ μηδένα εἶναι Σπαρτιητέων διακωλυτήν· εἰ δὲ μή, αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἄγεϊ ἐνέχεσθαι· στρατευομένων δέ, πρώτους ἰέναι τοὺς βασιλέας ὑστάτους δὲ ἀπιέναι· ἑκατὸν δὲ ἄνδρας[a] λογάδας ἐπὶ στρατιῆς φυλάσσειν αὐτούς· προβάτοισι δὲ χρᾶσθαι ἐν τῇσι ἐξοδίῃσι ὁκόσοισι ἂν ὦν ἐθέλωσι· τῶν δὲ θυομένων ἁπάντων τὰ δέρματά τε καὶ τὰ νῶτα λαμβάνειν σφέας. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐμπολέμια.

of Sparta abroad

57 Τὰ δὲ ἄλλα, τὰ εἰρηναῖα, κατὰ τάδε σφι δέδοται· ἢν θυσίην τις δημοτελῆ ποιέηται, πρώτους ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἵζειν τοὺς βασιλέας· καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων πρῶτον ἄρχεσθαι διπλήσια νέμοντας ἑκατέρῳ τὰ πάντα ἢ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι δαιτυμόνεσι· καὶ σπονδαρχίας εἶναι τούτων καὶ τῶν τυθέντων προβάτων τὰ δέρματα· νεομηνίας δὲ ἀνὰ πάσας καὶ ἑβδόμας ἱσταμένου τοῦ μηνὸς[131], δίδοσθαι ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου ἱρήϊον τέλειον ἑκατέρῳ

and at home.

in all his relations; but only that they, as the representatives of the nation, were bound to conduct the ritual in which the functions of a national deity were ascribed to him. The origin of the name is another question. Larcher considers that λακεδαίμων is equivalent to *deus tonans*, in which case Ζεὺς Λακεδαίμων is synonymous with Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης the 'thunder-god,'—a not improbable account of the matter. In this view he would probably, as an elemental deity, be derived from the ante-dorian times, which the Ζεὺς Οὐράνιος undoubtedly is. But this very circumstance excites a certain suspicion of the truth of the conjecture. Of the two elements which constituted the nation, one would expect each to be represented, either by separate rituals appropriate to each, or by one which should unite the characteristics of both. Hence the Ζεὺς Λακεδαίμων seems more likely to be a deity of the Heraclide invaders. If we suppose him analogous to the Cretan Zeus, an armed warrior-god, the root λακ, both here and in the name of the people (Λάκωνες), seems more likely to be connected etymologically with λάξ (the sole of the foot), and to have reference to the sounding tramp of the soldiery, the Cadmeo-dorian conquerors of the country (κρουπεζοφόρων γένος ἀνδρῶν). In this view the ritual would probably be of a pyrrhic nature, like that of the Curetes (STRABO x. c. 3, p. 356), and may be supposed to date from the time of the Lycurgean institutions, *i. e.* the time of the military organization of the nation. This would account for the order in which the two priesthoods are named, that of the military caste naturally taking precedence over the one common to the members of it with their periœcian fellow subjects.

[a] From other passages it would seem that the body-guard consisted not of one but of three hundred. (See note on vii. 205.) But perhaps the three hundred were divided into three watches, so that there were never less than one hundred on guard at a time. In the case of a battle of course the whole number would turn out. (THUCYDIDES, v. 72.)

[131] ἑβδόμας ἱσταμένου τοῦ μηνός. Apollo was called ἑβδομαγέτας (ÆSCHYLUS, *Theb.* 806), and it has been assumed that this name is derived from the tradition that he was born on the seventh day of the month, which unquestionably was sacred to him on that account. HESIOD (*Opp. et D.* 770) says: ἑβδόμη ἱερὸν ἦμαρ· τῇ γὰρ Ἀπόλλωνα χρυσάορα γείνατο Λητώ. The *Carnea* were celebrated on the seventh day of the month which at Athens was called Thargelion, and the philosopher Carneades got his name from being born, as Plato was, on that day. (PLUTARCH, *Quæst. Symp.* viii. 1, 2.) But with reference to Apollo's reputed birth on the seventh day of the month, Plutarch (l. c.) expressly gives him the name of ἑβδομαγενής from it; and there seems no reason for wishing to change this, as Valckenaer does, into ἑβδομαγέτης.

ἐς Ἀπόλλωνος[132], καὶ μέδιμνον ἀλφίτων, καὶ οἴνου τετάρτην Λακωνικήν[133]· καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ἀγῶσι πᾶσι προεδρίας ἐξαιρέτους· καὶ προξείνους ἀποδεικνύναι τούτοισι προσκεῖσθαι τοὺς ἂν ἐθέλωσι τῶν ἀστῶν[a]· καὶ Πυθίους αἱρέεσθαι δύο ἑκάτερον· (οἱ δὲ Πύθιοί εἰσι θεοπρόποι ἐς Δελφούς, σιτεόμενοι μετὰ τῶν βασιλέων τὰ δημόσια.) μὴ ἐλθοῦσι δὲ τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον, ἀποπέμπεσθαί σφι ἐς τὰ οἰκία ἀλφίτων τε δύο χοίνικας ἑκατέρῳ καὶ οἴνου κοτύλην· παρεοῦσι δὲ διπλήσια πάντα δίδοσθαι· τὠυτὸ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς ἰδιωτέων κληθέντας ἐπὶ δεῖπνον τιμᾶσθαι· τὰς δὲ μαντηίας τὰς γινομένας τούτους φυλάσσειν· συνειδέναι δὲ καὶ τοὺς Πυθίους[134]· δικάζειν δὲ μούνους τοὺς βασιλέας τοσάδε μοῦνα· πατρούχου τε παρθένου[135] πέρι ἐς τὸν ἱκνέεται ἔχειν, ἢν μή περ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτὴν ἐγγυήσῃ· καὶ ὁδῶν δημοσιέων πέρι· καὶ ἤν τις θετὸν παῖδα ποιέεσθαι ἐθέλῃ, βασιλέων ἐναντίον ποιέεσθαι· καὶ παρίζειν βουλεύουσι τοῖσι γέρουσι, ἐοῦσι δυῶν δέουσι τριήκοντα· ἢν δὲ μὴ ἔλθωσι, τοὺς μάλιστά σφι τῶν γερόντων προσήκοντας ἔχειν τὰ τῶν βασιλέων γέρεα, δύο ψήφους τιθεμένους[136], τρίτην δὲ, τὴν ἑωυτῶν.

[132] ἐς Ἀπόλλωνος. The manuscripts S and V have ἐς Ἀπόλλωνα. But the use of the genitive seems to admit of an explanation. The animal was probably brought to the temple of the god, and there delivered to the king to be sacrificed.

[133] τετάρτην Λακωνικήν. The ellipse appears to be of the word μοῖρα or μερὶς, and one may suppose the quantity intended to be the fourth part of some generally received measure, probably the jar in which the wine when made was stowed away. These would differ in different countries. The *amphoreus*, in times when its contents came to be accurately settled, contained 8 gallons, 7·365 pints (*Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities*, sub v.), but in every country local convenience furnishes the original standard of quantity, and the Laconian measure, of which the kings received a fourth part, was probably at first merely the contents of a jar which when full could be conveniently carried by its two ears (ἀμφιφορεύς). It may be observed that the τετάρτη (or quarter-bottle) is not a subdivision recognized in the Attic metrology, from which the *medimnus* seems to be taken. Hence perhaps the qualificatory epithet Λακωνική. The *chœnix* and the *cotyle* were Attic; hence no explanation is given of them.

[a] προξείνους ἀποδεικνύναι . . τῶν ἀστῶν. The protection which the possession of a *proxenus* afforded to a foreigner was in all cases no doubt purchased at the price of considerable presents from the client; and hence the assignment of the right to stand in that relation would be an important piece of patronage. Similarly the bestowing the custody of wards was one of the most valuable privileges of the early English sovereigns.

[134] συνειδέναι δὲ καὶ τοὺς Πυθίους. The importance of having some check upon the kings in order to prevent the publication of false oracles is evinced by the case of Demaratus (below, § 66). See also v. 63.

[135] πατρούχου παρθένου, "an heiress." The technical name given to a female so circumstanced was in Athens ἐπίκληρος or ἔγκληρος. The Dorians called her ἐπιπάμων, ἐπιπαματὶς, or αὐτοπάμων. (Sluiter, *Lectiones Andocideæ*, p. 48; Timæus, *Vocc. Platt.* v. πατρ. π.) The number of females so situated was very great at Lacedæmon. (Aristotle, *Polit.* ii. p. 1270.)

[136] δύο ψήφους τιθεμένους. Thucy-

58 Ταῦτα μὲν ζῶσι τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι δέδοται[137] ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Σπαρτιητέων· ἀποθανοῦσι δὲ τάδε· ἱππέες περιαγγέλλουσι τὸ γεγονὸς κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Λακωνικήν· κατὰ δὲ τὴν πόλιν γυναῖκες περιϊοῦσαι λέβητα κροτέουσι[138]. ἐπεὰν ὦν τοῦτο γένηται τοιοῦτο, ἀνάγκη ἐξ οἰκίης ἑκάστης ἐλευθέρους δύο καταμιαίνεσθαι[139], ἄνδρα τε καὶ γυναῖκα· μὴ ποιήσασι δὲ τοῦτο ζημίαι μεγάλαι ἐπικέαται· νόμος δὲ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι κατὰ τῶν βασιλέων τοὺς θανάτους ἐστὶ ὡυτὸς καὶ τοῖσι βαρβάροισι τοῖσι ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ· τῶν γὰρ ὦν βαρβάρων οἱ πλεῦνες τῷ αὐτῷ νόμῳ χρέωνται κατὰ τοὺς θανάτους τῶν βασιλέων· ἐπεὰν γὰρ ἀποθάνῃ βασιλεὺς Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐκ πάσης δεῖ Λακεδαίμονος, χωρὶς Σπαρτιητέων[140], ἀριθμῷ τῶν περιοίκων ἀναγκαστοὺς ἐς τὸ κῆδος ἰέναι. τούτων ὦν καὶ τῶν εἱλωτέων καὶ αὐτῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐπεὰν συλλεχθέωσι ἐς τὠυτὸ πολλαὶ χιλιάδες, σύμμιγα τῇσι γυναιξὶ κόπτονταί τε τὰ μέτωπα[141] προθύμως καὶ οἰμωγῇ διαχρέωνται ἀπλέτῳ· φάμενοι τὸν ὕστατον αἰεὶ ἀπογενόμενον τῶν βασιλέων τοῦτον δὴ γενέσθαι ἄριστον[142]. ὃς δ' ἂν ἐν πολέμῳ τῶν βασιλέων ἀποθάνῃ, τούτῳ δὲ εἴδωλον σκευάσαντες ἐν κλίνῃ εὖ ἐστρωμένῃ ἐκφέρουσι· ἐπεὰν δὲ θάψωσι, ἀγορὴ δέκα ἡμερέων οὐκ ἵσταταί σφι οὐδ' ἀρχαιρεσίη συνίζει, ἀλλὰ

DIDES (i. 20) mentions this opinion as one of the popular fallacies of his time. Another he speaks of is the reputed existence of the Πιτανάτης λόχος in the Lacedæmonian army, which he emphatically denies. See ix. 53, below.

137 *ταῦτα μὲν ζῶσι τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι δέδοται.* It is remarkable that the writer should not mention among the regal rights the absolute power of life and death with which the kings were invested when on service, as he does take notice of some privileges which accrued to them only then. ARISTOTLE expressly remarks on the great change in their powers according as they were at home or abroad (*Politic.* iii. p. 1285), and quotes Homer to show that it was the same with Agamemnon. But both this power and the unlimited amount of flesh noticed in the text arise out of the necessities of martial law. He who is responsible for the safety of an army must be absolute over the commissariat.

138 *λέβητα κροτέουσι.* Probably the representative of the oriental *gong*,—a feature, which as well as that of exhibiting the signs of mourning in a sordidness of dress and person, bespeaks a custom existing antecedently to the Dorian invasion, and probably derived from Asiatic ancestors,—with whom to put dust on the head would be a common expression of grief.

139 *καταμιαίνεσθαι.* See last note.

140 *χωρὶς Σπαρτιητέων*, "independently of the Spartans," just as *χωρὶς τοῦ φόρου* (i. 106) is "independently of the specified tribute." The assemblage of mourners was to consist of two free Spartans (a man and woman) from each house, and a *fixed* number, the amount of which Herodotus does not specify, of periœcians.

141 *τὰ μέτωπα.* These words are omitted in S.

142 *τοῦτον δὴ γενέσθαι ἄριστον*, "that this one, *if ever there was* (δὴ), had been a very great man." These staple commendations are the *næniæ* which used to be recited over the ancient Roman patricians, "*Hunc plurimi consentiunt Romani patriæ primorem fuisse virum,*" and the like, which in their case, as well as that of the Lacedæmonians, are probably derived from a common ancestry.

πενθέουσι ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας. Συμφέρονται δὲ ἄλλο τόδε τοῖσι 59
Πέρσῃσι. ἐπεὰν ἀποθανόντος τοῦ βασιλέος ἄλλος ἐνίστηται βασιλεύς, οὗτος ὁ ἐσιὼν ἐλευθεροῖ ὅστις τι Σπαρτιητέων τῷ βασιλέϊ ἢ τῷ δημοσίῳ ὤφειλε· ἐν δ' αὖ Πέρσῃσι ὁ κατιστάμενος βασιλεὺς τὸν προσοφειλόμενον φόρον[143] μετίει πάσῃσι τῇσι
πόλισι. Συμφέρονται δὲ καὶ τάδε Αἰγυπτίοισι Λακεδαιμόνιοι· οἱ 60
κήρυκες αὐτῶν[144] καὶ αὐληταὶ καὶ μάγειροι ἐκδέκονται τὰς πατρωΐας τέχνας, καὶ αὐλητής τε αὐλητέω γίνεται, καὶ μάγειρος μαγείρου, καὶ κῆρυξ κήρυκος· οὐ κατὰ λαμπροφωνίην ἐπιθέμενοι ἄλλοι σφέας παρακληΐουσι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἐπιτελέουσι[145]. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω γίνεται.

Coincidence of Spartan with Persian and Egyptian customs.

Τότε δὲ τὸν Κλεομένεα, ἐόντα ἐν τῇ Αἰγίνῃ καὶ κοινὰ τῇ Ἑλλάδι 61
ἀγαθὰ προσεργαζόμενον, ὁ Δημάρητος διέβαλε, οὐκ Αἰγινητέων οὕτω κηδόμενος ὡς φθόνῳ καὶ ἄγῃ[146] χρεώμενος. Κλεομένης δὲ νοστήσας ἀπ' Αἰγίνης ἐβούλευε τὸν Δημάρητον παῦσαι τῆς βασιληΐης, διὰ πρῆγμα τοιόνδε ἐπίβασιν ἐς αὐτὸν ποιεύμενος· Ἀρίστωνι βασιλεύοντι ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ γήμαντι γυναῖκας δύο παῖδες οὐκ ἐγίνοντο· καὶ οὐ γὰρ συνεγινώσκετο αὐτὸς τούτων εἶναι αἴτιος, γαμέει τρίτην γυναῖκα· ὧδε δὲ γαμέει· ἦν οἱ φίλος τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἀνήρ, τῷ προσεκέετο τῶν ἀστῶν μάλιστα ὁ Ἀρίστων· τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐτύγχανε ἐοῦσα γυνὴ καλλίστη μακρῷ τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γυναικῶν· καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι καλλίστη ἐξ αἰσχίστης γενομένη· ἐοῦσαν γάρ μιν τὸ εἶδος φλαύρην ἡ τροφὸς αὐτῆς, οἷα ἀνθρώπων τε ὀλβίων θυγατέρα καὶ δυσειδέα ἐοῦσαν, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὁρέουσα τοὺς γονέας συμφορὴν τὸ εἶδος αὐτῆς ποιευμένους, ταῦτα ἕκαστα μαθοῦσα, ἐπιφράζεται τοιάδε· ἐφόρεε αὐτὴν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν

Story of Demaratus and his feud with Cleomenes continued from § 51.

[143] τὸν προσοφειλόμενον φόρον, "the tribute in arrear," *i. e.* that which is owing *in addition to what has been paid.*

[144] οἱ κήρυκες αὐτῶν. See below, vii. 134. There was also at Athens a house of Κήρυκες.

[145] οὐ κατὰ λαμπροφωνίην ἐπιθέμενοι .... ἐπιτελέουσι· "others do not on the strength of vocal power invade their sphere and exclude them, but they continue on doing as their fathers did."

[146] ἄγῃ. The MSS vary between ἄγει, ἄττῃ, αὔτῃ, and ἄτῃ. The word ἄγῃ was restored by Valcknaer, by the help of a citation of Suidas; and there can be little doubt it is the genuine reading. Ἄγαις is interpreted by Hesychius ζηλώσεσι, and ascribed to Æschylus in the *Thressæ.* The same lexicographer gives Ἄγασις· φθόνος, and Ἀγαστής· βάσκανος. And Herodotus uses the word ἀγαιόμενοι in connexion with φθονοῦντες in viii. 69. According to Eustathius, the ancient Alexandrine grammarians asserted that ἀγάασθαι was used in three senses: τὸ θαυμάζειν, τὸ φθονεῖν, τὸ μισεῖν.

ἡμέρην ἐς τὸ τῆς Ἑλένης ἱρόν· τὸ δ' ἔστι ἐν τῇ Θεράπνῃ[147] καλευ-
μένῃ ὕπερθε τοῦ Φοιβηΐου ἱροῦ. ὅκως δὲ ἐνείκειε ἡ τροφὸς, πρός
τε τὤγαλμα ἵστα καὶ ἐλίσσετο τὴν θεὸν ἀπαλλάξαι τῆς δυσμορ-
φίης τὸ παιδίον· καὶ δή κοτε ἀπιούσῃ ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῇ τροφῷ
γυναῖκα λέγεται ἐπιφανῆναι, ἐπιφανεῖσαν δὲ ἐπείρεσθαί μιν ὅ τι
φέρει ἐν τῇ ἀγκάλῃ; καὶ τὴν φράσαι ὡς παιδίον φορέει· τὴν δὲ
κελεῦσαί οἱ δεῖξαι[148]· τὴν δὲ οὐ φάναι, ἀπειρῆσθαι γάρ οἱ ἐκ τῶν
γειναμένων μηδενὶ ἐπιδεικνύναι· τὴν δὲ πάντως ἑωυτῇ κελεύειν
ἐπιδεῖξαι· ὁρῶσαν δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα περὶ πολλοῦ ποιευμένην ἰδέσθαι
οὕτω δὴ τὴν τροφὸν δεῖξαι τὸ παιδίον· τὴν δὲ καταψῶσαν τοῦ
παιδίου τὴν κεφαλὴν εἶπαι, ὡς καλλιστεύσει πασέων τῶν ἐν
Σπάρτῃ γυναικῶν. ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρης μεταπεσέειν
τὸ εἶδος· γαμέει[149] δὲ δή μιν ἐς γάμου ὥρην ἀπικομένην Ἄγητος ὁ
62 Ἀλκείδεω, οὗτος δὴ ὁ τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος φίλος. Τὸν δὲ Ἀρίστωνα
ἔκνιζε ἄρα τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης ὁ ἔρως· μηχανᾶται δὴ τοιάδε· αὐτός
τε τῷ ἑταίρῳ τοῦ ἦν ἡ γυνὴ αὕτη ὑποδέκεται δωτίνην δώσειν τῶν
ἑωυτοῦ πάντων ἓν τὸ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἕληται, καὶ τὸν ἑταῖρον
ἑωυτῷ ἐκέλευε ὡσαύτως τὴν ὁμοίην διδόναι· ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν φοβηθεὶς
ἀμφὶ τῇ γυναικὶ, ὁρέων ἐοῦσαν καὶ Ἀρίστωνι γυναῖκα, καταινέει
ταῦτα· ἐπὶ τούτοισι δὲ ὅρκους ἐπήλασαν· μετὰ δὲ, αὐτός τε [ὁ
Ἀρίστων[150]] ἔδωκε τοῦτο, ὅ τι δὴ ἦν, τὸ εἵλετο τῶν κειμηλίων τῶν
Ἀρίστωνος [ὁ Ἄγητος[151]]. καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν ὁμοίην ζητέων φέρεσθαι
παρ' ἐκείνου, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ τοῦ ἑταίρου τὴν γυναῖκα ἐπειρᾶτο ἀπ-
άγεσθαι· ὁ δὲ πλὴν τούτου μούνου τὰ ἄλλα ἔφη καταινέσαι· ἀναγκα-
ζόμενος μέν τοι τῷ τε ὅρκῳ καὶ τῆς ἀπάτης τῇ παραγωγῇ ἀπίει
63 ἀπάγεσθαι. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ τὴν τρίτην ἐσηγάγετο γυναῖκα ὁ Ἀρί-

[147] ἐν τῇ Θεράπνῃ. See note 189 on v. 72. The temple of Helen belonged to the Achæan or ante-dorian times, when not the Heraclides, but the Tyndarides were the ruling race. Its superior antiquity to the Phœbeum is shown by the position it occupies relatively to it, the hill-top being the place which the *earliest* settlers would fix on for the site of their temples. *Therapne* was, according to the Laconian traditions, a daughter of Lelex. (PAUSANIAS, iii. 19. 9.)

[148] δεῖξαι. All the MSS have this form instead of δέξαι, which would be in accordance with the practice of Herodotus elsewhere, and there is an equal unanimity for ἐπιδεῖξαι, just below.

[149] γαμέει. The change from the infinitive to the indicative, upon the author passing from the relation of an idle story to that of an undoubted fact should not be overlooked.

[150] ὁ Ἀρίστων. These words exist in all the MSS, but so do τῶν Ἀρίστωνος below, and it seems impossible that *both* should have been written.

[151] ὁ Ἄγητος. These words are wanting in S, and as they render the sense much more perspicuous, they are much more likely to have been added by a transcriber than to have been omitted.

στων, τὴν δευτέρην ἀποπεμψάμενος· ἐν δέ οἱ χρόνῳ ἐλάσσονι, καὶ οὐ πληρώσασα τοὺς δέκα μῆνας ἡ γυνὴ αὕτη, τίκτει τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Δημάρητον· καί τις οἱ τῶν οἰκετέων ἐν θώκῳ κατημένῳ μετὰ τῶν ἐφόρων ἐξαγγέλλει ὥς οἱ παῖς γέγονε· ὁ δὲ ἐπιστάμενός τε τὸν χρόνον τῷ ἠγάγετο τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ ἐπὶ δακτύλων συμβαλλόμενος τοὺς μῆνας, εἶπε ἀπομόσας, "οὐκ ἂν ἐμὸς εἴη." τοῦτο ἤκουσαν μὲν οἱ ἔφοροι· πρῆγμα μέντοι οὐδὲν ἐποιήσαντο τὸ παραυτίκα. ὁ δὲ παῖς ηὔξετο, καὶ τῷ Ἀρίστωνι τὸ εἰρημένον μετέμελε· παῖδα γὰρ τὸν Δημάρητον ἐς τὰ μάλιστά οἱ ἐνόμισε εἶναι. Δημάρητον δὲ αὐτῷ οὔνομα ἔθετο διὰ τόδε· πρότερον τούτων πανδημεὶ Σπαρτιῆται Ἀρίστωνι, ὡς ἀνδρὶ εὐδοκιμέοντι διὰ πάντων δὴ τῶν βασιλέων τῶν ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ γενομένων, ἀρὴν ἐποιήσαντο παῖδα γενέσθαι· διὰ τοῦτο μέν οἱ τὸ οὔνομα Δημάρητος ἐτέθη. Χρόνου 64
δὲ προϊόντος, Ἀρίστων μὲν ἀπέθανε Δημάρητος δὲ ἔσχε τὴν βασιληΐην· ἔδεε δὲ, ὡς ἔοικε, ἀνάπυστα γενόμενα ταῦτα καταπαῦσαι Δημάρητον τῆς βασιληΐης, διὰ τά [152] Κλεομένεϊ διεβλήθη μεγάλως πρότερόν τε ὁ Δημάρητος ἀπαγαγὼν τὴν στρατιὴν ἐξ Ἐλευσῖνος, καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἐπ' Αἰγινητέων τοὺς μηδίσαντας διαβάντος Κλεομένεος. Ὁρμηθεὶς ὢν ἀποτίνυσθαι ὁ Κλεομένης, συντίθεται 65
Λευτυχίδῃ τῷ Μενάρεος τοῦ Ἅγιος [a], ἐόντι οἰκίης τῆς αὐτῆς Δημαρήτῳ, ἐπ' ᾧ τε, ἢν αὐτὸν καταστήσῃ βασιλέα ἀντὶ Δημαρήτου, ἕψεταί οἱ ἐπ' Αἰγινήτας. ὁ δὲ Λευτυχίδης ἦν ἐχθρὸς τῷ Δημαρήτῳ μάλιστα γεγονὼς διὰ πρῆγμα τοιόνδε· ἁρμοσαμένου Λευτυχίδεω Πέρκαλον τὴν Χίλωνος τοῦ Δημαρμένου θυγατέρα, ὁ Δημάρητος ἐπιβουλεύσας, ἀποστερεῖ Λευτυχίδεα τοῦ γάμου, φθάσας αὐτὸς τὴν Πέρκαλον ἁρπάσας καὶ σχὼν γυναῖκα. κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν τῷ Λευτυχίδῃ ἡ ἔχθρη ἡ ἐς τὸν Δημάρητον ἐγεγόνεε· τότε δὲ ἐκ τῆς Κλεομένεος προθυμίης [153] ὁ Λευτυχίδης κατόμνυ-

Demaratus, the son of a third wife, was born under doubtful circumstances.

Leotychides by the aid of Cleomenes,

[152] διὰ τά. Bekker alters this without any MS authority into δι' ἅ. But there is no reason whatever why τὰ should not here have the force of the relative. Translate: "But, as it would seem, the ventilating of these matters was fated to deprive Demaratus of his crown, owing to the strong charges brought against him by Cleomenes, not only before, for having withdrawn the army from Eleusis, but more than ever on this occasion, when Cleomenes went over after the Median partizans among the Æginetæ."

[a] τοῦ Ἅγιος. All the MSS have this reading, but in viii. 131 all but one have Ἡγησίλεω, and that has Ἡσίλεω, which is obviously a mere corruption from it. But neither is to be altered: there we have the formal pedigree of Leotychides; here a story probably based on local tradition.

[153] ἐκ τῆς Κλεομένεος προθυμίης, "urged by the ardent desire of Cleomenes." Compare τὴν τούτου προθυμίην, i. 124.

-ται[154] Δημαρήτου, φὰς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἱκνεομένως βασιλεύειν Σπαρτιητέων οὐκ ἐόντα παῖδα Ἀρίστωνος· μετὰ δὲ τὴν κατωμοσίην ἐδίωκε ἀνασώζων ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἔπος τὸ εἶπε Ἀρίστων τότε, ὅτε οἱ ἐξήγγειλε ὁ οἰκέτης παῖδα γεγονέναι, ὁ δὲ συμβαλλεόμενος τοὺς μῆνας ἀπώμοσε, φὰς οὐκ ἑωυτοῦ εἶναι· τούτου δὴ ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ ῥήματος ὁ Λευτυχίδης, ἀπέφαινε τὸν Δημάρητον οὔτε ἐξ Ἀρίστωνος γεγονότα, οὔτε ἱκνευμένως βασιλεύοντα Σπάρτης, τοὺς ἐφόρους μάρτυρας παρεχόμενος κείνους οἳ τότε ἔτυχον πάρεδροί τε ἐόντες

66 καὶ ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα Ἀρίστωνος. Τέλος δὲ, ἐόντων περὶ αὐτῶν νεικέων· ἔδοξε Σπαρτιήτῃσι ἐπείρεσθαι τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι εἰ Ἀρίστωνος εἴη παῖς ὁ Δημάρητος; ἀνώστου[155] δὲ γενομένου ἐκ προνοίης τῆς Κλεομένεος ἐς τὴν Πυθίην, ἐνθαῦτα προσποιέεται Κλεομένης Κόβωνα τὸν Ἀριστοφάντου, ἄνδρα ἐν Δελφοῖσι δυναστεύοντα μέγιστον· ὁ δὲ Κόβων Περίαλλαν τὴν πρόμαντιν ἀναπείθει τὰ Κλεομένης ἐβούλετο λέγεσθαι λέγειν. οὕτω δὴ ἡ Πυθίη, ἐπειρωτώντων τῶν θεοπρόπων, ἔκρινε μὴ Ἀρίστωνος εἶναι Δημάρητον παῖδα. ὑστέρῳ μέντοι χρόνῳ ἀνάπυστα ἐγένετο ταῦτα, καὶ Κόβων τε ἔφυγε ἐκ Δελφῶν καὶ Περίαλλα ἡ πρόμαντις ἐπαύσθη τῆς τιμῆς.

who corrupts the Delphic oracle, succeeds to the place of Demaratus,

67 Κατὰ μὲν δὴ Δημαρήτου τὴν κατάπαυσιν τῆς βασιληίης οὕτω ἐγένετο. ἔφευγε δὲ Δημάρητος ἐκ Σπάρτης ἐς Μήδους ἐκ τοιοῦδε ὀνείδεος· μετὰ τῆς βασιληίης τὴν κατάπαυσιν ὁ Δημάρητος ἦρχε αἱρεθεὶς ἀρχήν. ἦσαν μὲν δὴ γυμνοπαιδίαι[a]. θεωμένου δὲ τοῦ Δημαρήτου, ὁ Λευτυχίδης γεγονὼς ἤδη αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς ἀντ' ἐκείνου, πέμψας τὸν θεράποντα, ἐπὶ γέλωτί τε καὶ λάσθῃ εἰρώτα τὸν Δημάρητον ὁκοῖόν τι εἴη τὸ ἄρχειν μετὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν; ὁ δὲ ἀλγήσας τῷ ἐπειρωτήματι εἶπε φὰς αὐτὸς μὲν ἀμφοτέρων ἤδη πεπειρῆσθαι, κεῖνον δὲ οὔ· τὴν μέντοι ἐπειρώτησιν ταύτην ἄρξειν Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἢ μυρίης κακότητος ἢ μυρίης εὐδαιμονίης. ταῦτα δὲ εἴπας καὶ κατακαλυψάμενος, ἤιε ἐκ τοῦ θεήτρου ἐς τὰ ἑωυτοῦ

who, being insulted by Leotychides,

[154] *κατόμνυται*, "protests upon oath against him,"—a proceeding probably necessary for the purpose of initiating an investigation of the matter.

[155] *ἀνώστου*. This rare form of the verbal is analogous to the aorist infinitive *ἀνῶσαι* which appears i. 157.

[a] *γυμνοπαιδίαι*. See note 286 on i. 82. The time of the year at which this festival took place was early in the month Hecatombæon; for the battle of Leuctra took place on the fifth day of that month, and the news of it reached Lacedæmon on the last day of the festival. XENOPHON, *Hellenica*, vi. 4. 16.

οἰκία· αὐτίκα δὲ παρασκευασάμενος ἔθυε τῷ Διὶ βοῦν, θύσας δὲ, τὴν μητέρα ἐκάλεσε. Ἀπικομένῃ δὲ τῇ μητρὶ ἐσθεὶς ἐς τὰς χεῖράς 68
οἱ[156] τῶν σπλάγχνων, κατικέτευε λέγων τοιάδε· "ὦ μῆτερ, θεῶν σε τῶν τε ἄλλων καταπτόμενος[157] ἱκετεύω καὶ τοῦ Ἑρκείου Διὸς τοῦδε[158] φράσαι μοι τὴν ἀληθηΐην, τίς μευ ἐστὶ πατὴρ ὀρθῷ λόγῳ; Λευτυχίδης μὲν γὰρ ἔφη ἐν τοῖσι νείκεσι λέγων, κυέουσάν σε ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου ἀνδρὸς οὕτω ἐλθεῖν παρὰ Ἀρίστωνα· οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸν ματαιότερον λόγον λέγοντες φασί σε ἐλθεῖν παρὰ τῶν οἰκετέων τὸν ὀνοφορβὸν, καὶ ἐμὲ εἶναι ἐκείνου παῖδα. ἐγὼ ὦν σε μετέρχομαι τῶν θεῶν εἰπεῖν τὸ ἀληθές· οὔτε γὰρ, εἴ περ πεποίηκάς τι τῶν λεγομένων, μούνη δὴ πεποίηκας μετὰ πολλέων δέ· ὅ τε λόγος πολλὸς ἐν Σπάρτῃ ὡς Ἀρίστωνι σπέρμα παιδοποιὸν οὐκ ἐνῆν· τεκεῖν γὰρ ἄν οἱ καὶ τὰς προτέρας γυναῖκας." Ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα ἔλεγε· 69
ἡ δὲ ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε· "ὦ παῖ, ἐπείτε με λιτῇσι μετέρχεαι εἰπεῖν τὴν ἀληθηΐην, πᾶν εἰς σὲ κατειρήσεται τἀληθές. ὥς με ἠγάγετο Ἀρίστων ἐς ἑωυτοῦ, νυκτὶ τρίτῃ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἦλθέ μοι φάσμα εἰδόμενον Ἀρίστωνι· συνευνηθὲν δὲ τοὺς στεφάνους οὓς εἶχε ἐμοὶ περιετίθει· καὶ τὸ μὲν οἰχώκεε, ἧκε δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀρίστων· ὡς δέ με εἶδε ἔχουσαν στεφάνους, εἰρώτα τίς εἴη ὅ μοι δούς; ἐγὼ δὲ ἐφάμην ἐκεῖνον· ὁ δὲ οὐκ ὑπεδέκετο· ἐγὼ δὲ κατωμνύμην φαμένη

after learning the particulars of his birth from his mother,

[156] *οἱ*. See note 318 on ii. 113, and note 534 on ii. 175.

[157] *καταπτόμενος*. The phrase *καταπτόμενος Ἑρκείου Διὸς* is to be explained on the principle that the tasting the flesh of the victim dedicated to the god was regarded as bringing the person so tasting it into a personal communication with him. The small portion of the flesh which was burnt, or the wine which was poured out, was considered to be consumed by the god himself ("Ante Larem *gustet* venerabilior Lare dives," HORACE (*Sat.* ii. 5. 14), and they who partook of the remainder were deemed to share the feast with him (*ὁμοτράπεζοι*). This feeling it was which produced so strong an objection in the early Christians to eat *εἰδωλόθυτα*. They were universally regarded by the gentiles as by the mere act becoming *κοινωνοὶ τῶν δαιμονίων*, and even of themselves very few could get rid of old habits of thought, and be aware, with ST. PAUL, that 'idols and offerings to idols' were things of nought. (See 1 *Cor.* x. 16—21.) Demaratus, by placing a portion of the victim in his mother's hands to taste, caused her also *καθάπτεσθαι τοῦ Ἑρκείου Διός*.

[158] *τοῦδε*, "this image here." The meal took place *in the presence* of the image of the family god.

"O noctes cœnæque Deûm, quibus ipse meique
Ante Larem proprium vescor, vernasque procaces
Pasco libatis epulis."
(HORACE, *Sat.* ii. 6. 66.)

In Ethiopia a practice was said to prevail which shows the origin of this kind of solemnity (iii. 24). The *Ζεὺς ἕρκειος*, or the *Lar*, was at the outset the deified common ancestor of the *ὁμοσίπυαι* or *ὁμόκαποι*. His altar at Athens was in the *Pandroseum*, a temple which belongs to the primitive times, antecedent to the *συνοικισμὸς* which is in mythical history ascribed to Theseus.

αὐτὸν οὐ καλῶς ποιέειν ἀπαρνεύμενον· ὀλίγον γάρ τι πρότερον ἐλθόντα καὶ συνευνηθέντα δοῦναί μοι τοὺς στεφάνους. ὁρέων δέ με κατομνυμένην ὁ Ἀρίστων, ἔμαθε ὡς θεῖον εἴη τὸ πρῆγμα. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οἱ στέφανοι ἐφάνησαν ἐόντες ἐκ τοῦ ἡρωΐου τοῦ παρὰ τῇσι θύρῃσι τῇσι αὐλείῃσι ἱδρυμένου· (τὸ καλέουσι Ἀστραβάκου[159].) τοῦτο δὲ οἱ μάντιες τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ἥρωα ἀναίρεον εἶναι. οὕτω δὴ, ὦ παῖ, ἔχεις πᾶν ὅσον τι καὶ βούλεαι πυθέσθαι· ἢ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἥρωος τούτου γέγονας καί τοι πατήρ ἐστι Ἀστράβακος ὁ ἥρως, ἢ Ἀρίστων· ἐν γάρ σε τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ ἀναιρέομαι. τῇ δέ σευ μάλιστα κατάπτονται οἱ ἐχθροὶ, λέγοντες ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀρίστων, ὅτε αὐτῷ σὺ ἠγγέλθης γεγεννημένος, πολλῶν ἀκουόντων οὐ φήσειέ σε ἑωυτοῦ εἶναι, (τὸν χρόνον γὰρ, τοὺς δέκα μῆνας, οὐδέ κω ἐξήκειν,) ἀϊδρηΐῃ τῶν τοιούτων κεῖνος τοῦτο ἀπέρριψε τὸ ἔπος· τίκτουσι γὰρ γυναῖκες καὶ ἐννεάμηνα καὶ ἑπτάμηνα, καὶ οὐ πᾶσαι δέκα μῆνας ἐκτελέσασαι· ἐγὼ δὲ σὲ, ὦ παῖ, ἑπτάμηνον ἔτεκον· ἔγνω δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀρίστων οὐ μετὰ πολλὸν χρόνον, ὡς ἀνοίῃ τὸ ἔπος ἐκβάλοι τοῦτο. λόγους δὲ ἄλλους περὶ γενέσιος τῆς σεωυτοῦ μὴ δέκεο· τὰ γὰρ ἀληθέστατα πάντα ἀκήκοας. ἐκ δὲ ὀνοφορβῶν αὐτῷ τε Λευτυχίδῃ καὶ τοῖσι ταῦτα λέγουσι τίκτοιεν αἱ γυναῖκες παῖδας."

70 Ἡ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἔλεγε· ὁ δὲ πυθόμενός τε τὰ ἐβούλετο καὶ ἐπόδια λαβὼν, ἐπορεύετο ἐς Ἦλιν[160] τῷ λόγῳ, φὰς ὡς ἐς Δελφοὺς χρησόμενος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ πορεύεται. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὑποτοπηθέντες Δημάρητον δρησμῷ ἐπιχειρέειν, ἐδίωκον· καί κως ἔφθη

flies to Elis, and from thence to the court of Darius.

[159] Ἀστραβάκου. The local traditions relative to Astrabacus connected him with the rites of the Tauric Artemis. He and his brother Alopecus were said to have found the sacred image brought by Orestes and his sister Iphigenia, and left, according to the Laconian legend, in the neighbourhood of Sparta. The sanctity of the fetish exhibited itself in the frenzy which seized upon them. (PAUSANIAS, iii. 16. 9.) As the ritual of *this* Artemis is undoubtedly of the ante-dorian times, it is reasonable to suppose that Astrabacus belongs to the same era. Hence the derivation of his name from ἀστράβη (any beast of burden, but especially an ass—ἀστραβηλάτης being interpreted as ὀνηλάτης), is a very plausible one. That the protecting genius of the stable should be called by a name derived from this animal is not wonderful when it is remembered that Arcadia was celebrated for its breed; and the Latin *Epona* in fact presents an exact parallel. The connexion of such a deity with orgiastic frenzy is a matter of extreme obscurity. Perhaps the most plausible conjecture is that which would identify him with the *Silenus*, who on ancient monuments is often represented as riding upon an ass in an excited state among a crowd of bacchanals. CREUZER's view, that the true form of Astrabacus is Astrobacus, and that the personage in question is a moonstruck astrologer (*Symbolik.* iii. pp. 638. 737), appears to me utterly worthless. Still the majority of the MSS here have the form Ἀστροβάκου, although Gaisford in adopting the other has the countenance of S and V.

[160] ἐς Ἦλιν. This must not be taken to mean Elis, *the town*, but the *country*, "the land of Elis." See note on viii. 73.

ἐς Ζάκυνθον διαβὰς [161] ὁ Δημάρητος ἐκ τῆς Ἤλιδος· ἐπιδιαβάντες δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, αὐτοῦ τε ἅπτοντο καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας αὐτὸν ἀπαιρέοντο· μετὰ δὲ, οὐ γὰρ ἐξεδίδοσαν αὐτὸν οἱ Ζακύνθιοι, ἐνθεῦτεν διαβαίνει ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην [162] παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον· ὁ δὲ ὑπεδέξατό τε αὐτὸν μεγαλωστὶ [163], καὶ γῆν τε καὶ πόλις ἔδωκε [164]. οὕτω ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην Δημάρητος [165] καὶ τοιαύτῃ χρησάμενος τύχῃ, ἄλλα τε Λακεδαιμονίοισι συχνὰ ἔργοισί τε καὶ γνώμῃσι ἀπολαμπρυνθεὶς, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Ὀλυμπιάδα [166] σφι ἀνελόμενος τεθρίππῳ προσέβαλε, μοῦνος τοῦτο πάντων δὴ τῶν γενομένων βασιλέων ἐν Σπάρτῃ ποιήσας.

Λευτυχίδης δὲ ὁ Μενάρεος, Δημαρήτου καταπαυσθέντος, διεδέξατο τὴν βασιληΐην· καί οἱ γίνεται παῖς Ζευξίδημος, τὸν δὴ Κυνίσκον μετεξέτεροι Σπαρτιητέων ἐκάλεον. οὗτος ὁ Ζευξίδημος οὐκ ἐβασίλευσε Σπάρτης· πρὸ Λευτυχίδεω γὰρ τελευτᾷ, λιπὼν παῖδα Ἀρχίδημον· Λευτυχίδης δὲ στερηθεὶς Ζευξιδήμου γαμέει δευτέρην γυναῖκα Εὐρυδάμην, ἐοῦσαν Μενίου μὲν ἀδελφεὴν Δια- 71 Family of Leotychides,

161 ἐς Ζάκυνθον διαβάς. The direct run from the Peloponnese to Zacynthus was from the headland Araxus, which is the northern boundary of "hollow Elis." (STRABO, viii. c. 2, p. 140.) To get round this into the Corinthian gulph, so as to reach Delphi by way of Cirrha, might be very difficult, and thus Demaratus would be furnished with an excuse for bearing up to Zacynthus. The most natural course for him to have taken to get to Delphi would have been through Arcadia to the Achæan seaboard; but this would have led him through the parts where his enemy Cleomenes was most popular.

162 ἐνθεῦτεν διαβαίνει ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. CTESIAS would seem to have represented him as not joining the Persian court until the expedition of Xerxes. (See *Photius*, quoted in note on vii. 37.) That passage is perhaps reconcileable with an earlier flight, by the supposition that, like Themistocles, he remained for some time on the coast of Asia; but it is decidedly opposed to the account of Herodotus, who makes him a resident at the court of Susa, and an adviser of Xerxes, long before the death of Darius. See vii. 3 and 239.

163 μεγαλωστί. The manuscripts S and V have μεγάλως.

164 γῆν τε καὶ πόλις ἔδωκε. In a similar way Artaxerxes bestowed upon Themistocles, when he took refuge under his empire, three cities, Magnesia, Lampsacus, and Myus. (THUCYDIDES, i. 137.) The position held by these chiefs was apparently the same as that designated in the parable. (*Luke* xix. 12—28.) They were, in the nomenclature of India, the *zemindars* of the localities over which they had authority. They collected the revenue, which was fixed at a certain proportion of the gross produce, of which the amount was *estimated* at an unvarying sum. Their income therefore would be the difference between these two. Themistocles netted from Magnesia no less than fifty talents. The cities granted to Demaratus seem to have been Teuthrania, Halisarna, and Pergamus; for these were in the hands of his descendants Eurysthenes and Procles at the time of Thimbron's expedition. (XENOPHON, *Hellenica*, iii. 1. 6.)

165 οὕτω ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην Δημάρητος. He reached Susa, according to Herodotus (vii. 3), not earlier than the fourth year after the battle of Marathon.

166 Ὀλυμπιάδα. Some MSS have Ὀλύμπια, which is the expression used in § 36, and one which S has in § 125. But all the MSS have Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀνελέσθαι in § 103, and νικᾶν Ὀλυμπιάδα in ix. 33. The word to be understood is νίκην.

and their fortunes.

κτορίδεω δὲ θυγατέρα· ἐκ τῆς οἱ ἔρσεν μὲν γίνεται οὐδὲν, θυγάτηρ
δὲ Λαμπιτώ· τὴν Ἀρχίδημος ὁ Ζευξιδήμου γαμέει, δόντος αὐτῷ
72 Λευτυχίδεω. Οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ Λευτυχίδης κατεγήρα ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἀλλὰ
τίσιν τοιήνδε τινὰ Δημαρήτῳ ἐξέτισε· ἐστρατήγησε Λακεδαι-
μονίοισι ἐς Θεσσαλίην[167], παρεὸν δέ οἱ ὑποχείρια πάντα ποιήσα-
σθαι ἐδωροδόκησε ἀργύριον πολύ· ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ δὲ ἁλοὺς αὐτοῦ
ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπικατήμενος χειρίδι πλέῃ ἀργυρίου, ἔφυγε ἐκ
Σπάρτης, ὑπὸ δικαστήριον ὑπαχθείς· καὶ τὰ οἰκία οἱ κατεσκάφη·
ἔφυγε δὲ ἐς Τεγέην[168], καὶ ἐτελεύτησε ἐν ταύτῃ. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ
ἐγένετο χρόνῳ ὕστερον.

Proceedings of Cleomenes at Ægina.

73 Τότε δὲ ὡς τῷ Κλεομένεϊ εὐωδώθη[169] τὸ ἐς τὸν Δημάρητον
πρῆγμα, αὐτίκα παραλαβὼν Λευτυχίδεα ἤιε ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγινήτας,
δεινόν τινά σφι ἔγκοτον διὰ τὸν προπηλακισμὸν ἔχων. οὕτω δὴ
οὔτε οἱ Αἰγινῆται, ἀμφοτέρων τῶν βασιλέων ἡκόντων ἐπ' αὐτούς,
ἐδικαίευν ἔτι ἀντιβαίνειν, ἐκεῖνοί τε ἐπιλεξάμενοι ἄνδρας δέκα
Αἰγινητέων τοὺς πλείστου ἀξίους καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ γένεϊ, ἦγον καὶ

167 ἐς Θεσσαλίην. This was an expedition undertaken against the *Aleuadæ*, the chiefs of that party which had endeavoured to bring about the interference of Persia. (PAUSANIAS, iii. 7, 8.) It is likely therefore that it took place at no long period of time after the success of the Hellenic confederates against the Persians. And this circumstance will perhaps help to explain the different statements by DIODORUS (xi. 48) and other authors as to the time of the *death* of Leotychides. Pausanias says that Archidamus, his grandson, succeeded to the regal power upon the *exile* of Leotychides. Diodorus apparently confuses this with his death, and accordingly puts this in 476 B.C. Concurring with other authorities in making Archidamus reign forty-two years, he puts his death in 434 B.C., consistently with his first mistake (xii. 35). But it is quite certain from THUCYDIDES (iii. 1. 26) that Archidamus was alive in 428 and dead in 427 B.C.; and it appears from PLUTARCH (*Cimon*, 16) that the year of the earthquake at Sparta and the revolt of the Helots (*i.e.* 464 B.C.) was the fourth year of his reign. But Leotychides came to the throne in 491 B.C. (see CLINTON on the year); and the positive statement of DIODORUS, that the reigns of Leotychides and Archidamus together amounted to sixty-four years, exactly agrees with the indirect evidence of Herodotus and Thucydides, which makes them spread over the interval between 491 and 427. The whole of these variations will be explained if we suppose that Leotychides lived in exile at Tegea from 476 to 469, and that during that interval Archidamus his grandson was *regent* at Sparta. This would place the expedition against the Aleuadæ about the year 477. And as in that year the Lacedæmonians lost their supremacy, it is not likely that any prominent part in punishing traitors to the cause of Hellas would be taken by *them* afterwards.

168 ἔφυγε δὲ ἐς Τεγέην. Leotychides took sanctuary, according to PAUSANIAS (see note 221 on i. 66), in the temple of Athene Alea, and died in Tegea. By his alliance with Cleomenes one may gather that he was favourable to the Achæan policy of that king; and hence perhaps the reason of his choosing Arcadia as his place of refuge. The recollection of the power wielded by Cleomenes under similar circumstances (§ 75 and note 172, below) possibly induced the Spartans to abstain from pressing him too hard, and made them still recognize him as king, although they made his grandson and son-in-law Archidamus regent. (See the last note.)

169 εὐωδώθη, "was put into good train." See note 362 on iv. 139.

ἄλλους καὶ δὴ καὶ Κριόν τε τὸν Πολυκρίτου καὶ Κάσαμβον τὸν Ἀριστοκράτεος, οἵπερ εἶχον μέγιστον κράτος· ἀγαγόντες δέ σφεας ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικήν, παραθήκην παρατίθενται ἐς τοὺς ἐχθίστους Αἰγινήτῃσι Ἀθηναίους. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, Κλεομένεα ἐπάϊστον 74
γενόμενον κακοτεχνήσαντα ἐς Δημάρητον δεῖμα ἔλαβε Σπαρτιητέων, καὶ ὑπεξέσχε [170] ἐς Θεσσαλίην· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Ἀρκαδίην, νεώτερα ἔπρησσε πρήγματα συνιστὰς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας [171] ἐπὶ τῇ Σπάρτῃ, ἄλλους τε ὅρκους προσάγων σφι, ἦ μὴν ἕψεσθαί σφεας αὐτῷ τῇ ἂν ἐξηγῆται [172], καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Νώνακριν πόλιν πρόθυμος ἦν τῶν Ἀρκάδων τοὺς προεστεῶτας ἀγινέων, ἐξορκοῦν τὸ Στυγὸς ὕδωρ [173]. [ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ πόλι λέγεται εἶναι

Subsequent fortunes of Cleomenes,

[170] ὑπεξέσχε. See note 186 on v. 72.

[171] συνιστὰς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας. This attempt to organize an alliance of the antedorian population of the Peloponnese against Sparta seems to be the final development of the general policy of Cleomenes. See the notes 189 on v. 72 and 200 on v. 75.

[172] ἦ μὴν ἕψεσθαί σφεας αὐτῷ τῇ ἂν ἐξηγῆται. These are the *terms* of the oath, for the maintenance of which, among other securities, Cleomenes was especially anxious to have that of the water of the Styx, sworn to by the leading chieftains of Arcadia. It should not be overlooked that the ὅρκος is not what is meant by the word "oath" in its modern acceptation. It is the sacred *symbol* which the person who swore touched in order to give a religious sanction to the promise or the assertion which he made—whatever that might be. Its representative in modern proceedings is the volume of the Old or New Testament, which is taken in the hand of the Jew or Christian, as the case may be, —or the china cup which a Malay breaks before he gives evidence. Hence ἐξορκοῦν τὸ Στυγὸς ὕδωρ is "to administer an oath by the water of Styx," which HESIOD (*Theog.* 784) calls θεῶν μέγαν ὅρκον.

The political significance of this procedure of Cleomenes was to get himself constituted *dictator* of the Arcadian townships, who, just like the Latin confederates by the fountain Ferentina, met through their chiefs by the fountain of Styx from the earliest times. It was a daring attempt to undo the effects of the Heraclide invasion and to convert Lacedæmon, as an Achæan state, into the most powerful member of an ancient confederacy, of which one of her kings should be constituted the chief. There were many elements in the Peloponnese favourable to the success of this scheme. The old population remained in considerable numbers in every part of the peninsula, and in the north was unmixed with any other. The Achæan League of nearly 400 years later showed how strong a hold their ancient associations still had upon the race to which Cleomenes made it his boast to belong (v. 72). Had he succeeded in his attempt the kingdom of Sparta must have fallen to pieces. The pure Spartans were a very small minority even of the free Lacedæmonians; while the whole of the periœcians were genuine Achæans. In Argos Cleomenes had already destroyed so many of the free citizens as to lead to a revolution, in which "the slaves," *i. e.* the old Achæan population, gained the upper hand and held their power for several years (below, § 83). In the Megarid the Achæan interest would be represented by the connexions of his protégé Isagoras (see notes 167 on v. 66 and 196 on v. 74), while of an important portion of Elis (the valley of the Alpheus and the mountains bounding it to the west), STRABO says: μεστή ἐστιν ἡ γῆ πᾶσα Ἀρτεμισίων τε καὶ Ἀφροδισίων καὶ Νυμφαίων, ἐν ἄλσεσιν ἀνθέων ὡς τὸ πολὺ, διὰ τὴν εὐυδρίαν· συχνὰ δὲ καὶ Ἑρμεῖα ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς, Ποσείδια δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀκταῖς·—in other words, it was full of traces of the elemental religious system of the Achæan race (viii. c. 3, p. 154).

[173] τὸ Στυγὸς ὕδωρ. LEAKE (*Travels in the Morea*, iii. pp. 165—9) says that the natives still retain some of the ancient superstitions relative to this famous water, which is a slender perennial stream falling

ὑπ' Ἀρκάδων τὸ Στυγὸς ὕδωρ[174].] καὶ δὴ καὶ ἔστι τοιόνδε τι· ὕδωρ ὀλίγον φαινόμενον ἐκ πέτρης στάζει ἐς ἄγκος· τὸ δὲ ἄγκος αἱμασιῆς τις περιθέει κύκλος. ἡ δὲ Νώνακρις, ἐν τῇ ἡ πηγὴ αὕτη

75 τυγχάνει ἐοῦσα, πόλις ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀρκαδίης πρὸς Φενεῷ. Μαθόντες δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Κλεομένεα ταῦτα πρήσσοντα, κατῆγον αὐτὸν δείσαντες[175] ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι ἐς Σπάρτην τοῖσι καὶ πρότερον ἦρχε. κατελθόντα δὲ αὐτὸν αὐτίκα ὑπέλαβε μανίη νοῦσος ἐόντα καὶ πρότερον ὑπομαργότερον· ὅκως γάρ τεῳ ἐντύχοι Σπαρτιητέων, ἐνέχραυε[176] ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον τὸ σκῆπτρον· ποιεῦντα δὲ αὐτὸν ταῦτα καὶ παραφρονήσαντα ἔδησαν οἱ προσήκοντες ἐν ξύλῳ· ὁ δὲ δεθεὶς τὸν φύλακον μουνωθέντα ἰδὼν τῶν ἄλλων αἴτεε μάχαιραν, οὐ βουλομένου δὲ τὰ πρῶτα τοῦ φυλάκου διδόναι, ἀπείλεε τά μιν αὖτις ποιήσειε· ἐς ὃ δείσας τὰς ἀπειλὰς ὁ φύλακος,—ἦν γὰρ τῶν τις εἱλωτέων,—διδοῖ οἱ μάχαιραν· Κλεομένης δὲ παραλαβὼν τὸν σίδηρον, ἄρχετο ἐκ τῶν κνημέων ἑωυτὸν λωβώμενος· ἐπιτάμνων γὰρ κατὰ μῆκος τὰς σάρκας προὔβαινε ἐκ τῶν κνημέων ἐς τοὺς μηρούς, ἐκ δὲ τῶν μηρῶν ἔς τε τὰ ἰσχία καὶ τὰς λαπάρας· ἐς ὃ ἐς τὴν γαστέρα ἀπίκετο, καὶ ταύτην καταχορδεύων ἀπέθανε τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ· ὡς μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσι Ἑλλήνων, ὅτι τὴν Πυθίην ἀνέγνωσε τὰ περὶ Δημάρητον γενόμενα λέγειν· ὡς δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι μοῦνοι λέγουσι, διότι ἐς Ἐλευσῖνα ἐσβαλὼν ἔκειρε τὸ τέμενος τῶν θεῶν· ὡς δὲ Ἀργεῖοι, ὅτι ἐξ ἱροῦ αὐτῶν τοῦ Ἄργου Ἀργείων τοὺς καταφυγόντας ἐκ τῆς μάχης καταγινέων κατέκοπτε, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἄλσος ἐν ἀλογίῃ ἔχων ἐνέπρησε.

who at last destroys himself in a fit of madness, which is variously accounted for.

76 Κλεομένεϊ γὰρ μαντευομένῳ ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐχρήσθη Ἄργος αἱρήσειν. ἐπεί τε δὲ Σπαρτιήτας ἄγων ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ ποταμὸν

Narrative of an expe-

over a very high precipice and entering the rock at the bottom, which part, from the nature of the ground, is inaccessible. They call it τὰ Μαυρο-νέρια (*the black waters*), and τὰ Δρακο-νέρια (*the terrible waters*), and say that no vessel will hold it. In the most improved shape which the fiction of the poisoning of Alexander by Aristotle took, this water was represented as the agent. See BLAKESLEY'S *Life of Aristotle*, pp. 91—3.

174 [ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ . . ὕδωρ.] This paragraph is omitted in F, and it can hardly have stood *together with* the paragraph which presently follows, ἡ δὲ Νώνακρις . . πρὸς Φενεῷ, although they may possibly both have proceeded from the hand of the author.

175 κατῆγον αὐτὸν δείσαντες. See note 194, below.

176 ἐνέχραυε, "he used to make a feint of thrusting." The form ἐπέχραον is used by APOLLONIUS RHODIUS (ii. 283): τάων ἀκροτάτῃσιν ἐπέχραον ἤλιθα χερσίν. The future χραύσῃ appears in the *Iliad*. v. 138, where the Scholiast explains it by ἀμύξῃ ἐπ' ὀλίγον and τὸν χρῶτα ἐπιξύσῃ. It is very characteristic that the lunacy of Cleomenes should have taken the turn of insult to that section of his countrymen whom his constant policy was to humble.

Ἐρασῖνον, ὃς λέγεται ῥέειν ἐκ τῆς Στυμφηλίης λίμνης· (τὴν γὰρ δὴ λίμνην ταύτην ἐς χάσμα ἀφανὲς ἐκδιδοῦσαν ἀναφαίνεσθαι ἐν Ἄργεϊ, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ ἤδη τοῦτο ὑπ' Ἀργείων Ἐρασῖνον καλέεσθαι·) ἀπικόμενος δ' ὦν ὁ Κλεομένης ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦτον ἐσφαγιάζετο αὐτῷ, καὶ οὐ γὰρ οὐδαμῶς ἐκαλλιέρεε διαβαίνειν μιν, ἄγασθαι μὲν ἔφη τοῦ Ἐρασίνου[177] οὐ προδιδόντος τοὺς πολιήτας, Ἀργείους μέντοι οὐδ' ὣς χαιρήσειν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐξαναχωρήσας, τὴν στρατιὴν κατήγαγε ἐς Θυρέην· σφαγιασάμενος δὲ τῇ θαλάσσῃ ταῦρον, πλοίοισί σφεας ἤγαγε ἔς τε τὴν Τιρυνθίην χώρην καὶ Ναυπλίην[178]. Ἀργεῖοι δ' ἐβοήθεον πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα ἐπὶ 77

dition of Cleomenes against Argos.

θάλασσαν· ὡς δὲ ἀγχοῦ μὲν ἐγίνοντο τῆς Τίρυνθος χώρῳ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κέεται Σήπεια οὔνομα, μεταίχμιον οὐ μέγα ἀπολιπόντες ἵζοντο ἀντίοι τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι τὴν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ μάχην οὐκ ἐφοβέοντο, ἀλλὰ μὴ δόλῳ αἱρεθέωσι· καὶ γὰρ δή σφι ἐς τοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα εἶχε τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐπίκοινα ἔχρησε ἡ Πυθίη[179] τούτοισί τε καὶ Μιλησίοισι, λέγον ὧδε·

Ἀλλ' ὅταν ἡ θήλεια τὸν ἄρσενα νικήσασα
ἐξελάσῃ, καὶ κῦδος ἐν Ἀργείοισιν ἄρηται[180],

[177] *ἄγασθαι μὲν ἔφη τοῦ Ἐρασίνου.* The contrast between the conduct of Cleomenes here, and his utter contempt of the hero Argus's fane (below, § 80), is no doubt partly to be accounted for by the circumstance that when he committed the sacrilege his blood was heated, and this would induce a man who was *ὑπομαργότερος* to do much in the way of outrage, from which, in his cooler moments, he would shrink. But it must not be forgotten that the Erasinus was exactly one of those streams to which the ante-dorian population most attached the notion of sanctity. It, like the Styx, entered the earth in Arcadia,—the home of the old religion,—and although it burst forth afresh in an enemy's country, it still was sacred in the eyes of Cleomenes's party, whose prejudices would have been shocked by a disregard of the omens which forbade it to be crossed. Nothing of this sort would offend them at Argos, which was mainly Cadmeo-dorian. The seat of government of the Atridæ was *Mycenæ*, the population of which were a thorn in the sides of the Argives until they destroyed the city in the year 468 B.C. See CLINTON on the year.

[178] *ἔς τε τὴν Τιρυνθίην χώρην καὶ Ναυπλίην.* This region would probably be full of an Achæan population. The two towns were both noted for their cyclopic walls; and like Mycenæ, although in the territory of Argos, were ill-affected to the Dorian interest. Hence Cleomenes might consider that he was going to land in a friendly country. It seems not unlikely that an understanding with their inhabitants, or a party among them, enabled him to secure the means of transport at Thyreæ, and that his success in this operation produced the fear in the minds of the Argives *μὴ δόλῳ αἱρεθέωσι.* The vessels were some of them Æginetan, pressed into the service (§ 92); probably merchant vessels lying at Thyreæ after delivering their cargoes.

[179] *τὸ ἐπίκοινα ἔχρησε ἡ Πυθίη.* See above, § 19.

[180] *ὅταν ἡ θήλεια τὸν ἄρσενα νικήσασα
ἐξελάσῃ, καὶ κῦδος ἐν Ἀργείοισιν
ἄρηται.*

These lines seem to refer to the success

πολλὰς Ἀργείων ἀμφιδρυφέας τότε θήσει·
ὥς ποτέ τις ἐρέει καὶ ἐπεσσομένων ἀνθρώπων,
δεινὸς ὄφις τριέλικτος ἀπώλετο[181] δουρὶ δαμασθείς.

Ταῦτα δὴ πάντα συνελθόντα[182] τοῖσι Ἀργείοισι φόβον παρεῖχε· καὶ δή σφι πρὸς ταῦτα ἔδοξε τῷ κήρυκι τῶν πολεμίων χρᾶσθαι· δόξαν δέ σφι, ἐποίευν τοιόνδε· ὅκως ὁ Σπαρτιήτης κῆρυξ προσημαίνοι τι Λακεδαιμονίοισι, ἐποίευν καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι τὠυτὸ τοῦτο.
78 Μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ποιεῦντας τοὺς Ἀργείους ὁκοῖόν τι ὁ σφέτερος κῆρυξ σημήνειε, παραγγέλλει σφι ὅταν σημήνῃ ὁ κῆρυξ ποιέεσθαι ἄριστον, τότε ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὅπλα χωρέειν ἐς τοὺς Ἀργείους. ταῦτα καὶ ἐγίνετο ἐπιτελέα ἐκ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. ἄριστον γὰρ ποιευμένοισι τοῖσι Ἀργείοισι ἐκ τοῦ κηρύγματος ἐπεκέατο· καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἐφόνευσαν αὐτῶν, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνας ἐς τὸ ἄλσος τοῦ Ἄργου καταφυγόντας περιϊζόμενοι ἐφύλασσον.
79 Ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ἐποίεε τοιόνδε· ἔχων αὐτομόλους ἄνδρας[183] καὶ πυνθανόμενος τούτων, ἐξεκάλεε πέμπων κήρυκα ὀνο-

of Cleomenes in obtaining the crown of Lacedæmon to the prejudice of his half-brother Dorieus (v. 42). If this was owing to the influence of his *mother's* family (the importance of which seems to be implied by their names being given, v. 41), the description of the transaction is not inappropriate. It has been already remarked, that it was in all probability *through his mother* that Cleomenes became the representative of the Achæan party among the population. (See note 100 on v. 41.) The "obtaining renown among the Argives" may have been the fruit of the wars of which the contest for Thyreæ was the beginning. When Aristagoras came to Sparta, these either had not ended, or at any rate not ended so long back as to prevent him from speaking of them as a thing of the time (see v. 49), and there is nothing in Herodotus's story of the burning of the grove to fix its chronology.

[181] δεινὸς ὄφις τριέλικτος ἀπώλετο. This expression must refer to the Argives, whose death is to make "many women tear their garments in sign of mourning;" but it is not easy to give a perfectly satisfactory explanation of the image employed. The symbol of the Argives of the time of the Œdipodean legend is in SOPHOCLES not the *serpent*, but the *eagle* which stoops upon it, the serpent being the emblem of Thebes (*Antigone*, 110—126). But if this story in the text be derived from Peloponnesian sources, it is not impossible that the δεινὸς ὄφις of the oracle is the *Cadmean* element of the Argive nation, which seems to have entered much more largely into its composition than it did into that of the Lacedæmonians, probably from the much greater communication in early times between Argos and Phœnicia. (See the genealogy of Theras, the brother of Argeia, in iv. 147, and the story of Io in i. 1.) It is quite clear from the sequel of the narrative (see note 188, below) that the great loss of Argos fell upon the ruling class, *i. e.* the Cadmeo-dorian element.

[182] ταῦτα πάντα συνελθόντα, "the coincidence of all these things," viz. the oracle to Cleomenes, 'that he should take Argos,' his former success against them after the expulsion of his rival brother, and their finding themselves occupying the position called Σήπεια, which they connected with σηπία—a word that appears in some parts of Peloponnese to have signified ὄφις, PAUSANIAS, viii. 16 — and with the δεινὸς ὄφις by which the oracle denoted themselves.

[183] ἔχων αὐτομόλους ἄνδρας. These would be not from the Argives shut up in the fane, but from the Achæan serfs, whose

μαστὶ λέγων τῶν Ἀργείων τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ἀπεργμένους· ἐξεκάλεε δὲ, φὰς αὐτῶν ἔχειν τὰ ἄποινα· ἄποινα δέ ἐστι Πελοποννησίοισι δύο μνέαι [184] τεταγμέναι κατ᾽ ἄνδρα αἰχμάλωτον ἐκτίνειν· κατὰ πεντήκοντα δὴ ὦν τῶν Ἀργείων, ὡς ἑκάστους ἐκκαλεύμενος, ὁ Κλεομένης ἔκτεινε· ταῦτα δέ κως γινόμενα ἐλελήθεε τοὺς λοιποὺς τοὺς ἐν τῷ τεμένεϊ· ἅτε γὰρ πυκνοῦ ἐόντος τοῦ ἄλσεος, οὐκ ὥρων οἱ ἐντὸς τοὺς ἐκτὸς ὅ τι ἔπρησσον, πρίν γε δὴ αὐτῶν τις ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ δένδρος κατεῖδε τὸ ποιεύμενον· οὔκων δὴ ἔτι καλεόμενοι ἐξήεσαν.

Ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ὁ Κλεομένης ἐκέλευε πάντα τινὰ τῶν εἱλωτέων περι- 80
νέειν ὕλῃ τὸ ἄλσος· τῶν δὲ πειθομένων, ἐνέπρησε τὸ ἄλσος· καιομένου δὲ ἤδη, ἐπείρετο τῶν τινα αὐτομόλων, τίνος εἴη θεῶν τὸ ἄλσος; ὁ δὲ ἔφη Ἄργου εἶναι· ὁ δὲ ὡς ἤκουσε, ἀναστενάξας μέγα εἶπε· "ὦ Ἄπολλον χρηστήριε, ἦ μεγάλως με ἠπάτηκας φάμενος Ἄργος αἱρήσειν· συμβάλλομαι [185] δ᾽ ἐξήκειν μοι τὸ χρηστήριον."

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ὁ Κλεομένης τὴν μὲν πλέω στρατιὴν ἀπῆκε 81
ἀπιέναι ἐς Σπάρτην· χιλίους δὲ αὐτὸς λαβὼν τοὺς ἀριστέας ἤιε ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον θύσων [186]. βουλόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν θύειν ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ὁ ἱρεὺς ἀπηγόρευε, φὰς οὐκ ὅσιον εἶναι ξείνῳ αὐτόθι θύειν· ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης τὸν ἱρέα ἐκέλευε τοὺς εἵλωτας ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἀπάγοντας μαστιγῶσαι· καὶ αὐτὸς ἔθυσε, ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἀπήιε ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην [187].

His violation of the sanctity of the Heræum.

Νοστήσαντα δέ μιν ὑπῆγον οἱ ἐχθροὶ ὑπὸ τοὺς 82

masters were among them, and who betrayed their names to the conqueror.

[184] *δύο μνέαι.* The same ransom was exacted by the Athenians for each of the Chalcidian *Hippobotæ* which they took (v. 77). It therefore may be considered as the ransom of a man-at-arms, not of an inferior soldier; and hence too it may be inferred that the Argives shut up in sanctuary were of the ruling class, *i. e.* Cadmeo-dorians.

[185] *συμβάλλομαι.* See note 322 on i. 91.

[186] *ἤιε ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον θύσων.* This temple was on the confines of the domains of Argos and Mycenæ, forty *stades* distant from the former and ten from the latter. (STRABO, viii. c. 6, p. 195.) Its proximity to the latter place indicates that its original foundation belonged to a time when Mycenæ was the seat of government,—and therefore that the fundamental character of the ritual was ante-dorian. Hence Cleomenes confidently sacrificed in it, as being of Achæan descent, and treated the priest who endeavoured to prevent him as if he were really the intruder. Hence too, when the temple was burnt down, the priestess took sanctuary in an Achæan fane at Tegea in Arcadia. See note 221 on i. 66. For a similar proceeding of Cleomenes with regard to the temples of ante-dorian deities, see note 188 on v. 72.

[187] *ἀπήιε ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην.* The local legends of Argos in after times represented him as having been repulsed from the city by Telesilla the poetess, who occupied the fortifications of the town with the domestic servants, and met the enemy in the field with a force consisting of the women accoutred in the armour which hung up in the temples. (PAUSANIAS, ii. 20. 9.) SOCRATES (*ap. Plutarch, De mul. virt.* p. 245) gives the same account in even a more exaggerated form. The other Spartan king, Demaratus, had succeeded in

On his return to Sparta he is accused of treachery, but successfully defends himself.

ἐφόρους, φάμενοί μιν δωροδοκήσαντα οὐκ ἑλέειν τὸ Ἄργος, παρεὸν εὐπετέως μιν ἑλεῖν· ὁ δέ σφι ἔλεξε, οὔτε εἰ ψευδόμενος οὔτε εἰ ἀληθέα λέγων ἔχω σαφηνέως εἶπαι· ἔλεξε δ' ὦν φάμενος ἐπεί τε δὴ τὸ τοῦ Ἄργου ἱρὸν εἷλε, δοκέειν οἱ ἐξεληλυθέναι τὸν χρησμὸν τοῦ θεοῦ· πρὸς ὦν ταῦτα οὐ δικαιοῦν πειρᾶν τῆς πόλιος, πρίν γε δὴ ἱροῖσι χρήσηται, καὶ μάθῃ εἴτε οἱ ὁ θεὸς παραδιδοῖ εἴτε οἱ ἐμποδὼν ἕστηκε· καλλιερευμένῳ δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἡραίῳ ἐκ τοῦ ἀγάλματος τῶν στηθέων φλόγα πυρὸς ἐκλάμψαι· μαθεῖν δὲ αὐτὸς οὕτω τὴν ἀτρεκηΐην, ὅτι οὐκ αἱρέει τὸ Ἄργος· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἐξέλαμψε, αἱρέειν ἂν κατ' ἄκρης. τὴν πόλιν· ἐκ τῶν δὲ στηθέων λάμψαντος, πᾶν οἱ πεποιῆσθαι ὅσον ὁ θεὸς ἐβούλετο γενέσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ λέγων, πιστά τε καὶ οἰκότα ἐδόκεε Σπαρτιήτῃσι λέγειν, καὶ ἀπέφυγε πολλὸν τοὺς διώκοντας.

83 Ἄργος δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐχηρώθη οὕτω, ὥστε οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτῶν[188] ἔσχον πάντα τὰ πρήγματα ἄρχοντές τε καὶ διέποντες, ἐς ὃ ἐπήβησαν οἱ τῶν ἀπολομένων παῖδες. ἔπειτά σφεας οὗτοι ἀνακτώμενοι ὀπίσω ἐς ἑωυτοὺς τὸ Ἄργος ἐξέβαλον· ἐξωθεύμενοι δὲ οἱ δοῦλοι μάχῃ ἔσχον Τίρυνθα[189]. τέως μὲν δή σφι ἦν ἄρθμια ἐς ἀλλήλους·

Utter prostration of the Argive power.

occupying a part of the city called *Pamphyliacum*, and was beaten out of it by the women.

[188] οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτῶν. The Achæan periœcians. See notes 172 on § 74, above, and 419 on i. 121. PLUTARCH (*De mul. virt.* p. 245), following the authority of Socrates, says of this transaction that the Argives, ἐπανορθούμενοι τὴν ὀλιγανδρίαν οὐχ, ὡς Ἡρόδοτος ἱστορεῖ, τοῖς δούλοις, ἀλλὰ τῶν περιοίκων ποιησάμενοι πολίτας τοὺς ἀρίστους συνῴκισαν τὰς γυναῖκας. He adds a curious feature, which is clearly a distortion of the fact, that a part of the revolution consisted in legitimatizing the marriages of the Dorian rulers with the Mycenean subjects, and ratifying the bond by the religious sanction of the *Mycenean Here*. The number of Argives slain by Cleomenes was so great that popular fables made it 7777. (PLUTARCH, l. c.) The Argives themselves put it at 6000 in their complaint to the Delphic oracle (vii. 148). It is no doubt this transaction to which ARISTOTLE alludes (*Politic.* v. p. 1303): καὶ ἐν Ἄργει, τῶν ἐν τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ἀπολομένων ὑπὸ Κλεομένους τοῦ Λάκωνος, ἠναγκάσθησαν παραδέξασθαι τῶν περιοίκων τινάς.

[189] μάχῃ ἔσχον Τίρυνθα. It is impossible to doubt that the blow struck by Cleomenes to the ruling class in Argos produced a disorganization of the existing constitution, and that the effects of this must have showed itself throughout the whole of the Argive dependencies by increasing the power of the Achæan race. Whether this showed itself in the form of a servile war, or of an enforced claim for the possession of extended civil rights in the several towns, it is impossible to say from the scanty accounts which the narrative in the text gives. The analogy of other ancient states would render it probable that the first effect of the victory of Cleomenes would be the replenishment of the ruling class by a large draft from the commons, and by the constituting new tribes, or new houses in existing tribes; and probably a preponderance of Achæan influence resulted, which in time produced a reaction. In such a view the attack of "the slaves" upon Tiryns might really be something analogous to the secession of the Roman *plebs* to the Mons Sacer.

ἔπειτα δὲ ἐς τοὺς δούλους ἦλθε ἀνὴρ μάντις Κλέανδρος, γένος ἐὼν Φιγαλεὺς ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίης[190]· οὗτος τοὺς δούλους ἀνέγνωσε ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖσι δεσπότῃσι· ἐκ τούτου δὲ πόλεμός σφι ἦν ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν, ἐς ὃ δὴ μόγις οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἐπεκράτησαν.

84 Ἀργεῖοι μέν νυν διὰ ταῦτα Κλεομένεά φασι μανέντα ἀπολέσθαι κακῶς· αὐτοὶ δὲ Σπαρτιῆταί φασι ἐκ δαιμονίου μὲν οὐδενὸς μανῆναι Κλεομένεα, Σκύθῃσι δὲ ὁμιλήσαντά μιν ἀκρητοπότην γενέσθαι καὶ ἐκ τούτου μανῆναι· Σκύθας γὰρ τοὺς νομάδας, ἐπεί τέ σφι Δαρεῖον ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν χώρην, μετὰ ταῦτα μεμονέναι μιν τίσασθαι· πέμψαντας δὲ ἐς Σπάρτην, συμμαχίην τε ποιέεσθαι καὶ συντίθεσθαι ὡς χρεὸν εἴη αὐτοὺς μὲν τοὺς Σκύθας παρὰ Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν[191] πειρᾶν ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐσβαλεῖν, σφέας δὲ τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας κελεύειν ἐξ Ἐφέσου ὁρμεωμένους ἀναβαίνειν, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐς τὠυτὸ ἀπαντᾶν. Κλεομένεα δὲ λέγουσι, ἡκόντων τῶν Σκυθέων ἐπὶ ταῦτα, ὁμιλέειν σφι μεζόνως, ὁμιλέοντα δὲ μᾶλλον τοῦ ἱκνευμένου μαθεῖν τὴν ἀκρητοποσίην παρ' αὐτῶν· ἐκ τούτου δὲ μανῆναί μιν νομίζουσι Σπαρτιῆται· ἔκ τε τόσου[192], ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἐπεὰν ζωρότερον βούλωνται πιέειν, "ἐπισκύθισον" λέγουσι. οὕτω δὴ Σπαρτιῆται τὰ περὶ Κλεομένεα λέγουσι. ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκέει τίσιν ταύτην ὁ Κλεομένης Δημαρήτῳ ἐκτῖσαι[193].

Spartan account of the cause of the madness of Cleomenes.

Herodotus gives his own view.

[190] γένος ἐὼν Φιγαλεὺς ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίης. A prophet from Phigalia would not improbably endeavour to carry out the policy which Cleomenes attempted, viz. to unite the populations which had descended from the old ante-dorian inhabitants, by the common bond of their religious associations; and to persuade them that the time had come for the recovery of the Achæan supremacy and the reduction of Dorian Argos to its former condition as a dependency on Achæan Mycenæ. There can be little doubt that in the war between Argos and Tiryns a part was taken by Mycenæ, and that its termination was effected by the utter destruction of that city by the Argives, which THUCYDIDES mentions to have taken place, without at all entering into the circumstances which led to it (i. 10).

[191] παρὰ Φᾶσιν ποταμόν. For the course which, under such circumstances, they would *be conceived to take*, see note 363 on i. 104. Such a route would be an impossibility for *nomads*, for it would involve a journey of nearly thirty days for a man in travelling trim (εὐζώνῳ) along the N.E. coast of the Black Sea, by mere mountain paths. But the story appears to be a mere fiction, without any historical foundation. See note 216 on iv. 77.

[192] ἔκ τε τόσου, "from so far back." The manuscripts S, V have ἐκ τοσούτου.

[193] ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκέει τίσιν ταύτην ὁ Κλεομένης Δημαρήτῳ ἐκτῖσαι. It may seem strange that Cleomenes's misfortune should be considered as a visitation inflicted especially in consequence of his treatment of Demaratus, — when the treachery and cruelty displayed in his conduct at Argos is to modern apprehensions so much more striking. But it should be remembered that in order to effect his purpose he had tampered with the *Pythian* priestess (§ 66); and although subsequently to his banishment for this he was again restored to all his regal rights, yet the offence must always have appeared of the gravest kind to Dorians, especially when it turned out to have been committed in the course of a scheme for humiliating the Dorian race throughout Peloponnesus. When this

85 Spartan proceedings relative to Ægina after the death of Cleomenes.

Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Κλεομένεος, ὡς ἐπύθοντο Αἰγινῆται, ἔπεμπον ἐς Σπάρτην ἀγγέλους καταβωσομένους Λευτυχίδεω περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι ὁμήρων ἐχομένων. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ δικαστήριον συναγαγόντες, ἔγνωσαν περιϋβρίσθαι Αἰγινήτας[194] ὑπὸ Λευτυχίδεω· καί μιν κατέκριναν ἔκδοτον ἄγεσθαι ἐς Αἴγιναν ἀντὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι ἐχομένων ἀνδρῶν. μελλόντων δὲ ἄγειν τῶν Αἰγινητέων τὸν Λευτυχίδεα, εἶπέ σφι Θεασίδης ὁ Λεωπρέπεος, ἐὼν ἐν Σπάρτῃ δόκιμος ἀνήρ· "τί βούλεσθε ποιέειν, ἄνδρες Αἰγινῆται, τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἔκδοτον γενόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολιητέων ἄγειν; εἰ νῦν ὀργῇ χρεώμενοι ἔγνωσαν οὕτω Σπαρτιῆται, ὅκως ἐξ ὑστέρης[195] μή τι ὑμῖν, ἢν ταῦτα πρήσσητε, πανώλεθρον κακὸν ἐς τὴν χώρην ἐσβάλωσι[196]." ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Αἰγινῆται ἔσχοντο τῆς ἀγωγῆς· ὁμολογίῃ δὲ ἐχρήσαντο τοιῇδε, ἐπισπόμενον Λευτυχίδεα ἐς Ἀθήνας, ἀποδοῦναι Αἰγινήτῃσι τοὺς ἄνδρας.

86 Anecdote of a judgment on one *Glaucus* for breach of faith.

Ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενος Λευτυχίδης ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπαίτεε τὴν παραθήκην, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι προφάσιας εἷλκον οὐ βουλόμενοι ἀποδοῦναι, φάντες δύο σφέας ἐόντας βασιλέας παραθέσθαι, καὶ οὐ δικαιοῦν τῷ ἑτέρῳ ἄνευ τοῦ ἑτέρου ἀποδιδόναι. οὐ φαμένων δὲ ἀποδώσειν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἔλεξέ σφι Λευτυχίδης τάδε· "ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ποιέετε μὲν ὁκότερα

scheme was entirely shipwrecked by Cleomenes's insanity and death, it is only natural to suppose that the opposing party recovered much of the influence they had lost. And the whole narrative of Cleomenes bears many traces of being derived from some person attached to that party. Hence the commendation of Cleomenes's half-brother Dorieus as τῶν ἡλίκων πάντων πρῶτος and εὖ ἐπιστάμενος κατ' ἀνδραγαθίην αὐτὸς σχήσων τὴν βασιληίην. Yet as a Laconian the narrator has no sympathy for the Argive prisoners who were destroyed, or for the violation of the sacred precincts at Eleusis and Argos, although as a Dorian he speaks of the Argive perioecians as the *slaves* of the ruling class. All these characteristics fit in very well with the situation and hereditary sympathies of Archias of Pitane, of whom Herodotus makes mention in iii. 55.

194 ἔγνωσαν περιϋβρίσθαι Αἰγινήτας. No explanation is given of this sudden change in the policy of Sparta. Perhaps it may be found in the circumstance that Gorgo, the daughter and heiress of Cleomenes, was married to her uncle Leonidas (vii. 239). He was a son of Anaxandrides by his *first* wife (v. 43). This marriage therefore may be regarded as an union of the Dorian and Achæan interests in the royal house of the Eurysthenides. Leonidas would have had a right to Gorgo as her nearest kinsman; but the alliance perhaps became the more welcome to her Achæan connexions, from Cleomenes having clearly shown, during his banishment in Arcadia, that his views were not confined to the elevation of the Spartan Achæans, but extended to the supremacy of the Achæan race in the Peloponnese,—at the expense of Sparta if necessary.

195 ἐξ ὑστέρης. See note 382 on i. 108.

196 ἐσβάλωσι. Gaisford prints this on the authority of some MSS. The others vary between ἐμβάλωσι and ἐκβάλωσι, either of which would seem at least as good as ἐσβάλωσι. But there is no criterion of their relative probability. If ἐκβάλωσι be used, there must be implied a reference to the *expulsion* of Leotychides *from Sparta*.

βούλεσθε αὐτοί· καὶ γὰρ ἀποδιδόντες ποιέετε ὅσια, καὶ μὴ ἀποδιδόντες τὰ ἐναντία τούτων· ὁκοῖον μέντοι τι ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ συνηνείχθη γενέσθαι περὶ παραθήκης, βούλομαι ὑμῖν εἶπαι. λέγομεν ἡμεῖς οἱ Σπαρτιῆται, γενέσθαι ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι κατὰ τρίτην γενεὴν τὴν ἀπ' ἐμέο[197] Γλαῦκον Ἐπικύδεος παῖδα· τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα φαμὲν τά τε ἄλλα πάντα περιήκειν τὰ πρῶτα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀκούειν ἄριστα δικαιοσύνης πέρι[198] πάντων ὅσοι τὴν Λακεδαίμονα τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον οἴκεον· συνενειχθῆναι δέ οἱ ἐν χρόνῳ ἱκνευμένῳ τάδε λέγομεν· ἄνδρα Μιλήσιον ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σπάρτην βούλεσθαι οἱ ἐλθεῖν ἐς λόγους, προϊσχόμενον τοιάδε· εἰμὶ μὲν Μιλήσιος, ἥκω δὲ τῆς σῆς, Γλαῦκε, βουλόμενος δικαιοσύνης ἀπολαῦσαι· ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα, ἐν δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἰωνίην, τῆς σῆς δικαιοσύνης ἦν λόγος πολλὸς, ἐμεωυτῷ λόγους ἐδίδουν, καὶ ὅτι ἐπικίνδυνός ἐστι αἰεί κοτε ἡ Ἰωνίη ἡ δὲ Πελοπόννησος ἀσφαλέως ἱδρυμένη, καὶ διότι χρήματα οὐδαμὰ τοὺς αὐτούς ἐστι ὁρᾶν ἔχοντας· ταῦτά τε ὦν ἐπιλεγομένῳ καὶ βουλευομένῳ ἔδοξέ μοι τὰ ἡμίσεα πάσης τῆς οὐσίης ἐξαργυρώσαντα θέσθαι παρὰ σὲ, εὖ ἐξεπισταμένῳ ὥς μοι κείμενα ἔσται παρὰ σοὶ σόα· σὺ δή μοι καὶ τὰ χρήματα δέξαι καὶ τάδε τὰ σύμβολα σῶζε λαβών· ὃς δ' ἂν ἔχων ταῦτα ἀπαιτέῃ, τούτῳ ἀποδοῦναι· ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀπὸ Μιλήτου ἥκων ξεῖνος τοσαῦτα ἔλεξε· Γλαῦκος δὲ ἐδέξατο τὴν παραθήκην ἐπὶ τῷ εἰρημένῳ λόγῳ· χρόνου δὲ πολλοῦ διελθόντος, ἦλθον ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην τούτου τοῦ παραθεμένου τὰ χρήματα οἱ παῖδες· ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐς λόγους τῷ Γλαύκῳ καὶ ἀποδεικνύντες τὰ σύμβολα, ἀπαίτεον τὰ χρήματα· ὁ δὲ διωθέετο ἀντυποκρινόμενος τοιάδε· οὔτε μέμνημαι τὸ πρῆγμα, οὔτε με περιφέρει οὐδὲν εἰδέναι τούτων τῶν ὑμεῖς λέγετε[199], βούλομαί τε ἀναμνησθεὶς ποιέειν πᾶν τὸ δίκαιον· καὶ

[197] τὴν ἀπ' ἐμέο. See note 95 on iii. 34.

[198] τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα φαμὲν τά τε ἄλλα πάντα περιήκειν τὰ πρῶτα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀκούειν ἄριστα δικαιοσύνης πέρι. Of this man our account is, that beside all other qualities of the first kind which attached to him, he had the highest reputation for justice. Περιήκειν is nearly the same in sense as περιβάλλειν. A similar expression occurs below, vii. 16: τά σε καὶ ἀμφότερα περιήκοντα κακῶν ἀνδρῶν ὁμιλίαι σφάλλουσι, "both of which qualities (*viz.* sagacity and readiness to follow good counsels) belong to you, but the influence of evil associates foils them [in their operation]."

[199] οὔτε με περιφέρει οὐδὲν εἰδέναι τούτων τῶν ὑμεῖς λέγετε, "nor does any thing lead me indirectly to a knowledge about the matters you mention," *i.e.* I have no clue, in following which I may come in a roundabout way to know about the matter. This is the exact description of the mental process in *recollection*. Τούτων is governed by περὶ understood, and οὐδὲν is the nominative to περιφέρει.

γὰρ εἰ ἔλαβον, ὀρθῶς ἀποδοῦναι· καὶ εἴ γε ἀρχὴν μὴ ἔλαβον, νόμοισι τοῖσι Ἑλλήνων χρήσομαι ἐς ὑμέας· ταῦτα ὦν ὑμῖν ἀναβάλλομαι κυρώσειν ἐς τέταρτον μῆνα ἀπὸ τοῦδε. οἱ μὲν δὴ Μιλήσιοι συμφορὴν ποιεύμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο, ὡς ἀπεστερημένοι τῶν χρημάτων· Γλαῦκος δὲ ἐπορεύετο ἐς Δελφοὺς χρησόμενος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ· ἐπειρωτῶντα δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ χρηστήριον εἰ ὅρκῳ τὰ χρήματα ληΐσεται; ἡ Πυθίη μετέρχεται τοῖσδε τοῖσι ἔπεσι·

Γλαῦκ' Ἐπικυδείδη, τὸ μὲν αὐτίκα κέρδιον οὕτω
ὅρκῳ νικῆσαι, καὶ χρήματα ληΐσσασθαι.
ὄμνυ· ἐπεὶ θάνατός γε καὶ εὔορκον μένει ἄνδρα.
ἀλλ' Ὅρκου πάϊς ἐστὶν ἀνώνυμος· οὐδ' ἔπι χεῖρες,
οὐδὲ πόδες· κραιπνὸς δὲ μετέρχεται, εἰσόκε πᾶσαν
συμμάρψας ὀλέσει γενεήν, καὶ οἶκον ἅπαντα.
ἀνδρὸς δ' εὐόρκου γενεὴ μετόπισθεν ἀμείνων.

ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Γλαῦκος συγγνώμην τὸν θεὸν παραιτέετο αὐτῷ ἴσχειν τῶν ῥηθέντων· ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ἔφη, τὸ πειρηθῆναι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι ἶσον δύνασθαι. Γλαῦκος μὲν δὴ μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς Μιλησίους ξείνους, ἀποδιδοῖ σφι τὰ χρήματα. τοῦ δὲ εἵνεκα ὁ λόγος ὅδε, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὡρμήθη λέγεσθαι ἐς ὑμέας, εἰρήσεται· Γλαύκου νῦν οὔτε τι ἀπόγονόν ἐστι οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἱστίη οὐδεμία νομιζομένη εἶναι Γλαύκου· ἐκτέτριπταί τε πρόρριζος ἐκ Σπάρτης[a]. οὕτω ἀγαθὸν μηδὲ διανοέεσθαι περὶ παραθήκης ἄλλο γε, ἢ ἀπαιτεόντων ἀποδιδόναι." Λευτυχίδης μὲν εἴπας ταῦτα, ὥς οἱ οὐδὲ οὕτω ἐσήκουον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀπαλλάσσετο.

87 Οἱ δὲ Αἰγινῆται[200], πρὶν τῶν πρότερον ἀδικημάτων δοῦναι δίκας τῶν ἐς Ἀθηναίους ὕβρισαν Θηβαίοισι χαριζόμενοι, ἐποίησαν τοιόνδε· μεμφόμενοι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ ἀξιοῦντες ἀδικέεσθαι, ὡς τιμωρησόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους παρεσκευάζοντο· καὶ ἦν γὰρ δὴ

Story resumed of the feud between *Athens* and *Ægina.*

[a] *πρόρριζος ἐκ Σπάρτης.* JUVENAL has reproduced this story,—not very aptly as regards the subject he is illustrating:

"Spartano cuidam respondit Pythia vates:
Haud impunitum quondam fore, quod dubitaret
Depositum retinere, et fraudem jure tueri
Jurando: quærebat enim, quæ numinis esset
Mens, et an hoc illi facinus suaderet Apollo?
Reddidit ergo metu, non moribus; et tamen omnem
Vocem adyti dignam templo veramque probavit,
Extinctus totâ pariter cum prole domoque
Et quamvis longâ deductis gente propinquis."
Sat. xiii. 199—210.

[200] *οἱ δὲ Αἰγινῆται.* The history of the feud between Athens and Ægina is resumed from v. 89.

τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι πεντετηρὶς[201] ἐπὶ Σουνίῳ, λοχήσαντες ὦν τὴν
θεωρίδα νῆα εἷλον πλήρεα ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων Ἀθηναίων· λα-
βόντες δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἔδησαν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ παθόντες ταῦτα 88
πρὸς Αἰγινητέων, οὐκέτι ἀνεβάλλοντο μὴ οὐ τὸ πᾶν μηχανήσασθαι
ἐπ᾽ Αἰγινήτῃσι· καὶ ἦν γὰρ Νικόδρομος Κνοίθου καλεόμενος ἐν τῇ
Αἰγίνῃ ἀνὴρ δόκιμος, οὗτος μεμφόμενος μὲν τοῖσι Αἰγινήτῃσι προ-
τέρην ἑωυτοῦ ἐξέλασιν ἐκ τῆς νήσου, μαθὼν δὲ τότε τοὺς Ἀθηναί-
ους ἀναρτημένους ἔρδειν Αἰγινήτας κακῶς, συντίθεται Ἀθηναίοισι
προδοσίην Αἰγίνης, φράσας ἐν τῇ τε ἡμέρῃ ἐπιχειρήσει, καὶ ἐκείνους
ἐς τὴν ἥκειν δεήσει βοηθέοντας· μετὰ ταῦτα, καταλαμβάνει μὲν
κατὰ τὰ συνεθήκατο[202] ὁ Νικόδρομος Ἀθηναίοισι τὴν παλαιὴν
καλεομένην πόλιν· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὐ παραγίνονται ἐς δέον· οὐ γὰρ 89
ἔτυχον ἐοῦσαι νέες σφι ἀξιόμαχοι τῇσι Αἰγινητέων συμβαλέειν· ἐν
ᾧ ὦν Κορινθίων ἐδέοντο χρῆσαί σφι νέας, ἐν τούτῳ διεφθάρη τὰ
πρήγματα[203]. οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι, ἦσαν γάρ σφι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον
φίλοι ἐς τὰ μάλιστα[204], Ἀθηναίοισι διδοῦσι δεομένοισι εἴκοσι νέας,
διδοῦσι δὲ πενταδράχμους ἀποδόμενοι· δωτίνην γὰρ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ οὐκ
ἐξῆν δοῦναι· ταύτας τε δὴ λαβόντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τὰς σφετέ-
ρας[205], πληρώσαντες ἑβδομήκοντα νέας τὰς ἁπάσας, ἔπλεον ἐπὶ
τὴν Αἴγιναν· καὶ ὑστέρισαν ἡμέρῃ μιῇ τῆς συγκειμένης. Νικό- 90
δρομος δὲ, ὡς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς τὸν καιρὸν οὐ παρεγίνοντο, ἐς πλοῖον
ἐσβὰς ἐκδιδρήσκει ἐκ τῆς Αἰγίνης· σὺν δέ οἱ καὶ ἄλλοι ἐκ τῶν
Αἰγινητέων ἕσποντο· τοῖσι Ἀθηναῖοι Σούνιον οἰκῆσαι ἔδοσαν·
ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ οὗτοι ὁρμεώμενοι ἔφερόν τε καὶ ἦγον τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ
Αἰγινήτας· ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὕστερον ἐγίνετο. Αἰγινητέων δὲ οἱ παχέες, 91
ἐπαναστάντος τοῦ δήμου σφι ἅμα Νικοδρόμῳ, ἐπεκράτησαν· καὶ
ἔπειτά σφεας χειρωσάμενοι, ἐξῆγον ἀπολέοντες. ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ
καὶ ἄγος σφι ἐγένετο τὸ ἐκθύσασθαι οὐκ οἷοί τε ἐγίνοντο ἐπι-

[201] *πεντετηρίς.* This is the reading of S and V. Gaisford, with the majority of MSS, has *πεντήρης*, which would mean "a galley with five banks of oars." The meaning of the text is "a festival held every fifth year."

[202] *κατὰ τὰ συνεθήκατο.* See note 211 on iv. 76.

[203] *διεφθάρη τὰ πρήγματα*, "their game was ruined." See § 13: *κατεφαίνετό σφι εἶναι ἀδύνατα τὰ βασιλέος πρήγματα ὑπερβαλέσθαι.*

[204] *ἦσαν γάρ σφι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον φίλοι ἐς τὰ μάλιστα.* This friendship may have originated in the conduct of the Corinthians recorded in v. 93, they having put a decisive bar to the scheme of the Lacedæmonians for restoring the Pisistratids.

[205] *καὶ τὰς σφετέρας.* These therefore must have been fifty in number; for the reason of which see SMITH's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, sub voce *ναυκραρία.*

μηχανώμενοι· ἀλλ' ἔφθησαν ἐκπεσόντες πρότερον ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἤ σφι ἵλεων γενέσθαι τὴν θεόν· ἑπτακοσίους γὰρ δὴ τοῦ δήμου ζωγρήσαντες, ἐξῆγον ὡς ἀπολέοντες· εἷς δέ τις τούτων ἐκφυγὼν τὰ δεσμὰ καταφεύγει πρὸς πρόθυρα Δήμητρος θεσμοφόρου· ἐπιλαμβανόμενος δὲ τῶν ἐπισπαστήρων εἴχετο· οἱ δὲ, ἐπεί τέ μιν ἀποσπάσαι οὐκ οἷοί τε ἀπέλκοντες ἐγίνοντο, ἀποκόψαντες αὐτοῦ τὰς χεῖρας ἦγον οὕτω· χεῖρες δὲ κεῖναι ἐμπεφυκυῖαι ἦσαν τοῖσι
92 ἐπισπαστῆρσι. Ταῦτα μέν νυν σφέας αὐτοὺς οἱ Αἰγινῆται ἐργάσαντο· Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ ἥκουσι ἐναυμάχησαν νηυσὶ ἑβδομήκοντα· ἑσσωθέντες δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ἐπεκαλέοντο τούτους αὐτοὺς τοὺς καὶ πρότερον [206], Ἀργείους· καὶ δή σφι οὗτοι μὲν οὐκέτι βοηθέουσι [207], μεμφόμενοι ὅτι Αἰγιναῖαι νέες ἀνάγκῃ λαμφθεῖσαι ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος ἔσχον τε ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα χώρην καὶ συναπέβησαν Λακεδαιμονίοισι. συναπέβησαν δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ Σικυωνίων νεῶν ἄνδρες [208] τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ ἐσβολῇ. καί σφι ὑπ' Ἀργείων ἐπεβλήθη ζημίη, χίλια τάλαντα ἐκτίσαι, πεντακόσια ἑκατέρους. Σικυώνιοι μέν νυν συγγνόντες ἀδικῆσαι, ὡμολόγησαν, ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἐκτίσαντες, ἀζήμιοι εἶναι· Αἰγινῆται δὲ οὔτε συνεγινώσκοντο ἦσάν τε αὐθαδέστεροι. διὰ δὴ ὦν σφι ταῦτα δεομένοισι ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ δημοσίου οὐδεὶς Ἀργείων ἔτι ἐβοήθεε, ἐθελονταὶ δὲ ἐς χιλίους [209]. ἦγε δὲ αὐτοὺς στρατηγὸς ἀνὴρ ᾧ οὔνομα Εὐρυβάτης, πεντάεθλον ἐπασκήσας. τούτων οἱ πλεῦνες οὐκ ἀπενόστησαν ὀπίσω, ἀλλ' ἐτελεύτησαν ὑπ'

[206] τοὺς καὶ πρότερον. The Argives, according to their own and the Æginetan account, had contributed to the destruction of the Athenians recorded in v. 85—87.

[207] οὗτοι μὲν οὐκέτι βοηθέουσι. The severe blow which had been struck by Cleomenes to the ruling class probably much crippled them, independently of the soreness which they would have felt at the service rendered by Æginetan vessels in the transport of the Lacedæmonian army. But besides this, the population of Argos had been much altered. See note 188, above.

[208] ἀπὸ Σικυωνίων νεῶν ἄνδρες. These appear to have been volunteers who joined in Cleomenes's expedition. If belonging to the commercial population of Sicyon, which was exalted in influence by the policy of the Orthagorid dynasty (see note 169 on v. 67), they would inherit a hatred of the ruling class of Argos, and be not unwilling to lend themselves to the policy of Cleomenes.

[209] ἐθελονταὶ δὲ ἐς χιλίους. Perhaps these may be regarded as mercenaries taken into the service of the Æginetæ. It seems impossible to frame any connected notion of the operations in this contest, of which the important feature in the mind of the narrator appears to be the personal prowess of the two individuals whom he names. But the succession of contests, first between the Argives and Lacedæmonians, and, after the blow struck by Cleomenes, between the ruling class and the serfs, could hardly fail to collect bands of *condottieri* ready to take service any where if good pay were offered;—and this it would certainly be in the power of a rich mercantile state to do. The skill of Eurybates certainly bespeaks a *professional soldier*.

Ἀθηναίων ἐν Αἰγίνῃ· αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς Εὐρυβάτης, μουνομαχίην ἐπασκέων, τρεῖς μὲν ἄνδρας τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ κτείνει, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ τετάρτου Σωφάνεος τοῦ Δεκελέος ἀποθνήσκει. Αἰγινῆται δὲ 93
ἐοῦσι ἀτάκτοισι Ἀθηναίοισι συμβαλόντες τῇσι νηυσὶ ἐνίκησαν· καί σφεων νέας τέσσερας αὐτοῖσι ἀνδράσι εἷλον.

Ἀθηναίοισι μὲν δὴ πόλεμος συνῆπτο πρὸς Αἰγινήτας. ὁ δὲ 94
Πέρσης τὸ ἑωυτοῦ ἐποίεε, ὥστε ἀναμιμνήσκοντός τε αἰεὶ τοῦ θεράποντος[210] μεμνῆσθαί μιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ Πεισιστρατιδέων προσκατημένων καὶ διαβαλλόντων Ἀθηναίους, ἅμα δὲ βουλόμενος ὁ Δαρεῖος, ταύτης ἐχόμενος τῆς προφάσιος, καταστρέφεσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος τοὺς μὴ δόντας αὐτῷ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ[211]. Μαρδόνιον μὲν δὴ φλαύρως πρήξαντα τῷ στόλῳ παραλύει τῆς στρατηγίης· ἄλλους δὲ στρατηγοὺς ἀποδέξας ἀπέστειλε ἐπί τε Ἐρέτριαν καὶ Ἀθήνας, Δᾶτίν τε ἐόντα Μῆδον γένος, καὶ Ἀρταφέρνεα τὸν Ἀρταφέρνεος[212] παῖδα ἀδελφιδέον ἑωυτοῦ· ἐντειλάμενος δὲ ἀπέπεμπε ἐξανδραποδίσαντας Ἀθήνας καὶ Ἐρέτριαν, ἄγειν ἑωυτῷ ἐς ὄψιν τὰ ἀνδράποδα[213]. Ὡς δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὗτοι οἱ ἀποδεχθέντες, πορευό- 95
μενοι παρὰ βασιλέος ἀπίκοντο τῆς Κιλικίης ἐς τὸ Ἀλήϊον πεδίον[214]

Continuation of the story of the Persian invasion.

Expedition of *Datis* and *Artaphernes.*

210 ἀναμιμνήσκοντός τε αἰεὶ τοῦ θεράποντος. See v. 105.

211 τοὺς μὴ δόντας αὐτῷ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. See above, § 48.

212 Ἀρταφέρνεα τὸν Ἀρταφέρνεος. The manuscripts P, K, V, F have Ἀρταφρένεα τοῦ Ἀρταφρένεος. See note 63 on v. 25.

213 ἄγειν ἑωυτῷ ἐς ὄψιν τὰ ἀνδράποδα. There is a harshness about this commission which contrasts strongly with the mildness of the policy related in §§ 42, 43, and also with the treatment of the captive Eretrians when brought to Darius (§ 119). It would seem as if the failure of Mardonius had given greater weight to the party who advocated a stern policy in the treatment of the conquered nations. (See notes 74 on § 32, and 103 on § 43.) That the expedition of Datis and Artaphernes was distinguished by great severity is plain from the sufferings of Naxos. (See notes 216 on vi. 96, and 77 on v. 31.) But the attributing the severity of the commission to personal irritation of Darius against the Athenians, stimulated by the charges of the Pisistratids, is, it can hardly be doubted, a piece of later Athenian colouring, and from the same mint as the story introduced by Plato into the funeral oration (*Menexenus*, § 10), that Datis was sent with orders to bring the Eretrians and Athenians into the presence of Darius, if he wished to keep his own head on his shoulders. Compare *Legg.* iii. § 15.

214 τὸ Ἀλήϊον πεδίον. For Ἀλήϊον the manuscript S has Ἀλώϊον, and P, Ἀλήνιον. These are perhaps all genuine readings,—at least, not derived from one another by any error of transcription, but representing the views of Alexandrine grammarians as to the proper form of the word. The root of this is perhaps really *Al* or *Hal* (see note 243 on i. 72), and the name may be derived from the accessibility of the place to vessels from the sea. In the *Iliad*, after the usual manner of the Greeks to find etymologies for every name in their own tongue, it is made the scene of the *wanderings* (ἄλη) of Bellerophon, who,

—— κἀππεδίον τὸ Ἀλήϊον οἶος ἀλᾶτο
ὃν θυμὸν κατέδων, πάτον ἀνθρώπων ἀλεείνων (vi. 201).

ἅμα ἀγόμενοι πεζὸν στρατὸν πολλόν τε καὶ εὖ ἐσκευασμένον, ἐνθαῦτα στρατοπεδευομένοισι ἐπῆλθε μὲν ὁ ναυτικὸς πᾶς στρατὸς ὁ ἐπιταχθεὶς ἑκάστοισι· παρεγένοντο δὲ καὶ αἱ ἱππαγωγοὶ νέες, τὰς τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτεϊ προεῖπε τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ δασμοφόροισι Δαρεῖος ἑτοιμάζειν. ἐσβαλόμενοι δὲ τοὺς ἵππους ἐς ταύτας καὶ τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν ἐσβιβάσαντες ἐς τὰς νέας, ἔπλεον ἑξακοσίῃσι τριήρεσι ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἤπειρον εἶχον τὰς νέας ἰθὺ τοῦ τε Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ τῆς Θρηΐκης· ἀλλ' ἐκ Σάμου ὁρμεώμενοι, παρά τε Ἰκάριον καὶ διὰ νήσων τὸν πλόον ἐποιεῦντο, ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκέει[215], δείσαντες μάλιστα τὸν περίπλοον τοῦ Ἄθω, ὅτι τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτεϊ ποιεύμενοι ταύτῃ τὴν κομιδὴν μεγάλως προσέπταισαν· πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἡ Νάξος σφέας ἠνάγκαζε, πρότερον οὐκ ἁλοῦσα.

96 Ἐπεὶ δέ, ἐκ τοῦ Ἰκαρίου πελάγεος προσφερόμενοι προσέμιξαν τῇ Νάξῳ, (ἐπὶ ταύτην γὰρ δὴ πρώτην ἐπεῖχον στρατεύεσθαι οἱ Πέρσαι, μεμνημένοι τῶν πρότερον[216],) οἱ Νάξιοι πρὸς τὰ οὔρεα οἴχοντο φεύγοντες, οὐδὲ ὑπέμειναν· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἀνδραποδισάμενοι τοὺς κατέλαβον αὐτῶν, ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὰ ἱρὰ καὶ τὴν πόλιν· ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες[217], ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας νήσους ἀνάγοντο.

Capture of *Naxos* and the other islands,

97 Ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι ταῦτα ἐποίευν, οἱ Δήλιοι, ἐκλιπόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν Δῆλον, οἴχοντο φεύγοντες ἐς Τῆνον· τῆς δὲ στρατιῆς καταπλεούσης, ὁ Δᾶτις προπλώσας οὐκ ἔα τὰς νέας πρὸς τὴν νῆσον προσορμίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πέρην ἐν τῇ Ῥηνέῃ[218]· αὐτὸς δὲ πυθόμενος ἵνα ἦσαν οἱ Δήλιοι, πέμπων κήρυκα ἠγόρευέ σφι τάδε· "ἄνδρες ἱροί, τί φεύγοντες οἴχεσθε οὐκ ἐπιτηδέα καταγνόντες κατ' ἐμεῦ; ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτό γε φρονέω, καί μοι ἐκ βασιλέος ὧδε ἐπέσταλται, ἐν ᾗ χώρῃ οἱ δύο θεοὶ[219] ἐγένοντο ταύτην μηδὲν

with the exception of *Delos*, to which Datis pays the highest respect.

[215] δοκέει. Gaisford has δοκέειν. The MSS are divided.

[216] μεμνημένοι τῶν πρότερον. They appear to have remembered the powerful resistance made by the Naxians (v. 34) when they had notice of the armament coming against them, and therefore determined to surprise them this time. The manuscripts S and V have τῶν προτέρων, which is perhaps the preferable reading,—if it were supported by an equal weight of authority.

[217] ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες. For some idea of the amount of the mischief comprised in this brief notice see note 77 on v. 31.

[218] ἀλλὰ πέρην ἐν τῇ Ῥηνέῃ. The word ἔσχε or some equivalent is to be supplied, gathered by inference from οὐκ ἔα προσορμίζεσθαι. See note 190 on i. 59.

[219] οἱ δύο θεοί. The *Median* Datis recognized in the Phœbus and Phœbe of Delos the Mithras and Mitra of the Magian religion. Hecatus and Hecate were the names under which the same deities were worshipped over all the Asiatic coast in the neighbourhood of Lesbos and Tenedos. (See note 506 on i. 151.) The Phœnicians, who doubtless formed a part of the fleet, would have had no re-

σίνεσθαι, μήτε αὐτὴν τὴν χώρην μήτε τοὺς οἰκήτορας αὐτῆς. νῦν ὦν καὶ ἄπιτε ἐπὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν νῆσον νέμεσθε." ταῦτα μὲν ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο τοῖσι Δηλίοισι· μετὰ δὲ, λιβανωτοῦ τριηκόσια τάλαντα κατανήσας ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἐθυμίησε. Δᾶτις 98
μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ποιήσας ἔπλεε ἅμα τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐρέτριαν πρῶτα, ἅμα ἀγόμενος καὶ Ἴωνας καὶ Αἰολέας[220]. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἐνθεῦτεν ἐξαναχθέντα, Δῆλος ἐκινήθη, ὡς ἔλεγον οἱ Δήλιοι, καὶ πρῶτα καὶ ὕστατα [μέχρι ἐμεῦ σεισθεῖσα[221]]· καὶ τοῦτο μέν κου τέρας ἀνθρώποισι τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι κακῶν[222] ἔφηνε ὁ θεός· ἐπὶ γὰρ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπεος καὶ Ξέρξεω τοῦ Δαρείου καὶ Ἀρταξέρξεω τοῦ Ξέρξεω[223], τριῶν τουτέων ἐπεξῆς γενεέων, ἐγένετο πλέω κακὰ τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἢ ἐπὶ εἴκοσι ἄλλας γενεὰς τὰς πρὸ Δαρείου γενομένας· τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν Περσέων αὐτῇ γενόμενα, τὰ δὲ ἀπ'

The armament sails for *Eretria*.

An earthquake at Delos preludes the miseries suffered during the reigns of Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes.

spect for this *combination* of deities; and hence Datis sailed on by himself, and kept them at Rhenea. *They* would have respected *Mitra* in her character of Aphrodite Urania; but in this she would have not been coupled with a male deity, but have been more analogous to the Arcadian Artemis, or the Sardian Cybebe. (See note 297 on v. 102.) For another instance of Datis's reverence for the Delian Apollo, see § 118.

220 ἅμα ἀγόμενος καὶ Ἴωνας καὶ Αἰολέας. The effect of the conciliatory and temperate policy of Darius (§§ 42, 43) had doubtless been to render the Hellenic cities on the main again available for supplying a subsidiary force, just as they had been to Cyrus and Cambyses. (See ii. 1; iii. 1.)

221 [μέχρι ἐμεῦ σεισθεῖσα]. The MSS vary in this passage in such a way as to induce the belief that the variations have all arisen out of the desire of explaining the fact that Herodotus limited the assertion of the Delians to his own experience, —which of course from the nature of the case he necessarily did. M and K have μέχρι ἐμεῦ σεισθεῖσα, which Gaisford adopts. One manuscript (F) has ἐμεῦ σεισθεῖσα without μέχρι. One (P) has μέχρι ἐμέο μηδέποτε σεισθεῖσα, and several τὰ μέχρι (or μέχρις) ἐμέο οὐ σεισθεῖσα.

A great deal of trouble has been occasioned to the commentators by the circumstance of Thucydides (ii. 8) having stated that Delos was stirred by an earthquake just before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war, adding πρότερον οὔπω σεισθεῖσα ἀφ' οὗ Ἕλληνες μέμνηνται. There is no doubt that his statement and that of Herodotus are at direct issue with each other; but it will be observed that Herodotus grounds his merely upon the assertions of the Delians; and the only inference to be drawn from the discrepancy is, that Thucydides, if he heard, did not credit the story of the first earthquake, and that Herodotus either wrote *this passage* before the second occurred (see last note on vii. 137), or at some place where he did not hear of it,—which if he were in Italy would not be wonderful. For a proof of the futility of basing historical conclusions on such statements as these, see note 32 on iii. 10.

222 μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι κακῶν. In the view of the victorious Greeks after the battles of Salamis and Platæa, the destruction of Athens and of the other towns in Europe devastated in the expedition of Xerxes appeared the prominent features of Hellenic suffering. But from the account of Herodotus himself it is very plain that the destruction of Miletus, Phocæa, Naxos, and other Hellenic states in the islands and on the Asiatic main, must have produced a far greater amount of calamity.

223 καὶ Ἀρταξέρξεω τοῦ Ξέρξεω. It has been argued that because Herodotus names the three Persian sovereigns together, and at the same time speaks of three generations, Artaxerxes must have been dead; and consequently that this passage could not have been written before B.C. 425. See the following note.

αὐτῶν τῶν κορυφαίων περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς πολεμεόντων. οὕτω οὐδὲν ἦν ἀεικὲς κινηθῆναι Δῆλον τὸ πρὶν ἐοῦσαν ἀκίνητον· καὶ ἐν χρησμῷ ἦν γεγραμμένον περὶ αὐτῆς ὧδε·

Κινήσω καὶ Δῆλον, ἀκίνητόν περ ἐοῦσαν[224].

δύναται δὲ κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ταῦτα τὰ οὐνόματα, Δαρεῖος ἐρξίης, Ξέρξης ἀρήϊος, Ἀρταξέρξης μέγας ἀρήϊος[225]· τούτους μὲν δὴ τοὺς βασιλέας ὧδε ἂν ὀρθῶς κατὰ γλῶσσαν τὴν σφετέρην Ἕλληνες καλέοιεν.

99 Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ὡς ἀπῆραν ἐκ τῆς Δήλου προσίσχον πρὸς τὰς νήσους[226]· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ στρατιήν τε παρελάμβανον καὶ ὁμήρους τῶν νησιωτέων παῖδας ἐλάμβανον· ὡς δὲ περιπλέοντες τὰς νήσους προσέσχον καὶ ἐς Κάρυστον[227], (οὐ γὰρ δή σφι οἱ Καρύστιοι οὔτε

The armament arrives at *Carystus*, which at first resists,

[224] καὶ ἐν χρησμῷ ἦν γεγραμμένον . . . ἀκίνητόν περ ἐοῦσαν. These words are omitted in the manuscripts M, F, K. But they exist in the rest; and they can hardly be considered as an interpolation, although perhaps neither they nor indeed the greater part of the section may have existed in the first draught of the work. (See note 231 on § 101.)

[225] Ἀρταξέρξης μέγας ἀρήϊος. If, as seems to follow from this passage, the root *Art* has the significance of μέγα, the conjecture of CREUZER, that the word Ἄρτεμις is a derivative of *Arta*, gains some plausibility; as the signification of the word would in that case be ἡ μεγάλη, or even ἡ μεγάλη μήτηρ, and it is in this character that the Artemis worship prevailed from Ephesus throughout Phrygia and Cappadocia.

[226] πρὸς τὰς νήσους. These are doubtless the Cyclades, which were dependent upon Naxos, and were likely to yield at once when the metropolis fell. (See v. 31.) The Persians do not seem to have landed their cavalry until their arrival in Eubœa. It should not be overlooked that in this expedition Datis exactly followed the plan of operations sketched out some years before by Aristagoras in his conference with the elder Artaphernes.

[227] ἐς Κάρυστον. This city, which was situated on the roots of Mount Ocha, derived its wealth mainly from exporting the marble from the quarries in its vicinity, the fine polish of which made the expression Καρύστιαι κίονες proverbial. (STRABO, x. c. 1, p. 322.) The marble is that which in Italy is called *cipolino*, which was much used by the wealthy Romans of the time of the empire, as is evinced by the number of columns of it still remaining. In resisting the summons of the Persians, the Carystians perhaps depended upon the danger of their rockbound neighbourhood, which is at this day considered the most dangerous navigation of the whole Ægean. The present population are wreckers of the very worst description; and although the bay appears to be protected from the Etesian winds (exposed as it is to every other), the appearance is a fallacious one. HAWKINS was nearly lost there, and describes the circumstance as follows: "We appeared to be so completely sheltered from the *Meltem* (Etesian) wind then blowing by the ridge of Mount Ocha, and there was so little chance at that season (September 12) of a wind from any other quarter, that I felt no apprehension of danger. What then could exceed my surprise and consternation when the whole fury of the Meltem poured down upon us from the ridge above,—its force having been concentrated, as I conceive, by the hollow form of the coast on the opposite side of the island? I had often experienced the effect of very violent gusts of wind in sailing along a mountainous coast; but this was a continued blast for the space of thirty hours, which would have tried the strength of the stoutest cable." (*ap. Walpole's Turkey*, ii. p. 287.)

ὁμήρους ἐδίδοσαν οὔτε ἔφασαν ἐπὶ πόλις ἀστυγείτονας στρατεύ-
εσθαι, λέγοντες Ἐρέτριάν τε καὶ Ἀθήνας,) ἐνθαῦτα τούτους ἐπολι-
όρκεόν τε καὶ τὴν γῆν σφέων ἔκειρον, ἐς ὃ καὶ οἱ Καρύστιοι παρ-
έστησαν ἐς τῶν Περσέων τὴν γνώμην. Ἐρετριέες δὲ πυνθανόμενοι 100
τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν Περσικὴν ἐπὶ σφέας ἐπιπλέουσαν, Ἀθηναίων
ἐδεήθησαν σφίσι βοηθοὺς γενέσθαι· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὐκ ἀπείπαντο
τὴν ἐπικουρίην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους κληρουχέοντας τῶν
ἱπποβοτέων Χαλκιδέων τὴν χώρην, τούτους σφι διδοῦσι τιμωρούς·
τῶν δὲ Ἐρετριέων ἦν ἄρα οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς βούλευμα· οἳ μετεπέμποντο
μὲν Ἀθηναίους, ἐφρόνεον δὲ διφασίας ἰδέας· οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν
ἐβουλεύοντο ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Εὐβοίης[228],
ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτῶν[229] ἴδια κέρδεα προσδεκόμενοι παρὰ τοῦ Πέρσεω
οἴσεσθαι, προδοσίην ἐσκευάζοντο· μαθὼν δὲ τούτων ἑκάτερα ὡς
εἶχε Αἰσχίνης ὁ Νόθωνος, ἐὼν τῶν Ἐρετριέων τὰ πρῶτα, φράζει
τοῖσι ἥκουσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων πάντα τὰ παρεόντα σφι πρήγματα·
προσεδέετό τε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαί σφεας ἐς τὴν σφετέρην ἵνα μὴ
προσαπόλωνται· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτα Αἰσχίνῃ συμβουλεύσαντι
πείθονται· καὶ οὗτοι μὲν διαβάντες ἐς Ὠρωπὸν ἔσωζον σφέας
αὐτούς. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πλέοντες κατέσχον τὰς νέας τῆς Ἐρετρικῆς 101
χώρης κατὰ Ταμύνας καὶ Χοιρέας καὶ Αἰγίλια· κατασχόντες δὲ
ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, αὐτίκα ἵππους τε ἐξεβάλλοντο[230], καὶ παρεσκευ-

but afterwards submits.

The *Eretrians* send to Athens for aid.

The armament arrives at Eretria, and after

[228] ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Εὐβοίης, "into the mountain tops of Euboea." Valcknaer, from a description of the coast given by DIO CHRYSOSTOM under the person of a shipwrecked mariner, who gets ashore with great difficulty by running πρὸς τὰ κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίας, which he describes as ἄγρια καὶ σκληρὰ τῆς νήσου τὰ πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος, forms the strange opinion that the τὰ ἄκρα spoken of here are pretty nearly the same as the τὰ κοῖλα of viii. 13; and that the object of the Eretrians was to seek a refuge on a part of the coast inaccessible, or difficult of access, to the ships of the Persians. But a coast may very well be a rocky and rough one, and extremely dangerous to land on, although the height of the cliffs may be very small. The summits on which the Eretrians proposed to take refuge were no doubt those of the mountains, of which *Derphys*, in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, is nearly inaccessible from its steepness.

[229] ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτῶν. That there was a party in Eretria strongly inclined towards the Pisistratid faction is plain from the fact of that town serving as the base of Pisistratus's operations against Athens during his second exile. (See i. 62, and the note 199 on v. 74.) XENOPHON speaks of the Æolian towns *Myrina* and *Grynium*, as given by the king of the Persians to one Goggylus, ὅτι μόνος Ἐρετριέων μηδίσας ἔφυγεν. (*Hellenica*, iii. 1. 6.) Gorgion, the brother of Goggylus, had the town Gambrium in the same vicinity, and the two joined Thimbron in his expedition. As this was eighty years after the battle of Marathon, we must suppose the Goggylus of Xenophon either to have played the traitor at a much later time than the one of which Herodotus is speaking, or to have been the grandson of the original grantee.

[230] αὐτίκα ἵππους τε ἐξεβάλλοντο. The cavalry was a powerful arm both at Eretria and its neighbour Chalcis. (See the passage of ARISTOTLE quoted in the note

six days burns the town and carries off the inhabitants.

άζοντο ὡς προσοισόμενοι τοῖσι ἐχθροῖσι· οἱ δὲ Ἐρετριέες ἐπεξελθεῖν μὲν καὶ μάχεσθαι οὐκ ἐποιεῦντο βουλήν· εἴ κως δὲ διαφυλάξαιεν τὰ τείχεα, τούτου σφι ἔμελε πέρι, ἐπεί τε ἐνίκα μὴ ᾽κλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν· προσβολῆς δὲ γινομένης καρτερῆς πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος, ἔπιπτον ἐπὶ ἓξ ἡμέρας πολλοὶ μὲν ἀμφοτέρων· τῇ δὲ ἑβδόμῃ Εὔφορβός τε ὁ Ἀλκιμάχου καὶ Φίλαγρος ὁ Κυνέου, ἄνδρες τῶν ἀστῶν δόκιμοι, προδιδοῦσι τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι· οἱ δὲ ἐσελθόντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν, τοῦτο μὲν τὰ ἱρὰ συλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν ἀποτιννύμενοι τῶν ἐν Σάρδισι κατακαυθέντων ἱρῶν, τοῦτο δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἠνδραποδίσαντο[231] κατὰ τὰς Δαρείου ἐντολάς.

102 Χειρωσάμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἐρέτριαν καὶ ἐπισχόντες ὀλίγας ἡμέρας, ἔπλεον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν, κατέργοντές[232] τε πολλόν, καὶ δοκέοντες ταὐτὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ποιήσειν τὰ καὶ τοὺς Ἐρετριέας ἐποίησαν· καὶ ἦν γὰρ ὁ Μαραθὼν ἐπιτηδεώτατον χωρίον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐνιππεῦσαι καὶ ἀγχοτάτω τῆς Ἐρετρίης, ἐς τοῦτό σφι κατηγέετο Ἱππίης[233] ὁ Πεισιστράτεω.

Under the guidance of *Hippias*, the Persians then land at *Marathon*, where the Athenians

103 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὡς ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα,

206 on v. 77.) There was therefore reason for landing the horses. The resources of Eretria in its palmy days, which must have been about this time, are evinced from the circumstance that on a column in the temple of Artemis at Amarynthus (a village about a mile from the town) STRABO (x. c. 1, p. 325) found an inscription stating that the festival of the goddess had been attended by a procession of 3000 hoplites, 600 knights, and 60 chariots. Andros, Tenos, Ceos, and other islands, independently of the settlements on the Macedonian shore, were among the dependencies of the town. Yet at Salamis the surviving Eretrians could only muster seven galleys (viii. 46), and at Platæa only 600 hoplites, including the contingent from their neighbouring dependency Styra (ix. 28).

[231] *τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἠνδραποδίσαντο.* STRABO seems to have read a different text here from that which the present MSS give. His words are *τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀρχαίαν πόλιν κατέσκαψαν* Πέρσαι, *σαγηνεύσαντες ὥς φησιν* Ἡρόδοτος *τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῷ πλήθει, περιχυθέντων τῶν βαρβάρων τῷ τείχει* (x. cap. 1, p. 324). Undoubtedly there was a tradition that this operation had been carried into effect in the case of the Eretrians, for PLATO (*Legg.* iii. § 14) mentions that Datis *τινὰ λόγον εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν ἀφῆκε φοβερὸν, ὡς οὐδεὶς* Ἐρετριέων *αὐτὸν ἐκπεφευγὼς εἴη· συνάψαντες γὰρ τὰς χεῖρας σαγηνεύσαιεν πᾶσαν τὴν* Ἐρετρικὴν *οἱ στρατιῶται τοῦ* Δάτιδος. The MSS in the time of Strabo may have varied here, as the present MSS vary in iii. 149. That the destruction or capture of the Eretrians was nearly complete, appears from the circumstances mentioned in the last note; but that Datis's boast was not strictly true is insinuated by Plato himself.

[232] *κατέργοντες.* The manuscripts S, V, P have *κατεργάζοντες.* The passage appears to me corrupt, but I can suggest no plausible correction.

[233] *ἐς τοῦτό σφι κατηγέετο* Ἱππίης. It was by this point that Pisistratus entered Attica after his second exile; and independently of the circumstances mentioned in the text, and the good omen which the former success furnished, it seems not improbable that Hippias expected a demonstration to be made by his partizans in Attica similar to that which took place on the former occasion. (See i. 62, 63, and the notes.) But the new arrangements which resulted from Clisthenes's constitution (v. 66), had done much to break up the old associations, and the Athenian force was able to meet the invaders on the coast without immediate fear of an attack in the rear. (See note 176 on v. 69.)

ἐβοήθεον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα· ἦγον δέ σφεας στρατηγοὶ δέκα, τῶν ὁ δέκατος ἦν Μιλτιάδης[234]· τοῦ τὸν πατέρα Κίμωνα τὸν Στησαγόρεω κατέλαβε φυγεῖν ἐξ Ἀθηνέων Πεισίστρατον τὸν Ἱπποκράτεος· καὶ αὐτῷ φεύγοντι ὀλυμπιάδα ἀνελέσθαι τεθρίππῳ συνέβη, καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν νίκην ἀνελόμενόν μιν τὠυτὸ ἐξενείκασθαι τῷ ὁμομητρίῳ ἀδελφεῷ Μιλτιάδῃ· μετὰ δέ, τῇ ὑστέρῃ ὀλυμπιάδι τῇσι αὐτῇσι ἵπποισι νικῶν παραδιδοῖ Πεισιστράτῳ ἀνακηρυχθῆναι, καὶ τὴν νίκην παρεὶς τούτῳ κατῆλθε ἐπὶ τὰ ἑωυτοῦ ὑπόσπονδος· καί μιν ἀνελόμενον τῇσι αὐτῇσι ἵπποισι ἄλλην ὀλυμπιάδα κατέλαβε ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν Πεισιστράτου παίδων, οὐκέτι περιεόντος αὐτοῦ Πεισιστράτου· κτείνουσι δὲ οὗτοί μιν κατὰ τὸ πρυτανήϊον, νυκτὸς ὑπείσαντες ἄνδρας. τέθαπται δὲ Κίμων πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος, πέρην τῆς διὰ Κοίλης καλεομένης ὁδοῦ[235]· καταντίον δ' αὐτοῦ αἱ ἵπποι τεθάφαται αὗται αἱ τρεῖς ὀλυμπιάδας ἀνελόμεναι. ἐποίησαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι ἵπποι ἤδη τὠυτὸ τοῦτο, Εὐαγόρεω Λάκωνος· πλέω δὲ τουτέων, οὐδαμαί. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρεσβύτερος τῶν παίδων τῷ Κίμωνι Στησαγόρης ἦν τηνικαῦτα παρὰ τῷ πάτρῳ Μιλτιάδῃ τρεφόμενος ἐν τῇ Χερσονήσῳ· ὁ δὲ νεώτερος παρ' αὐτῷ Κίμωνι ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι, τοὔνομα ἔχων ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκιστέω τῆς Χερσονήσου Μιλτιάδεω· [Μιλτιάδης[236]]. Οὗτος δὴ ὢν τότε 104
ὁ Μιλτιάδης, ἥκων ἐκ τῆς Χερσονήσου καὶ ἐκπεφευγὼς διπλόον θάνατον, ἐστρατήγεε Ἀθηναίων. ἅμα μὲν γὰρ οἱ Φοίνικες αὐτὸν οἱ ἐπιδιώξαντες μέχρι Ἴμβρου περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποιεῦντο λαβεῖν τε καὶ ἀναγαγεῖν παρὰ βασιλέα, ἅμα δὲ ἐκφυγόντα τε τούτους καὶ ἀπικόμενον ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ, δοκέοντά τε εἶναι ἐν σωτηρίῃ, ἤδη τὸ ἐνθεῦτέν μιν οἱ ἐχθροὶ[237] ὑποδεξάμενοι καὶ ὑπὸ δικαστήριον αὐτὸν ἀγαγόντες, ἐδίωξαν τυραννίδος τῆς ἐν Χερσονήσῳ· ἀποφυγὼν δὲ καὶ τούτους στρατηγὸς οὕτω Ἀθηναίων ἀπεδέχθη[238], αἱρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου.

under Miltiades meet them.

[234] τῶν ὁ δέκατος ἦν Μιλτιάδης. The account of this family is resumed from §§ 34—43 of this book.

[235] πέρην τῆς διὰ Κοίλης καλεομένης ὁδοῦ. From this point the author seems to get into the full stream of Athenian local traditions. The story of Cimon is apparently connected with his tomb; that of Phidippides (§ 105) with the shrine of Pan. See note 52 on i. 13.

[236] [Μιλτιάδης]. I have enclosed this word between brackets because, if not spurious, it seems at any rate not in its proper place.

[237] οἱ ἐχθροί. These were doubtless the Alcmæonids. See note 263 on § 115, below.

[238] στρατηγὸς οὕτω Ἀθηναίων ἀπεδείχθη, "was *thereupon* made general of the Athenians,"—as if something connected with the trial led to the distinction. See note 315 on § 140, below. Compare ὥρμιζε οὕτως, § 107, and ST. JOHN (*Evang.* iv. 6): ὁ οὖν Ἰησοῦς κεκοπιακὼς ἐκ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας ἐκαθέζετο οὕτως (as he reached it) ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ.

105 *Phidippides, a courier, is sent to beg aid from Sparta. The god Pan appears to him on his way, and promises aid.*

Καὶ πρῶτα μέν, ἐόντες ἔτι ἐν τῷ ἄστεϊ, οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀποπέμπουσι ἐς Σπάρτην κήρυκα Φειδιππίδην, Ἀθηναῖον μὲν ἄνδρα ἄλλως δὲ ἡμεροδρόμον τε καὶ τοῦτο μελετῶντα· τῷ δή, ὡς αὐτός τε ἔλεγε Φειδιππίδης καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ἀπήγγελλε[239], περὶ τὸ Παρθένιον οὖρος τὸ ὑπὲρ Τεγέης ὁ Πὰν περιπίπτει· βώσαντα δὲ τὸ οὔνομα τοῦ Φειδιππίδεω τὸν Πᾶνα, Ἀθηναίοισι κελεῦσαι ἀπαγγεῖλαι διότι ἑωυτοῦ οὐδεμίαν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῦνται ἐόντος εὔνου Ἀθηναίοισι, καὶ πολλαχῇ γενομένου ἤδη σφίσι χρησίμου, τὰ δ' ἔτι καὶ ἐσομένου. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι καταστάντων σφίσι εὖ ἤδη τῶν πρηγμάτων[240] πιστεύσαντες εἶναι ἀληθέα, ἱδρύσαντο ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλι Πανὸς ἱρὸν[241] καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἀγγελίης

[239] *ὡς αὐτός τε ἔλεγε Φειδιππίδης καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ἀπήγγελλε.* In later times the feat of Phidippides was adorned with some picturesque features quite incompatible with this statement. He was said on returning to have brought back to Athens the news of the victory at Marathon; and, rushing into the prytaneum, to have died with the words *χαίρετε· νικῶμεν* on his lips. (Lucian, *Pro lapsu*, § 3.) (See the note 284 on i. 82.) And in some accounts the adventitious part of the narrative even extruded the historical foundation. Phidippides's death was related to have taken place in an attempt, in obedience to an oracle, to bring the sacred fire from Delphi to Athens in a single day. (*Schol. inedit. ad Aristidem*, quoted by Valcknaer.) Pausanias, where he gives an account of the fane (i. 28. 4), calls the courier Philippides,—which is also the reading of the manuscripts S and V. I should be inclined to think it the genuine one; for the name *Phidippides* is put by Aristophanes (*Nub.* 67) as if invented by the homely Strepsiades and his fashionable wife by way of compromise between their respective crotchets. The point of the jest would be a good deal dulled if the name had been one of any celebrity at the time the *Clouds* were acted.

[240] *καταστάντων σφίσι εὖ ἤδη τῶν πρηγμάτων*, "when their affairs were at last on a firm footing." The establishment of the ritual was apparently coincident with the settlement of the new constitution on a firm basis,—a result to which it cannot be doubted the great national effort in repelling the foreigners contributed a most important part. See the way in which the Athenian is made by Plato to put the matter: *ἡμῖν γὰρ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ὅτε ἡ Περσῶν ἐπίθεσις τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἴσως δὲ σχεδὸν ἅπασι τοῖς τὴν Εὐρώπην οἰκοῦσιν, ἐγίγνετο, πολιτεία τε ἦν παλαιὰ καὶ ἐκ τιμημάτων ἀρχαί τινες τεττάρων, καὶ δεσπότις ἐνῆν τις αἰδώς, δι' ἣν δουλεύοντες τοῖς τότε νόμοις ζῆν ἠθέλομεν· καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ στόλου κατά τε γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν γενόμενον, φόβον ἄπορον ἐμβαλόν, δουλείαν ἔτι μείζονα ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς τοῖς τε ἄρχουσι καὶ τοῖς νόμοις δουλεῦσαι· καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πάνθ' ἡμῖν ξυνέπεσε πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς σφόδρα φιλία.* (*Legg.* iii. § 15.) The statesmen of the time took advantage of that feeling of union which the external pressure had generated to conciliate that part of the population which was descended from the rustic aborigines, identical in blood and religious associations with the Arcadian mountaineers. This was effected by making Pan (*deus Arcadiæ*) one of the state deities, and dedicating to him a fane in the acropolis, which obtained national reverence the more easily from the occasion which gave rise to its consecration. (See note 176 on v. 69.)

[241] *Πανὸς ἱρόν.* It is very doubtful whether what was done was more than the revival with new (and probably increased) solemnities of an old and possibly neglected ritual. For the shrine of Pan was in a cave immediately below the Propylæa, by the side of a well of water. (Pausanias, i. 28. 4.) He was associated with Apollo here, the cave being the reputed scene of the union of that deity with Creusa, the daughter of Erectheus and mother of Ion. (Pausanias, l. c.)

θυσίῃσι ἐπετείῃσι καὶ λαμπάδι[242] ἱλάσκονται. Τότε δὲ πεμφθεὶς 106
ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ Φειδιππίδης οὗτος, ὅτε πέρ οἱ ἔφη καὶ τὸν Πᾶνα φανῆναι, δευτεραῖος ἐκ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἄστεος ἦν ἐν Σπάρτῃ· ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἔλεγε· "ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Ἀθηναῖοι ὑμέων δέονταί σφισι βοηθῆσαι καὶ μὴ περιϊδεῖν πόλιν ἀρχαιοτάτην ἐν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι δουλοσύνῃ περιπεσοῦσαν πρὸς ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων· καὶ γὰρ νῦν Ἐρέτριά τε ἠνδραπόδισται, καὶ πόλι λογίμῃ ἡ Ἑλλὰς γέγονε ἀσθενεστέρη." ὁ μὲν δή σφι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἀπήγγελλε· τοῖσι δὲ ἕαδε μὲν βοηθέειν Ἀθηναίοισι, ἀδύνατα δέ σφι ἦν τὸ παραυτίκα ποιέειν ταῦτα οὐ βουλομένοισι λύειν τὸν νόμον· ἦν γὰρ ἱσταμένου τοῦ μηνὸς εἰνάτη· εἰνάτῃ δὲ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεσθαι ἔφασαν, μὴ οὐ πλήρεος ἐόντος τοῦ κύκλου.

The Spartans are prevented from marching at the instant, but promise their support.

Οὗτοι μέν νυν τὴν πανσέληνον ἔμενον· τοῖσι δὲ βαρβάροισι κατ- 107
ηγέετο Ἱππίης ὁ Πεισιστράτου ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα, τῆς παροιχομένης νυκτὸς ὄψιν ἰδὼν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ τοιήνδε· ἐδόκεε ὁ Ἱππίης τῇ μητρὶ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ συνευνηθῆναι· συνεβάλετο ὦν ἐκ τοῦ ὀνείρου, κατελθὼν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ἀνασωσάμενος τὴν ἀρχήν, τελευτήσειν ἐν τῇ ἑωυτοῦ γηραιός[243]. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ὄψιος συνεβάλετο[244]

Dream of Hippias.

This site is confirmed by EURIPIDES. It is:

> ἔνθα προσβόρρους πέτρας
> Παλλάδος ὑπ' ὄχθῳ τῆς Ἀθηναίων χθονὸς
> Μακρὰς καλοῦσι γῆς ἄνακτες Ἀτθίδος.
> (*Ion*, 11.)

and on a coin figured by LEAKE from the original in the British Museum, the fane appears as a grotto in the rock of the acropolis, on the north side of the descent from the Propylæa. There is a descent to it from the platform of the acropolis by forty-seven steps cut in the rock. (WORDSWORTH, *Athens and Attica*, p. 82.) Such a site as this indicates (on the principle laid down by THUCYDIDES, ii. 15) a ritual of the very earliest times; and probably the Apollo who forced Creusa was originally a Pan, who in later times under Dorian influence gave place to the other deity, and now again was admitted to a share of his old quarters.

[242] λαμπάδι. For the nature of the *torch-race*, see the *Dictionary of Greek and Latin Antiquities*, v. λαμπαδηφορία. It is however an assumption to suppose that the word λαμπὰς always implies a race. It is not likely that it does so here; for it would have been quite impossible to *run* to a fane so situated as that of Pan was. (See the last note.) Neither could there have been any race in that portion of the solemnity in honour of Hephæstus, at the time of the *Apaturia*, when Ἀθηναίων οἱ καλλίστας στολὰς ἐνδεδυκότες, λαβόντες ἡμμένας λαμπάδας ἀπὸ τῆς ἑστίας, ὑμνοῦσι τὸν Ἥφαιστον θύοντες, ὑπόμνημα τοῦ κατανοήσαντα τὴν χρείαν τοῦ πυρὸς διδάξαι τοὺς ἄλλους. (ISTER, *ap. Harpocration*, v. λαμπάς.) So too the solemn procession with which the Orestean trilogy of ÆSCHYLUS terminated had torches, but nothing like a race. In the case in the text it seems as likely that an illumination of the cave with torches was the ceremony introduced. At Acacesium in Arcadia fire was kept continually burning before the image of Pan, who, as at Athens, was there associated with Apollo. (PAUSANIAS, viii. 36. 8.) See also the passage quoted in the note 109 on i. 32.

[243] γηραιός. For his age at this time see notes 203 on i. 61, and 165 on v. 65, from which it will appear *probable* that he had been a young man grown up sixty years before, and therefore could not be less than seventy-six or seventy-seven.

[244] συνεβάλετο. See note 322 on i. 91. The interpretation which he put upon his

ταῦτα· τότε δὲ κατηγεόμενος, τοῦτο μὲν τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ ἐξ Ἐρετρίης ἀπέβησε ἐς τὴν νῆσον τὴν Στυρέων, καλεομένην δὲ Αἰγίλειαν[245]· τοῦτο δὲ καταγομένας ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα τὰς νέας ὅρμιζε οὕτως[246], ἐκβάντας τε ἐς γῆν τοὺς βαρβάρους διέτασσε· καί οἱ ταῦτα διέποντι ἐπῆλθε πταρεῖν τε καὶ βῆξαι μεζόνως ἢ ὡς ἐώθεε· οἷα δέ οἱ πρεσβυτέρῳ ἐόντι τῶν ὀδόντων οἱ πλεῦνες ἐσείοντο· τούτων ὦν ἕνα τῶν ὀδόντων ἐκβάλλει ὑπὸ βίης βήξας· ἐκπεσόντος δὲ ἐς τὴν ψάμμον αὐτοῦ, ἐποιέετο πολλὴν σπουδὴν ἐξευρεῖν· ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐφαίνετό οἱ ὁ ὀδὼν, ἀναστενάξας εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς παραστάτας· "ἡ γῆ ἥδε οὐκ ἡμετέρη ἐστὶ, οὐδέ μιν δυνησόμεθα ὑποχειρίην ποιήσασθαι· ὁκόσον δέ τι μοι μέρος μετῆν ὁ ὀδὼν μετέχει."

The *Plateans* only help the Athenians. Origin of the connexion between them.

108 Ἱππίης μὲν δὴ ταύτῃ τὴν ὄψιν συνεβάλετο ἐξεληλυθέναι· Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ τεταγμένοισι ἐν τεμένεϊ Ἡρακλέος, ἐπῆλθον βοηθέοντες Πλαταιέες πανδημεί. καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐδεδώκεσάν σφεας αὐτοὺς τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι οἱ Πλαταιέες, καὶ πόνους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι συχνοὺς ἤδη ἀναιρέατο· ἔδοσαν δὲ ὧδε· πιεζεύμενοι ὑπὸ Θηβαίων οἱ Πλαταιέες ἐδίδοσαν πρῶτα παρατυχοῦσι Κλεομένεΐ τε τῷ Ἀναξανδρίδεω[247] καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοισι σφέας αὐτούς· οἱ δὲ οὐ δεκόμενοι ἔλεγόν σφι τάδε· "ἡμεῖς μὲν ἑκαστέρω τε οἰκέομεν καὶ

dream was the same which Julius Cæsar's advisers gave him under similar circumstances: "Confusum eum somnio proximæ noctis (nam visus erat per quietem matri stuprum intulisse) conjectores ad amplissimam spem incitaverunt, arbitrium orbis terrarum portendi interpretantes; quando mater quam subjectam sibi vidisset, non alia esset quam terra quæ omnium parens haberetur." (Suetonius, *Julius Cæsar*, § 8.) Compare also Pausanias, iv. 26. 3. In the time of Artemidorus such a vision was recognized as a particularly lucky one for a statesman, on the principle above mentioned. (*Oneirocrit.* i. 82.) And it seems not impossible that a strange notice respecting Cyrus the Great in Ctesias (see note 441 on i. 130) is to be explained from the existence of some piece of mystical symbolism in the Magian religion, by which the absolute sovereignty over the earth was formally conveyed to the monarch at his coronation.

245 *καλεομένην δὲ Αἰγίλειαν.* This clause appears to me an interpolated note. Some of the MSS have Αἰγλείην, and Stephanus Byzantinus Αἰγιάλεια. The place seems the same as that spoken of above (§ 101) under the name of Αἰγίλεα or Αἰγίλεας.

246 *οὕτως.* This is the reading of one MS only (*b*). Gaisford with the majority reads *οὗτος.* But *οὕτως* is very significant (see note 238, above), and *οὗτος* would be superfluous. Hippias, accustomed to operations on the Greek coasts, first ran his ships aground and debarked the troops, and *thereupon*, as on being lightened the ships again floated, he moored them with an anchor out to sea, just off the shore, so as to be ready to receive the land forces again on an emergency. After doing this he proceeded to form the barbarians who had landed. The manœuvre, as far as the ships are concerned, is precisely the same as that mentioned in vii. 188.

247 Κλεομένεϊ τε τῷ Ἀναξανδρίδεω. This occasion will probably have been when the Pisistratids were expelled (v. 64, 65), and while Cleomenes expected that the principal influence in Athens would be retained by the party to which he was favourable, viz. that represented by Isagoras.

ὑμῖν τοιήδε τις γένοιτ' ἂν ἐπικουρίη ψυχρή· φθαίητε γὰρ ἂν πολλάκις ἐξανδραποδισθέντες ἤ τινα πυθέσθαι ἡμέων· συμβουλεύομεν δὲ ὑμῖν δοῦναι ὑμέας αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοισι, πλησιοχώροισί τε ἀνδράσι καὶ τιμωρέειν ἐοῦσι οὐ κακοῖσι[a]." ταῦτα συνεβούλευον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐ κατὰ εὐνοίην οὕτω τῶν Πλαταιέων, ὡς βουλόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔχειν πόνους συνεστεῶτας Βοιωτοῖσι[248]. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέν νυν Πλαταιεῦσι ταῦτα συνεβούλευον· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἠπίστησαν, ἀλλ' Ἀθηναίων ἱρὰ ποιεύντων τοῖσι δώδεκα θεοῖσι[249], ἱκέται ἱζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἐδίδοσαν σφέας αὐτούς· Θηβαῖοι δὲ πυθόμενοι ταῦτα ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ τοὺς Πλαταιέας, Ἀθηναῖοι δέ σφι ἐβοήθεον· μελλόντων δὲ συνάπτειν μάχην, Κορίνθιοι οὐ περιεῖδον· παρατυχόντες δὲ καὶ καταλλάξαντες ἐπιτρεψάντων ἀμφοτέρων, οὔρισαν τὴν χώρην ἐπὶ τοῖσδε· ἐὰν Θηβαίους Βοιωτῶν τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τελέειν[250]. Κορίνθιοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα γνόντες ἀπαλλάσσοντο· Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ ἀπιοῦσι ἐπεθήκαντο Βοιωτοί, ἐπιθέμενοι δὲ ἑσσώθησαν τῇ μάχῃ· ὑπερβάντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἔθηκαν Πλαταιεῦσι εἶναι οὔρους, τούτους ὑπερβάντες τὸν Ἀσωπὸν αὐτὸν ἐποιήσαντο οὖρον Θηβαίοισι πρὸς Πλαταιέας εἶναι καὶ Ὑσιάς[251]. ἔδοσαν μὲν δὴ οἱ Πλαταιέες

[a] *συμβουλεύομεν δὲ ὑμῖν, κ.τ.λ.* This is the same view of the matter as that offered by the Platæans when tried for their lives by the Thebans and Lacedæmonians about sixty years afterwards: *δεομένων γὰρ ξυμμαχίας ὅτε Θηβαῖοι ἡμᾶς ἐβιάσαντο, ὑμεῖς ἀπεώσασθε καὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἐκελεύετε τραπέσθαι ὡς ἐγγὺς ὄντας, ὑμῶν δὲ μακρὰν ἀποικούντων.* (THUCYDIDES, iii. 55.) But in Thucydides the Platæans make this abandonment of themselves by the Lacedæmonians take place *after* the year of the earthquake and the occupation of Ithome by the Helots. Their argument required this; but it is striking that such an anachronism should be confidently ventured so soon after the events themselves. See notes 213 on i. 63; 138 on iii. 47; and 279 on v. 96.

248 *συνεστεῶτας Βοιωτοῖσι*, "having come to *direct issue* with Bœotians." See note on vii. 142.

249 *τοῖσι δώδεκα θεοῖσι.* If the object of the Platæans was to establish a league between themselves and Athens, the time of a sacrifice to "the twelve gods" would be an especially appropriate occasion; for they were probably *θεοὶ συμβόλαιοι*. See note 16 on ii. 4.

250 *ἐὰν Θηβαίους Βοιωτῶν τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τελέειν*, "that the Thebans should not meddle with those of the Bœotians who chose not to be merged in the Bœotian league." See for an explanation of the phrase the note 96 on iii. 34.

251 *πρὸς Πλαταιέας εἶναι καὶ Ὑσιάς.* Probably it was to recover the territory thus lost that the Thebans took advantage of the Lacedæmonian occupation of Eleusis (described v. 74) to seize Hysiæ. The Platæan orator in THUCYDIDES (ii. 71) asserts that the independence of Platæa was solemnly guaranteed by Pausanias and the Lacedæmonians in the presence of all the allied army immediately after the victory over Mardonius. At that time the Thebans would be in extremely bad odour from the connexion of the party in power with the Persian invaders; and perhaps this circumstance was taken advantage of to procure a declaration which at any other time could scarcely have been hoped for.

σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοισι τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ· ἧκον δὲ τότε ἐς Μαραθῶνα βοηθέοντες.

109 Τοῖσι δὲ Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῖσι ἐγίνοντο δίχα αἱ γνῶμαι, τῶν μὲν οὐκ ἐώντων συμβάλλειν· ὀλίγους γὰρ εἶναι στρατιῇ τῇ Μήδων συμβαλέειν· τῶν δὲ καὶ Μιλτιάδεω κελευόντων· ὡς δὲ δίχα τε ἐγίνοντο καὶ ἐνίκα ἡ χείρων τῶν γνωμέων, ἐνθαῦτα, ἦν γὰρ ἑνδέκατος ψηφιδοφόρος ὁ τῷ κυάμῳ λαχὼν Ἀθηναίων πολεμαρχέειν· τὸ παλαιὸν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ὁμόψηφον τὸν πολέμαρχον ἐποιεῦντο τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι, ἦν δὲ τότε πολέμαρχος Καλλίμαχος Ἀφιδναῖος· πρὸς τοῦτον ἐλθὼν Μιλτιάδης ἔλεγε τάδε· "ἐν σοὶ νῦν, Καλλίμαχε, ἐστι[252] ἢ καταδουλῶσαι Ἀθήνας, ἢ ἐλευθέρας ποιήσαντα μνημόσυνα λιπέσθαι ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα ἀνθρώπων βίον, οἷα οὐδὲ Ἁρμόδιός τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων λείπουσι· νῦν γὰρ δή, ἐξ οὗ ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς κίνδυνον ἥκουσι μέγιστον· καὶ ἢν μέν γε ὑποκύψωσι τοῖσι Μήδοισι, δέδοκται τὰ πείσονται παραδεδομένοι Ἱππίῃ· ἢν δὲ περιγένηται αὕτη ἡ πόλις, οἵη τέ ἐστι πρώτη τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πολίων γενέσθαι. κῶς ὦν δὴ ταῦτα οἷά τέ ἐστι γενέσθαι, καὶ κῶς ἐς σέ τι τούτων ἀνήκει τῶν πρηγμάτων τὸ κῦρος ἔχειν, νῦν ἔρχομαι φράσων· ἡμέων τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐόντων δέκα δίχα γίνονται αἱ γνῶμαι· τῶν μὲν κελευόντων συμβαλέειν, τῶν δὲ οὐ [συμβαλέειν[253]]· ἢν μέν νυν μὴ συμβάλωμεν, ἔλπομαί τινα στάσιν μεγάλην[254] ἐμπεσοῦσαν διασείσειν τὰ Ἀθηναίων φρονήματα, ὥστε μηδίσαι· ἢν δὲ συμβάλωμεν πρίν τι καὶ σαθρὸν Ἀθηναίων μετεξετέροισι ἐγγενέσθαι, θεῶν τὰ ἶσα νεμόντων, οἷοί τε εἰμὲν περιγενέσθαι τῇ συμβολῇ. ταῦτα ὦν πάντα ἐς σὲ νῦν τείνει, καὶ ἐκ σέο ἄρτηται· ἢν γὰρ σὺ γνώμῃ τῇ ἐμῇ προσθῇ, ἔστι τοι πατρίς τε ἐλευθέρη καὶ πόλις πρώτη τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι· ἢν δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀποσπευδόντων τὴν συμβολὴν ἕλῃ, ὑπάρξει τοι τῶν ἐγὼ κατέλεξα ἀγαθῶν τὰ ἐναντία[255]."

110 Ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Μιλτιάδης προσκτᾶται τὸν Καλλίμαχον· προσγενομένης δὲ τοῦ πολεμάρχου

Dissensions among the Athenian generals.

The conduct of Miltiades and the polemarch *Callimachus*

is the cause of an imme-

[252] ἐν σοὶ νῦν . . . ἐστι. See note 231 on iii. 85.

[253] [συμβαλέειν]. The MSS vary between συμβαλέειν, συμβάλλειν, and ξυμβάλλειν, which induces the suspicion that the word has crept in from the margin. It is not necessary; and in fact the real ellipse is not of συμβάλλειν, but of κελευόντων.

[254] ἔλπομαί τινα στάσιν μεγάλην. This is perhaps an allusion to the Alcmæonids. See note 263 on § 115, below.

[255] τῶν ἐγὼ κατέλεξα ἀγαθῶν τὰ ἐναντία. By this circuitous expression the speaker avoids the use of words of ill omen, which in such a moment would be considered fatal.

τῆς γνώμης, ἐκεκύρωτο συμβάλλειν· μετὰ δὲ, οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν ἡ γνώμη ἔφερε συμβάλλειν, ὡς ἑκάστου αὐτῶν ἐγίνετο πρυτανηΐη τῆς ἡμέρης, Μιλτιάδῃ παρεδίδοσαν· ὁ δὲ δεκόμενος οὔτι κω συμβολὴν ἐποιέετο, πρίν γε δὴ αὐτοῦ πρυτανηΐη ἐγένετο. diate engagement.

Ὡς δὲ ἐς ἐκεῖνον περιῆλθε, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐτάσσοντο ὧδε Ἀθηναῖοι 111
ὡς συμβαλέοντες· τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ κέρεος ἡγέετο ὁ πολέμαρχος Καλλίμαχος· ὁ γὰρ νόμος τότε εἶχε οὕτω τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι, τὸν πολέμαρχον ἔχειν κέρας τὸ δεξιόν[256]· ἡγεομένου δὲ τούτου ἐξεδέκοντο ὡς ἀριθμέοντο[257] αἱ φυλαὶ, ἐχόμεναι ἀλληλέων· τελευταῖοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο, ἔχοντες τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας, Πλαταιέες. ἀπὸ ταύτης γάρ σφι τῆς μάχης, θυσίας Ἀθηναίων ἀναγόντων καὶ πανηγύριας τὰς ἐν τῇσι πεντετηρίσι γινομένας, κατεύχεται ὁ κῆρυξ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἅμα τε Ἀθηναίοισι (λέγων) γίνεσθαι τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ Πλαταιεῦσι. τότε δὲ τασσομένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι, ἐγίνετο τοιόνδε τι· τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξισούμενον τῷ Μηδικῷ στρατοπέδῳ, τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ μέσον ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ τάξιας ὀλίγας, καὶ ταύτῃ ἦν ἀσθενέστατον τὸ στρατόπεδον· τὸ δὲ κέρας ἑκάτερον ἔρρωτο πλήθεϊ. Order of battle.

Ὡς δέ σφι διετέτακτο καὶ τὰ σφάγια ἐγίνετο καλὰ, 112
ἐνθαῦτα ὡς ἀπείθησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, δρόμῳ ἵεντο ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους· ἦσαν δὲ στάδιοι οὐκ ἐλάσσονες τὸ μεταίχμιον αὐτῶν ἢ ὀκτώ· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὁρέωντες δρόμῳ ἐπιόντας παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς δεξόμενοι· μανίην τε τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπέφερον καὶ πάγχυ ὀλεθρίην, ὁρέωντες αὐτοὺς ὀλίγους, καὶ τούτους δρόμῳ ἐπειγομένους, οὔτε ἵππου ὑπαρχούσης σφι οὔτε τοξευμάτων[258]. ταῦτα μέν νυν οἱ βάρβαροι κατείκαζον· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπεί τε ἀθρόοι προσέμιξαν τοῖσι βαρβάροισι, ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως λόγου· πρῶτοι μὲν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων πάντων, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, δρόμῳ ἐς πολεμίους ἐχρήσαντο, The Athenians charge the enemy at speed,

[256] τὸν πολέμαρχον ἔχειν κέρας τὸ δεξιόν. In accordance with this custom EURIPIDES (*Suppl.* 656) makes Theseus, the commander of the Athenian army in the battle against the Thebans, occupy the same post:

αὐτόν τ' ἄνακτα, παῖδα κλεινὸν Αἰγέως,
καὶ τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ δεξιὸν τεταγμένους
κέρας, παλαιᾶς Κεκροπίας οἰκήτορας.

The tribe which occupied the right extremity in the battle of Marathon was the *Æantis.*

[257] ὡς ἀριθμέοντο, "according as they were numbered," that is, with reference to the turn of their prytanes to preside in the assembly.

[258] οὔτε ἵππου ὑπαρχούσης σφι οὔτε τοξευμάτων. The Persians conceived that it would be impossible for them to keep order in the onset under such circumstances; and that having no cavalry or archers to cover them while reforming, they must infallibly be destroyed.

πρῶτοι δὲ ἀνέσχοντο ἐσθῆτά τε Μηδικὴν ὁρέωντες καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ταύτην ἐσθημένους[259]· τέως δὲ ἦν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι καὶ τὸ οὔνομα τὸ

113 Μήδων φόβος ἀκοῦσαι[260]. Μαχομένων δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι χρόνος ἐγίνετο πολλός· καὶ τὸ μὲν μέσον τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐνίκων οἱ βάρβαροι, τῇ Πέρσαι τε αὐτοὶ καὶ Σάκαι[261] ἐτετάχατο· κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐνίκων οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ ῥήξαντες ἐδίωκον ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν· τὸ δὲ κέρας ἑκάτερον ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοί τε καὶ Πλαταιέες, νικῶντες δὲ, τὸ μὲν τετραμμένον τῶν βαρβάρων φεύγειν ἔων, τοῖσι δὲ τὸ μέσον ῥήξασι αὐτῶν συναγαγόντες τὰ κέρεα ἀμφότερα ἐμάχοντο· καὶ ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι· φεύγουσι δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι εἵποντο κόπτοντες, ἐς ὃ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπικόμενοι πῦρ τε αἴτεον καὶ ἐπελαμβάνοντο τῶν νεῶν.

and after an obstinate combat conquer and pursue the Persians to their ships.

114 Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ ὁ πολέμαρχος Καλλίμαχος διαφθείρεται, ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἀγαθὸς, ἀπὸ δ' ἔθανε τῶν στρατηγῶν Στησίλεως ὁ Θρασύλεω· τοῦτο δὲ Κυναίγειρος[262] ὁ Εὐφορίωνος

Distinguished conduct of Callimachus

259 ἐσθημένους. This word, which is of the form of a perfect participle, as from a present tense ἐσθέειν, is used in one other passage (iii. 129). It is peculiar to Herodotus, and no other tense is any where used by him.

260 τὸ οὔνομα τὸ Μήδων φόβος ἀκοῦσαι. It seems likely that at the time of Datis's expedition the distinction between the Medes and Persians was little known in European Greece, even if it was in Asiatic. Accordingly ὁ Μῆδος was the general name by which the enemy was designated. The Medians were, it can hardly be doubted, the more civilized part of Darius's subjects, and from them the Persians must have learnt their scientific strategics. See the notes 535 on i. 162, and 512 on iv. 200. The statement in the text has been by some considered as contradictory to i. 165 and v. 120 (in which passages Asiatic Hellenes are represented as engaging with Persians), and to i. 169, where their resistance to these is spoken of as creditable to them. But this seems pressing the author too closely. It is very far from certain that the conquest even of Ionia was effected by *Median* troops; and certainly they would hardly be expected to do garrison duty. They may rather be regarded in the same light as the European regiments in the Anglo-Indian army. And all that Herodotus means to say in the text is that the Athenians at Marathon were the first Hellenes with whom the prestige of the Median soldiers went for nothing. This was only natural, as they had no experience of them like the Asiatics. But still their prowess made the term ἄνδρες Μαραθωνομάχαι proverbial. (ARISTOPHANES, *Nub.* 986.)

261 καὶ Σάκαι. These were probably the marines of the fleet landed upon the occasion. In the great expedition of Xerxes we find this service performed by Sacans (vii. 96), the name by which the Persians designated all Scythians (as Herodotus says)—that is, perhaps, all troops whose armament was similar to the Scythian, in which the bow was the principal weapon. This would be by far the most efficient engine for such a service as that of marines. The English bow-men performed the same duty in the infancy of English naval warfare. See the important part played by *Locksley* in the old ballad of *Sir Andrew Barton.*

262 Κυναίγειρος. This is the brother of Æschylus the tragic poet. The story of his gallantry was improved upon in later times. JUSTIN (ii. 9) makes him, on losing his right hand, seize hold with his left; and upon this being likewise hewn off, take hold *with his teeth* ("ad postremum morsu navem detinuit"). A similar caricature is observable in the more modern ballad of Chevy Chase (of about the time of James I.) as compared with the

ἐνθαῦτα, ἐπιλαβόμενος τῶν ἀφλάστων νηὸς, τὴν χεῖρα ἀποκοπεὶς
πελέκεϊ πίπτει· τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλοι Ἀθηναίων πολλοί τε καὶ ὀνομαστοί.

and *Cynægirus.*

Ἑπτὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν νεῶν ἐπεκράτησαν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ Ἀθηναῖοι· 115
τῇσι δὲ λοιπῇσι οἱ βάρβαροι ἐξανακρουσάμενοι, καὶ ἀναλαβόντες
ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἐν τῇ ἔλιπον τὰ ἐξ Ἐρετρίης ἀνδράποδα, περιέπλωον
Σούνιον βουλόμενοι φθῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὸ
ἄστυ· αἰτίη δὲ ἔσχε ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι ἐξ Ἀλκμαιωνιδέων[263] μηχανῆς
αὐτοὺς ταῦτα ἐπινοηθῆναι· τούτους γὰρ συνθεμένους τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι
ἀναδέξαι ἀσπίδα, ἐοῦσι ἤδη ἐν τῇσι νηυσί.

The Persians re-embarking menace *Phalerum,*

Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ περι- 116
έπλωον[264] Σούνιον· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὡς ποδῶν εἶχον τάχιστα ἐβοήθεον
ἐς τὸ ἄστυ· καὶ ἔφθησάν τε ἀπικόμενοι πρὶν ἢ τοὺς βαρβάρους
ἥκειν, καὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἀπιγμένοι ἐξ Ἡρακληΐου τοῦ ἐν
Μαραθῶνι ἐν ἄλλῳ Ἡρακληΐῳ τῷ ἐν Κυνοσάργεϊ[265]. οἱ δὲ βάρ-
βαροι τῇσι νηυσὶ ὑπεραιωρηθέντες Φαλήρου, (τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἐπίνειον
τότε τῶν Ἀθηναίων,) ὑπὲρ τούτου ἀνακωχεύσαντες τὰς νῆας ἀπ-
έπλωον ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην[266].

but are baffled by a retrograde movement of the Athenians, and return to Asia.

original of nearly two hundred years earlier. The latter says:

"For Wetharryngton my harte was wo
That ever he slayne sholde be;
For when both his leggis wer hewyn *into*,
Yet he knyled and fought *on his knee.*"

The two last lines became in the new version:

"For when his leggs were smitten *off*,
He fought *upon his stumpes.*"

For the description of the ἄφλαστα, of which Cynægirus is represented as taking hold, see the article *Aplustre* in the *Dictionary of Greek and Latin Antiquities.* It is not necessary however to infer, with the writer of the article, from this passage, that an unusual direction was given to the extremity of the woodwork, denoted by the word ἄφλαστα. Herodotus seems to include in the term the whole of the after part of the upper works; and Cynægirus, in his account, appears to have been climbing up into the vessel by the stern, which, supposing her riding on a hawse carried out from the bow, would be depressed for the moment that the latter rose with a swell. Justin's notion rests upon the Homeric standard of men's strength and ships' size. An Athenian in 490 B.C. had too much experience of the sea to attempt to *hold* a vessel of probably at least eighty tons burthen by seizing it with his hand.

263 ἐξ Ἀλκμαιωνιδέων. To this evil report PINDAR seems to allude in an Ode (*Pyth.* vii.) composed in honour of a Megacles, probably the son of Hippocrates, and brother of Agariste (mentioned by Herodotus vi. 131). Böckh considers that the Pythian victory commemorated was in the same year with the battle of Marathon. The poet, felicitating Megacles on his success,—which was by no means the first of the kind,—says, νέᾳ δ' εὐπραγίᾳ χαίρω τι· τὸ δ' ἄχνυμαι Φθόνον ἀμειβόμενον τὰ καλὰ ἔργα. Heyne however places the victory in the year 474 B.C. If the attack upon Miltiades mentioned above, § 164, proceeded from the party of Clisthenes, no doubt the faction of Miltiades would take advantage of the popularity just acquired by their own leader (below, § 132) to damage the influence of the Alcmæonids if a favourable occasion offered. It can hardly have been any but that party whom Miltiades had in his eye in his speech to the polemarch (§ 109). They seized the first opportunity to return the blow (§ 136).

264 περιέπλωον. This is the reading of all the MSS except one (F), which last in iv. 156, has ἀπέπλεον. See the note 409 on that passage.

265 ἐν ἄλλῳ Ἡρακληΐῳ τῷ ἐν Κυνοσάργεϊ. See note 160, *a*, on v. 63.

266 οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι . . . . ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην,

117 Numbers of the slain on both sides. Portent which befel *Epizelus* the Athenian.

Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχῃ ἀπέθανον τῶν βαρβάρων κατὰ ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ τετρακοσίους ἄνδρας, Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἑκατὸν ἐννενήκοντα καὶ δύο· ἔπεσον μὲν ἀμφοτέρων τοσοῦτοι. συνήνεικε δὲ αὐτόθι θῶμα γενέσθαι τοιόνδε· Ἀθηναῖον ἄνδρα Ἐπίζηλον τὸν Κουφαγόρεω ἐν τῇ συστάσει μαχόμενόν τε καὶ ἄνδρα γινόμενον ἀγαθὸν τῶν ὀμμάτων στερηθῆναι, οὔτε πληγέντα οὐδὲν τοῦ σώματος οὔτε βληθέντα· καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ζόης διατελέειν ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου ἐόντα τυφλόν. λέγειν δὲ αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ πάθεος ἤκουσα τοιόνδε τινὰ λόγον· ἄνδρα οἱ δοκέειν ὁπλίτην ἀντιστῆναι μέγαν τοῦ τὸ γένειον τὴν ἀσπίδα πᾶσαν σκιάζειν, τὸ δὲ φάσμα τοῦτο ἑωυτὸν μὲν παρεξελθεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἑωυτοῦ παραστάτην ἀποκτεῖναι· ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Ἐπίζηλον ἐπυθόμην λέγειν.

118 Respect exhibited by Datis to an image of Apollo taken from *Delium*:

Δᾶτις δὲ πορευόμενος[267] *ἅμα τῷ στρατῷ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἐπεί τε ἐγένετο ἐν Μυκόνῳ, εἶδε ὄψιν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ· καὶ ἥτις μὲν ἦν ἡ ὄψις, οὐ λέγεται· ὁ δέ, ὡς ἡμέρη τάχιστα ἐπέλαμψε, ζήτησιν ἐποιέετο τῶν νεῶν· εὑρὼν δὲ ἐν Φοινίσσῃ νηῒ ἄγαλμα Ἀπόλλωνος κεχρυσωμένον, ἐπυνθάνετο ὁκόθεν σεσυλημένον εἴη; πυθόμενος δὲ ἐξ οὗ ἦν ἱροῦ, ἔπλεε τῇ ἑωυτοῦ νηῒ ἐς Δῆλον*[268]*, καὶ ἀπίκατο γὰρ τηνικαῦτα οἱ Δήλιοι ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν νῆσον, κατατίθεταί*[269] *τε ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ ἐντέλλεται τοῖσι Δηλίοισι ἀπαγαγεῖν τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐς Δήλιον τὸ Θηβαίων· τὸ δ' ἔστι ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ Χαλκίδος καταντίον. Δᾶτις μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐντειλάμενος ἀπέπλεε. τὸν δὲ ἀνδριάντα τοῦτον Δήλιοι οὐκ ἀπήγαγον, ἀλλά μιν δι' ἐτέων εἴκοσι*

119 Humane treatment of the Ere-

Θηβαῖοι αὐτοὶ ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἐκομίσαντο ἐπὶ Δήλιον. Τοὺς δὲ τῶν Ἐρετριέων ἀνδραποδισμένους Δᾶτίς τε καὶ Ἀρταφέρνης ὡς προσέσχον ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην πλέοντες, ἀνήγαγον ἐς Σοῦσα· βασιλεὺς

"and the barbarians, when in their course they had come off Phalerum with the fleet (for this was at that time the port of the Athenians), brought up off this point, and made sail back to Asia." For the precise meaning of the word *ἀνακωχεύειν* see note on vii. 36.

[267] *Δᾶτις δὲ πορευόμενος*. The account of the proceedings of the expedition on the Attic shore is exactly of such a kind as one might expect to receive from an Athenian attached to Miltiades's party forty or fifty years after they happened. The present anecdote is as obviously derived from Delos. The account of the well at Ardericca again betrays the *ἔμπορος*, familiar with the commodities which he was accustomed to ship, and giving the account which he had received from the exporter of the way in which they were procured.

[268] *ἔπλεε τῇ ἑωυτοῦ νηῒ ἐς Δῆλον*. See note 219 on § 97, above.

[269] *κατατίθεται*. The manuscript S has, immediately after this word, the two, *ἐς Δήλιον*, omitting those which appear in the interval in all the other MSS. See note 136 on i. 45.

δὲ Δαρεῖος, πρὶν μὲν αἰχμαλώτους γενέσθαι τοὺς Ἐρετριέας, ἐνεῖχέ σφι δεινὸν χόλον, οἷα ἀρξάντων ἀδικίης προτέρων τῶν Ἐρετριέων· ἐπεί τε δὲ εἶδέ σφεας ἀπαχθέντας παρ' ἑωυτὸν καὶ ὑποχειρίους ἑωυτῷ ἐόντας, ἐποίησε κακὸν ἄλλο οὐδὲν, ἀλλά σφεας τῆς Κισσίης χώρης κατοίκισε ἐν σταθμῷ ἑωυτοῦ τῷ οὔνομά ἐστι Ἀρδέρικκα[270], ἀπὸ μὲν Σούσων δέκα καὶ διηκοσίους σταδίους ἀπέχοντι, τεσσεράκοντα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ φρέατος τὸ παρέχεται τριφασίας ἰδέας· καὶ γὰρ ἄσφαλτον καὶ ἅλας καὶ ἔλαιον ἀρύσσονται ἐξ αὐτοῦ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ἀντλέεται μὲν κηλωνηΐῳ· ἀντὶ δὲ γαυλοῦ, ἥμισυ ἀσκοῦ οἱ προσδέδεται· ὑποτύψας[271] δὲ τούτῳ ἀντλέει καὶ ἔπειτα ἐγχέει ἐς δεξαμενήν· ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἐς ἄλλο διαχεόμενον τρέπεται τριφασίας ὁδούς· καὶ ἡ μὲν ἄσφαλτος καὶ οἱ ἅλες πήγνυνται παραυτίκα, τὸ δὲ ἔλαιον συνάγουσι ἐν ἀγγείοις, τὸ οἱ Πέρσαι καλέουσι ῥαδινάκην[272]. ἔστι δὲ μέλαν καὶ ὀδμὴν παρεχόμενον βαρέαν. ἐνθαῦτα τοὺς Ἐρετριέας κατοίκισε βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος· οἳ καὶ μέχρι ἐμέο εἶχον τὴν χώρην ταύτην, φυλάσσοντες τὴν ἀρχαίην γλῶσσαν[273]. τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ Ἐρετριέας ἔσχε οὕτω.

trian prisoners by Darius.

They are settled at *Ardericca*, not far from Susa, and near to the pit which gives oil, salt, and asphalt.

270 τῷ οὔνομά ἐστι Ἀρδέρικκα. Probably this name is a significant one, and given to several places. The village in the text is entirely different from the one mentioned in i. 185. According to Strabo (xvi. c. 1, p. 351) these Eretrians were settled among the people "formerly called *Card*uchi, and in his time *Gordy*æi," *i. e.* Kurds.

271 ὑποτύψας. All the MSS and Gaisford have ὑποτύψας. But the word ὑποκύπτω (the reverse of ἀνακύπτω) seems especially applicable to the action denoted here and in ii. 136; iii. 130. The machine described in the text is one similar to that commonly employed in drawing water in Italy and the South of France at this day. The pail is attached to a long pole hung at the longest arm of a long lever, the short arm of which is so heavily weighted with stones, that the empty pail remains on a level with the mouth of the well. In order that water may be raised, the drawer lays hold of the pole, first pulling till the lever is horizontal,—which brings the pail to about the level of the water in the well—and then pushing the pole *by stooping*, he fills it with water. This part of the action is expressed by the word ὑποκύπτειν, and it is obviously exactly the same with that of a person sounding a pool with a staff (κοντὸς), or dipping down into a chest full of loose coins with a saucer.

Rawlinson (*Journal of the Geogr. Soc.* ix. p. 92) imagines that the spot described by Herodotus is *Kir Ab* (the bitumen water) which is about twenty-eight miles north of *Dizfúl*, a point on the great military road into Media, lat. 32° 10′, long. 48° 30′. He says that the liquid bitumen is collected at the present day in the way described by Herodotus;—but "the bitumen pits abound" in the locality in question, and the distance is too great for any site which can be assigned to Susa to allow identification with the φρέαρ in the text, if the writer be regarded as an eye-witness. See note 267, above.

272 τὸ δὲ ἔλαιον συνάγουσι ἐν ἀγγείοις, τὸ οἱ Πέρσαι καλέουσι ῥαδινάκην. Several MSS have, instead of this sentence, τὸ δὲ ἔλαιον οἱ Πέρσαι καλέουσι τοῦτο ῥαδινάκην, and two (*b*, *c*), τὸ δὲ ἔλαιον οἱ Πέρσαι καλέουσι ῥαδινάκην.

273 οἳ καὶ μέχρι ἐμέο εἶχον τὴν χώρην ταύτην, φυλάσσοντες τὴν ἀρχαίην γλῶσσαν. This clause is omitted in one manuscript (F), and it can scarcely be of the time of Herodotus. Hardly a generation had passed from the time of the engagement at Marathon to his emigration to

120 Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἧκον ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας δισχίλιοι μετὰ τὴν πανσέληνον, ἔχοντες σπουδὴν πολλὴν καταλαβεῖν οὕτω ὥστε τριταῖοι ἐκ Σπάρτης ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ· ὕστεροι δὲ ἀπικόμενοι τῆς συμβολῆς, ἱμείροντο ὅμως θεήσασθαι τοὺς Μήδους· ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα ἐθεήσαντο· μετὰ δὲ, αἰνέοντες Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὀπίσω.

A detachment of 2000 Spartans arrive too late for the battle.

121 Θῶμα δέ μοι, καὶ οὐκ ἐνδέκομαι τὸν λόγον, Ἀλκμαιωνίδας ἄν κοτε ἀναδέξαι Πέρσῃσι ἐκ συνθήματος ἀσπίδα, βουλομένους ὑπὸ βαρβάροισί τε εἶναι Ἀθηναίους καὶ ὑπὸ Ἱππίῃ[274]· οἵτινες μᾶλλον, ἢ ὁμοίως Καλλίῃ τῷ Φαινίππου, Ἱππονίκου δὲ πατρὶ, φαίνονται μισοτύραννοι ἐόντες. Καλλίης τε γὰρ μοῦνος Ἀθηναίων ἁπάντων ἐτόλμα, ὅκως Πεισίστρατος ἐκπέσοι ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων, τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ κηρυσσόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ δημοσίου ὠνέεσθαι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ

Credence is not to be attached to the story of the Alcmæonids having signaled to the enemy.

122 ἔχθιστα ἐς αὐτὸν πάντα ἐμηχανᾶτο. Καλλίεω δὲ τούτου[275] ἄξιον πολλαχοῦ μνήμην ἐστὶ πάντα τινὰ ἔχειν· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τὰ προλελεγμένα, ὡς ἀνὴρ ἄκρος ἐλευθερῶν τὴν πατρίδα· τοῦτο δὲ τὰ ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἐποίησε, ἵππῳ νικήσας[276] τεθρίππῳ δὲ δεύτερος γενόμενος, Πύθια δὲ πρότερον ἀνελόμενος, ἐφανερώθη ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας πάντας μεγίστῃσι δαπάνῃσι· τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἑωυτοῦ θυγατέρας, ἐούσας τρεῖς, οἷός τις ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐγένοντο γάμου ὡραῖαι, ἔδωκέ σφι δωρεὴν μεγαλοπρεπεστάτην, ἐκείνῃσί τε ἐχαρίσατο· ἐκ γὰρ πάντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸν ἑκάστη ἐθέλοι

123 ἄνδρα ἑωυτῇ ἐκλέξασθαι ἔδωκε τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρί. Καὶ οἱ Ἀλκμαιωνίδαι ὁμοίως, ἢ οὐδὲν ἧσσον τούτου, ἦσαν μισοτύραννοι[277].

Italy, and to notice the fact of a population not having forgotten their language in so short an interval would be absurd.

[274] *καὶ ὑπὸ Ἱππίῃ.* Of course if the Alcmæonids contemplated treachery, it would not have been under the idea of receiving Hippias back again; but to put *themselves* in the position of vassals of the Persian court and sovereigns of Athens through Persian influence. The writer of the paragraph (see note 277, below) quietly assumes the very point at issue.

[275] Καλλίεω δὲ τούτου, κ.τ.λ. The whole of this section is wanting in the manuscripts M, K, P, F, *b*. Gaisford includes it between brackets.

[276] *ἵππῳ νικήσας.* This was, according to the SCHOLIAST ON ARISTOPHANES (*Nub.* 284), in the fifty-fourth Olympiad.

[277] *ἦσαν μισοτύραννοι.* This is doubtless the light in which the Alcmæonids wished to appear to their countrymen after the establishment of the democracy. See note 165 on v. 65. But the whole account which Herodotus gives of the early part of the tyranny of Pisistratus (see especially i. 61, 62) is quite at variance with this statement. The whole of the discussion (§§ 121—124) appears to me to proceed from a later hand than Herodotus; and to be of the nature of a note, drawn up by some person well acquainted with the family history of the Alcmæonids. This may have been afterwards incorporated with the text, and perhaps not long after the age of Herodotus. But it would almost seem that PAUSANIAS (iii. 4. 6) must have used a copy of the work in

θῶμα ὦν μοι, καὶ οὐ προσίεμαι τὴν διαβολὴν, τούτους γε ἀναδέξαι ἀσπίδα οἵτινες ἔφευγόν τε τὸν πάντα χρόνον τοὺς τυράννους[278], ἐκ μηχανῆς τε τῆς τούτων ἐξέλιπον οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι τὴν τυραννίδα. καὶ οὕτω τὰς Ἀθήνας οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐλευθερώσαντες πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἤπερ Ἁρμόδιός τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων, ὡς ἐγὼ κρίνω· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐξηγρίωσαν[279] τοὺς ὑπολοίπους Πεισιστρατιδέων Ἵππαρχον ἀποκτείναντες, οὐδέ τι μᾶλλον ἔπαυσαν τοὺς λοιποὺς τυραννεύοντας· Ἀλκμαιωνίδαι δὲ ἐμφανέως ἐλευθέρωσαν, εἰ δὴ οὗτοί γε ἀληθέως ἦσαν οἱ τὴν Πυθίην ἀναπείσαντες προσημαίνειν Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἐλευθεροῦν τὰς Ἀθήνας, ὥς μοι πρότερον δεδήλωται[280].
Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἴσως τι ἐπιμεμφόμενοι Ἀθηναίων τῷ δήμῳ προεδίδοσαν 124
τὴν πατρίδα. οὐ μὲν ὦν ἦσάν σφεων ἄλλοι δοκιμώτεροι ἔν γε Ἀθηναίοισι ἄνδρες, οὐδ' οἳ μᾶλλον ἐτετιμέατο. οὕτω οὐδὲ λόγος αἱρέει, ἀναδεχθῆναι ἔκ γε ἂν τούτων ἀσπίδα ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ λόγῳ. ἀνεδέχθη μὲν γὰρ ἀσπίς· καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστι ἄλλως εἰπεῖν· ἐγένετο γάρ· ὃς μέντοι ἦν ὁ ἀναδέξας οὐκ ἔχω προσωτέρω εἰπεῖν τούτων.

Οἱ δὲ Ἀλκμαιωνίδαι ἦσαν μὲν καὶ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν λαμπροὶ ἐν 125
τῇσι Ἀθήνῃσι· ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀλκμαίωνος, καὶ αὖτις Μεγακλέος, ἐγένοντο καὶ κάρτα λαμπροί. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀλκμαίων ὁ Μεγακλέος τοῖσι ἐκ Σαρδίων Λυδοῖσι παρὰ Κροίσου ἀπικνεομένοισι ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι συμπρήκτωρ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ συνελάμβανε προθύμως· καί μιν Κροῖσος πυθόμενος τῶν Λυδῶν τῶν ἐς τὰ χρηστήρια φοιτεόντων ἑωυτὸν εὖ ποιέειν, μεταπέμπεται ἐς Σάρδις·

Family history of the Alcmæonids.

which it did not occur. For the corruption of the Pythian priestess by the Alcmæonids is here assumed as a point beyond dispute (ἐκ μηχανῆς τῆς τούτων ἐξέλιπον οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι τὴν τυραννίδα), and Pausanias, in reviewing the different causes assigned for the *mania* of Cleomenes, with a distinct reference to this book (§§ 75, seqq.) settles upon his tampering with the Pythian priestess as the real one, on the ground that Cleomenes was *undoubtedly the only man* who had ever ventured to corrupt an oracle. When Herodotus speaks of the transaction before, it is rather as a scandalous story (v. 63. 66) than as a likely matter, far less as one beyond all question.

278 ἔφευγόν τε τὸν πάντα χρόνον τοὺς τυράννους. This statement also is quite incompatible with the former account, but consistent with subsequent professions of the Alcmæonids. See note 165 on v. 65.

279 ἐξηγρίωσαν. See note 143 on v. 55.

280 ὥς μοι πρότερον δεδήλωται. The reference is to v. 63. But it will be seen that *there* Herodotus relates the matter as *the Athenian account* (ὡς ὦν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι), not as his own positive opinion; whereas the writer of *this* passage treats it as an acknowledged fact, so certain as to test other accounts by their consistency with it. The sentiment of approval too contrasts strongly with that expressed in the case of Cleomenes (above, § 84).

ἀπικόμενον δὲ δωρέεται χρυσῷ τὸν ἂν δύνηται τῷ ἑωυτοῦ σώματι ἐξενείκασθαι ἐσάπαξ· ὁ δὲ Ἀλκμαίων πρὸς τὴν δωρεὴν ἐοῦσαν τοιαύτην τοιάδε ἐπιτηδεύσας προσέφερε· ἐνδὺς κιθῶνα μέγαν καὶ κόλπον πολὺν καταλιπόμενος τοῦ κιθῶνος, κοθόρνους τοὺς εὕρισκε εὐρυτάτους ἐόντας ὑποδησάμενος, ἤϊε ἐς τὸν θησαυρὸν ἐς τόν οἱ κατηγέοντο, ἐσπεσὼν δὲ ἐς σωρὸν ψήγματος, πρῶτα μὲν παρέσαξε παρὰ τὰς κνήμας τοῦ χρυσοῦ ὅσον ἐχώρεον οἱ κόθορνοι· μετὰ δὲ, τὸν κόλπον πάντα πλησάμενος χρυσοῦ, καὶ ἐς τὰς τρίχας τῆς κεφαλῆς διαπάσας τοῦ ψήγματος, καὶ ἄλλο λαβὼν ἐς τὸ στόμα, ἐξήϊε ἐκ τοῦ θησαυροῦ ἕλκων μὲν μόγις τοὺς κοθόρνους, παντὶ δέ τεῳ οἰκὼς μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώπῳ· τοῦ τό τε στόμα ἐβέβυστο καὶ πάντα ἐξώγκωτο. ἰδόντα δὲ τὸν Κροῖσον γέλως ἐσῆλθε· καί οἱ πάντα τε ἐκεῖνα διδοῖ, καὶ πρὸς, ἕτερα δωρέεται οὐκ ἐλάσσω ἐκείνων. οὕτω μὲν ἐπλούτησε ἡ οἰκίη αὕτη μεγάλως· καὶ ὁ Ἀλκμαίων οὗτος οὕτω τεθριπποτροφήσας, Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀναιρέεται[281].

126 Μετὰ δὲ, γενεῇ δευτέρῃ ὕστερον, Κλεισθένης μιν ὁ Σικυῶνος τύραννος ἐξήειρε, ὥστε πολλῷ ὀνομαστοτέρην γενέσθαι ἐν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἢ πρότερον ἦν. Κλεισθένεϊ γὰρ τῷ Ἀριστωνύμου[282] τοῦ Μύρωνος[283] τοῦ Ἀνδρέω[284] γίνεται θυγάτηρ τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Ἀγα-

Their wealth greatly increased by their connexion with

[281] Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀναιρέεται. The client of ISOCRATES (*De Bigis*, p. 351), himself an Alcmæonid (see note 165 on v. 65), says that Alcmæon was the first Athenian citizen who obtained a prize at Olympia with *a pair* (ζεύγει). And that only *one* Alcmæonid had been an Olympian victor at the time of the battle of Marathon follows from the expression of PINDAR (*Pyth.* vii. 13): μία δ' ἐκπρεπὴς Διὸς Ὀλυμπίας. The word τεθριπποτροφήσας must therefore be taken in a general sense. See note 206 on v. 77.

[282] Κλεισθένεϊ γὰρ τῷ Ἀριστωνύμου. The founder of the dynasty at Sicyon was Orthagoras (ARISTOTLE, *Polit.* v. p. 1315; see note 169 on v. 67), and Clisthenes was one of his descendants; but it is not easy to say in exactly what relation he stood to him. If Orthagoras was the *father* of Andreas, it is strange that Herodotus should not have continued the pedigree up to him, supposing him to have followed the same accounts with Aristotle.

[283] τοῦ Μύρωνος. From a notice in ARISTOTLE (*Polit.* v. p. 1316): μεταβάλλει καὶ εἰς τυραννίδα τυραννὶς, (ὥσπερ ἡ Σικυῶνος ἐκ τῆς Μύρωνος εἰς τὴν Κλεισθένους,) καὶ εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν, (ὥσπερ ἡ ἐν Χαλκίδι ἡ Ἀντιλέοντος,) καὶ εἰς δημοκρατίαν, (ὥσπερ ἡ τῶν Γέλωνος ἐν Συρακούσαις,) καὶ εἰς ἀριστοκρατίαν, (ὥσπερ ἡ Χαριλάου ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, καὶ ἐν Καρχηδόνι), it is plain that a decided change took place in the constitution of Sicyon between the time of Myron and that of Clisthenes. Both were dynasts, but the form of their power was different. It seems not unlikely that the change consisted in the relative depression of the Dorian agriculturists and the elevation of the Achæan mercantile population. (See note 169 on v. 67.)

[284] τοῦ Ἀνδρέω. This name, which is very rare in subsequent times, appears in the mythical history of the foundation of Orchomenus, where a son of the river Peneus (who formed a settlement, the vicinity of which was afterwards called Ἀνδρηὶς γῆ) bears that name. (PAUSANIAS ix. 34, 6.) It seems not unreasonable to suppose from this that the name prevailed among the Orchomenians in later times. Perhaps therefore the An-

ρίστη. ταύτην ἠθέλησε, Ἑλλήνων πάντων ἐξευρὼν τὸν ἄριστον, τούτῳ γυναῖκα προσθεῖναι. Ὀλυμπίων ὦν ἐόντων καὶ νικῶν ἐν αὐτοῖσι τεθρίππῳ ὁ Κλεισθένης, κήρυγμα ἐποιήσατο, ὅστις Ἑλλήνων ἑωυτὸν ἀξιοῖ Κλεισθένεος γαμβρὸν γενέσθαι, ἥκειν ἐς ἑξηκοστὴν ἡμέρην ἢ καὶ πρότερον ἐς Σικυῶνα, ὡς κυρώσοντος Κλεισθένεος τὸν γάμον ἐν ἐνιαυτῷ, ἀπὸ τῆς ἑξηκοστῆς ἀρξαμένου ἡμέρης. ἐνθαῦτα Ἑλλήνων ὅσοι σφίσι τε αὐτοῖσι ἦσαν καὶ πάτρῃ ἐξωγκωμένοι, ἐφοίτεον μνηστῆρες· τοῖσι Κλεισθένης καὶ δρόμον καὶ παλαίστρην ποιησάμενος ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ τούτῳ εἶχε.

Clisthenes of Sicyon. Story of the contest for the hand of his daughter Agariste.

127 Ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Ἰταλίης ἦλθε Σμινδυρίδης ὁ Ἱπποκράτεος Συβαρίτης ὃς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δὴ χλιδῆς εἷς ἀνὴρ ἀπίκετο[285]. ἡ δὲ Σύβαρις ἤκμαζε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον μάλιστα· καὶ Σιρίτης Δάμασος, Ἀμύριος[286] τοῦ σοφοῦ

List of the suitors.

dreas of the text may have been a wealthy Orchomenian merchant, settled at Sicyon, in the same way in which Demaratus the Corinthian was settled at Tarquinii. It is conceivable that the splendour of Clisthenes's family may have been due mainly to the wealth acquired by the Orthagorid house through an alliance with this stranger, and this circumstance may account for the pedigree going up to Andreas and no farther. (See note 282, above.) It is to be remarked, that Sicyon was *not* one of the confederate cities which formed the Orchomenian commercial league meeting at Calauria, (see STRABO cited in note on viii. 41, *οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι ἐς Τροιζῆνα,*) and this, at first sight, may seem to render any alliance between a Sicyonian and an Orchomenian unlikely. But if Andreas was (like Demaratus) a political exile, exactly the course most likely for him to take would be to find refuge with a commercial rival. And here perhaps another clue may be found to the extreme hostility of his descendant Clisthenes to every thing Argive, about the cause of which Herodotus leaves us entirely in the dark (above, v. 67). Argos succeeded Nauplia as a member of the Calaurian Heptapolis, and in the time of Clisthenes must have been the most important of the seven confederates.

[285] *ὃς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δὴ χλιδῆς εἷς ἀνὴρ ἀπίκετο.* Compare THUCYD. viii. 68: *πλεῖστα εἷς ἀνὴρ δυνάμενος ὠφελεῖν.* XENOPHON, *Anab.* i. 9. 22: *δῶρα πλεῖστα μὲν, οἶμαι, εἷς γε ἀνὴρ ὢν ἐλάμβανε.* ÆSCH. *Pers.* 327: *εἷς ἀνὴρ· πλεῖστον πόνον ἐχθροῖς παρασχών.* Translate: "who reached the highest pitch of luxury of any individual." ARISTOTLE related that Smindyrides had a robe made of so gorgeous a character, that it attracted more admiration than any other object whatever that was exhibited at the panegyris of the Lacinian Here. The tradition ran that the elder Dionysius, afterwards obtaining possession of this garment, sold it to the Carthaginians for 120 talents. The name of Smindyrides in later times became the peg to hang all stories of inordinate luxury upon. He is made the hero of the well-known narrative of the crumpled rose-leaf by ÆLIAN. (*Var. Hist.* ix. 24.) On the occasion of his visit to Sicyon his suite consisted of a thousand persons, employed in catching fish or birds, or in dressing them. (ATHENÆUS, vi. p. 273.) ÆLIAN converts this into one thousand of each sort. (*Ib.* xii. 24.) One of the most genuine in appearance of the anecdotes of this celebrated Sybarite is that he declared that for the space of twenty years he had never seen the sun either rise or set. (CHAMÆLEON or THEOPHRASTUS, *ap. Athen.* l. c.)

[286] *Δάμασος, Ἀμύριος.* This is the reading of Gaisford; but most of the MSS have *Δάμας ὁ Σαμύριος.* The form in the text however appears to be the true one from a proverb which obtained currency (*μαίνεται Ἄμυρις*), applied to those whose sagacity is great, but who are so much a-head of the world as to be regarded as foolish by it. Amyris recognized the fulfilment of an oracle, 'that Sybaris would fall as soon as men should be treated with greater reverence than the gods.' A slave having committed some offence took re-

λεγομένου παῖς· οὗτοι μὲν ἀπὸ Ἰταλίης ἦλθον. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου, Ἀμφίμνηστος Ἐπιστρόφου Ἐπιδάμνιος· οὗτος δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου. Αἰτωλὸς δὲ ἦλθε, Τιτόρμου τοῦ ὑπερφύντος τε Ἕλληνας ἰσχύϊ καὶ φυγόντος ἀνθρώπους ἐς τὰς ἐσχατιὰς τῆς Αἰτωλίδος χώρης, τούτου τοῦ Τιτόρμου[287] *ἀδελφεὸς Μάλης· ἀπὸ δὲ Πελοποννήσου, Φείδωνος τοῦ Ἀργείων τυράννου παῖς Λεωκήδης, Φείδωνος δὲ τοῦ τὰ μέτρα ποιήσαντος Πελοποννησίοισι καὶ ὑβρίσαντος μέγιστα δὴ Ἑλλήνων ἁπάντων, ὃς ἐξαναστήσας τοὺς Ἠλείων ἀγωνοθέτας αὐτὸς τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε*[288]*· τούτου τε δὴ παῖς, καὶ Ἀμίαντος Λυκούργου, Ἀρκὰς ἐκ Τραπεζοῦντος· καὶ Ἀζὴν ἐκ Παίου πόλιος Λαφάνης, Εὐφορίωνος τοῦ δεξαμένου τε (ὡς λόγος ἐν Ἀρκαδίῃ λέγεται) τοὺς Διοσκούρους οἰκίοισι*[289] *καὶ*

fuge in a temple, but his master caring nothing for this inflicted summary punishment on him therein. On this he fled to the tomb of his master's father, and this procured the remission of his offence. Amyris observing this, sold his landed property and left the country. (*Proverbia Diogeniana*, iii. 26.) Probably *Siris* was the place where he settled.

[287] *Τιτόρμου*. Several MSS have *Τιτέρμου*. The later anecdotes of this giant make him a herdsman. ÆLIAN (*Var. Hist.* xii. 22) relates a contest between him and the celebrated Milo, similar in its character to that which the old ballads describe between Robin Hood and Little John. Milo rolls with difficulty an enormous stone; Titormus lifts it and carries it for a distance of eight fathoms. He catches a furious bull by the hoof (compare THEOCRITUS, iv. 35), and on another coming up to assist the first, he seizes it in the same way with his other hand. Milo allows himself to be fairly beaten.

[288] *Φείδωνος δὲ τοῦ τὰ μέτρα . . . . τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε.* This clause has been considered an interpolation, from the circumstance that it is a chronological impossibility to bring the Phidon, who expelled the Eleans from their presidency at the Olympic games, down to the time of a man whose father entertained the ambassadors of Crœsus on the occasion recorded in i. 47 and vi. 125. The time of Phidon is securely ascertained by the fact that the Eleans refused to register the Olympiad in which the intrusion took place. This was the twenty-ninth (STRABO, viii. c. 3, p. 173 and 178), a time which also harmonizes well with the genealogy attributed to Phidon, that makes him tenth from Temenus, and therefore about three centuries later than the time given to the Heraclide invasion. His son therefore could not have been the rival for the hand of Agariste with the father of the Clisthenes who 170 years after the date of Phidon's usurpation was in active public life at Athens. But it seems unwarranted to criticize the features of such a narrative on bare historical grounds. The whole account appears to be derived from the private traditions of one of the great Hellenic families which constituted a commercial aristocracy in the early times, until they at last received their death-blow by the revolution of Clisthenes and the circumstances springing out of the Persian invasion. (See note 176 on v. 68.) A greater objection than any derived from chronological inaccuracy seems to be that the introduction of an Argive suitor is out of keeping with the known antipathies of Clisthenes. (See v. 67.) All the other competitors are of the ancient ante-dorian blood. Without Leocedes too, they are twelve in number.

[289] *τοῦ δεξαμένου τοὺς . . Διοσκούρους οἰκίοισι.* A legend of these gods, wandering under the form of men and requesting hospitality, is found elsewhere. At Lacedæmon the house of Phormio was shown, where the Dioscuri were thus received. (PAUSANIAS, iii. 16. 3.) The story of Baucis and Philemon is another form of the same legend (OVID, *Metamorph.* viii. 626, *seqq.*), in which Jupiter and Mercury take the place of the twins. In this shape

ἀπὸ τούτου ξεινοδοκέοντος πάντας ἀνθρώπους· καὶ Ἠλεῖος Ὀνο-
μαστὸς Ἀγαίου· οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐξ αὐτῆς Πελοποννήσου ἦλθον.
ἐκ δὲ Ἀθηνέων ἀπίκοντο Μεγακλέης τε ὁ Ἀλκμαίωνος τούτου τοῦ
παρὰ Κροῖσον ἀπικομένου, καὶ ἄλλος Ἱπποκλείδης Τισάνδρου [290],
πλούτῳ καὶ εἴδεϊ προφέρων Ἀθηναίων. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἐρετρίης, ἀνθεύ-
σης τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, Λυσανίης· οὗτος δὲ ἀπ' Εὐβοίης μοῦνος.
ἐκ δὲ Θεσσαλίης ἦλθε τῶν Σκοπαδέων [291] Διακτορίδης Κρανώνιος·
ἐκ δὲ Μολοσσῶν Ἄλκων· τοσοῦτοι μὲν ἐγένοντο οἱ μνηστῆρες.
Ἀπικομένων δὲ τούτων ἐς τὴν προειρημένην ἡμέρην, ὁ Κλεισθένης 128
πρῶτα μὲν τὰς πάτρας τε αὐτῶν ἀνεπύθετο καὶ γένος ἑκάστου·
μετὰ δὲ, κατέχων ἐνιαυτὸν διεπειρᾶτο αὐτῶν τῆς τε ἀνδραγαθίης
καὶ τῆς ὀργῆς, καὶ παιδεύσιός τε καὶ τρόπου· καὶ ἑνὶ ἑκάστῳ ἰὼν
ἐς συνουσίην καὶ συνάπασι, καὶ ἐς γυμνάσιά τε ἐξαγινέων ὅσοι
ἦσαν αὐτῶν νεώτεροι, καὶ, τό γε μέγιστον, ἐν τῇ συνεστίῃ διεπει-
ρᾶτο· ὅσον γὰρ κατεῖχε χρόνον αὐτοὺς, τοῦτον πάντα ἐποίεε καὶ
ἅμα ἐξείνιζε μεγαλοπρεπέως. καὶ δή κου μάλιστα τῶν μνηστή-
ρων ἠρέσκοντο οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων ἀπιγμένοι, καὶ τούτων μᾶλλον
Ἱπποκλείδης ὁ Τισάνδρου καὶ κατ' ἀνδραγαθίην ἐκρίνετο, καὶ ὅτι
τὰ ἀνέκαθε [292] τοῖσι ἐν Κορίνθῳ Κυψελίδῃσι ἦν προσήκων. Ὡς 129
δὲ ἡ κυρίη ἐγένετο τῶν ἡμερέων τῆς τε κατακλίσιος τοῦ γάμου καὶ
ἐκφάσιος αὐτοῦ Κλεισθένεος, τὸν κρίνοι ἐκ πάντων, θύσας βοῦς
ἑκατὸν ὁ Κλεισθένης εὐώχεε αὐτούς τε τοὺς μνηστῆρας καὶ τοὺς
Σικυωνίους πάντας· ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἐγένοντο, οἱ μνηστῆρες
ἔριν εἶχον ἀμφί τε μουσικῇ καὶ τῷ λεγομένῳ ἐς τὸ μέσον·
προϊούσης δὲ τῆς πόσιος, κατέχων πολλὸν τοὺς ἄλλους [293] ὁ Ἱππο-
κλείδης, ἐκέλευέ οἱ τὸν αὐλητὴν αὐλῆσαι ἐμμέλειαν [294]. πειθομένου

Hippoclides, the most accomplished of the suitors, throws away his own chance. Origin of the proverb οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ.

it was a current belief in Lycaonia in the first century of the Christian era (*Acts* xiv. 12). GRIMM (*Deutsche Mythologie*, xix.) points out the various forms which the same story took in the Scandinavian mythology, and the adaptation of these to several mediæval fictions. The legend was old in the time of Pindar (HYGINUS, *Poet. Astron.* c. 34), who, probably in his Dithyrambs, related a tale based upon it.

290 Ἱπποκλείδης Τισάνδρου. Both these names come into the pedigree of Miltiades's family (see above, note 84 on § 35), but a Miltiades is interposed between them.

291 τῶν Σκοπαδέων. See Perizonius on ÆLIAN (*Var. Hist.* xii. 1).

292 τὰ ἀνέκαθε. Gaisford, with all the MSS but one, has τὸ ἀνέκαθε. But the other phrase seems almost a technical one in Herodotus. See note 156 on v. 62.

293 κατέχων .. τοὺς ἄλλους. This phrase seems to express the entire superiority of Hippoclides to the rest. He "had them in his hands." See note 55 on v. 21.

294 ἐμμέλειαν. This was the grave measure appropriate to *tragedy*. It seems not impossible that what Clisthenes had

δὲ τοῦ αὐλητέω, ὀρχήσατο· καί κως ἑωυτῷ μὲν ἀρεστῶς ὀρχέετο, ὁ δὲ Κλεισθένης ὁρέων ὅλον τὸ πρῆγμα ὑπόπτευε· μετὰ δὲ, ἐπισχὼν ὁ Ἱπποκλείδης χρόνον, ἐκέλευέ τινα τράπεζαν ἐσενεῖκαι· ἐσελθούσης δὲ τῆς τραπέζης, πρῶτα μὲν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ὀρχήσατο Λακωνικὰ σχημάτια· μετὰ δὲ, ἄλλα Ἀττικά· τὸ τρίτον δὲ, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐρείσας ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν τοῖσι σκέλεσι ἐχειρονόμησε[295]. Κλεισθένης δὲ, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα καὶ τὰ δεύτερα ὀρχεομένου ἀποστυγέων γαμβρὸν ἄν οἱ ἔτι γενέσθαι Ἱπποκλείδεα, διὰ τήν τε ὄρχησιν καὶ τὴν ἀναιδείην, κατεῖχε ἑωυτὸν οὐ βουλόμενος ἐκραγῆναι ἐς αὐτόν· ὡς δὲ εἶδε τοῖσι σκέλεσι χειρονομήσαντα, οὐκέτι κατέχειν δυνάμενος εἶπε· "ὦ παῖ Τισάνδρου, ἀπορχήσαό γε μὴν τὸν γάμον" ὁ δὲ Ἱπποκλείδης ὑπολαβὼν εἶπε· "οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ[296]." ἀπὸ τούτου μὲν τοῦτο οὐνομάζεται.

130 *Agariste is given to Megacles, the son of Alcmæon, and the marriage takes place according to the Athenian rites.*

Κλεισθένης δὲ σιγὴν ποιησάμενος, ἔλεξε ἐς μέσον τάδε· "ἄνδρες παιδὸς τῆς ἐμῆς μνηστῆρες, ἐγὼ καὶ πάντας ὑμέας ἐπαινέω, καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, εἰ οἷόν τε εἴη, χαριζοίμην ἄν, μήτ' ἕνα ὑμέων ἐξαίρετον ἀποκρίνων μήτε τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀποδοκιμάζων· ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ οἷά τέ ἐστι μιῆς πέρι παρθένου βουλεύοντα πᾶσι κατὰ νόον ποιέειν, τοῖσι μὲν ὑμέων ἀπελαυνομένοισι τοῦδε τοῦ γάμου τάλαντον ἀργυρίου ἑκάστῳ δωρεὴν δίδωμι τῆς ἀξιώσιος εἵνεκα τῆς ἐξ ἐμεῦ γῆμαι, καὶ τῆς ἐξ οἴκου ἀποδημίης· τῷ δὲ Ἀλκμαίωνος Μεγακλέϊ[297] ἐγγυῶ παῖδα τὴν ἐμὴν Ἀγαρίστην, νόμοισι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίων·" φαμένου δὲ ἐγγυᾶσθαι Μεγακλέος, ἐκεκύρωτο ὁ γάμος Κλεισθενεῖ.

131 *Of this Agariste was born Clisthenes, the great reformer of the Athenian polity,*

Ἀμφὶ μὲν κρίσιος τῶν μνηστήρων τοσαῦτα ἐγένετο, καὶ οὕτω Ἀλκμαιωνίδαι ἐβώσθησαν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· τούτων δὲ συνοικησάντων, γίνεται Κλεισθένης τε ὁ τὰς φυλὰς καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίην Ἀθηναίοισι καταστήσας, ἔχων τὸ οὔνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ μητροπάτορος τοῦ Σικυωνίου· οὗτός τε δὴ γίνεται Μεγακλέϊ, καὶ Ἱπποκράτης.

carried out with regard to the religious worship of Sicyon had something to do with his uneasy feelings on seeing Hippoclides commence his performance. He had severed the ritual of Adrastus into two parts, and appropriated the least important—the choruses—to Dionysus; and it would seem that this was the only portion which the devotees of Adrastus could accept. (See v. 67, and note 172.) Hippoclides therefore by what he did, even at the first, identified himself in a manner with that class of Clisthenes's subjects for which he had the greatest dislike.

295 ἐχειρονόμησε. See note 351 on ii. 121.

296 οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ. The proper application of the proverb is to persons so light-hearted, or careless, as to let no misfortune affect them even for a minute.

297 τῷ δὲ Ἀλκμαίωνος Μεγακλέϊ. The manuscripts M, P, K, F have merely Μεγακλέϊ δέ.

ἐκ δὲ Ἱπποκράτεος, Μεγακλέης τε ἄλλος, καὶ Ἀγαρίστη ἄλλη, ἀπὸ τῆς Κλεισθένεος Ἀγαρίστης ἔχουσα τὸ οὔνομα· ἣ συνοικήσασά τε Ξανθίππῳ τῷ Ἀρίφρονος καὶ ἔγκυος ἐοῦσα εἶδε ὄψιν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ· ἐδόκεε δὲ λέοντα τεκεῖν· καὶ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας τίκτει Περικλέα Ξανθίππῳ. whose niece (also called Agariste) was the mother of *Pericles*, by Xanthippus, son of Ariphron.

132 Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐν Μαραθῶνι τρῶμα γενόμενον, Μιλτιάδης καὶ πρότερον εὐδοκιμέων παρὰ Ἀθηναίοισι τότε μᾶλλον αὔξετο [a]· αἰτήσας δὲ νέας ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ στρατιήν τε καὶ χρήματα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, οὐ φράσας σφι ἐπ' ἣν ἐπιστρατεύεται χώρην, ἀλλὰ φὰς αὐτοὺς καταπλουτιεῖν ἤν οἱ ἕπωνται· ἐπὶ γὰρ χώρην τοιαύτην δή τινα ἄξειν ὅθεν χρυσὸν εὐπετέως ἄφθονον οἴσονται· λέγων τοιαῦτα, αἴτεε τὰς νέας· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τούτοισι ἐπαρθέντες παρέδοσαν. The influence of Miltiades is much increased by the success at Marathon.

133 Παραλαβὼν δὲ ὁ Μιλτιάδης τὴν στρατιὴν ἔπλεε ἐπὶ Πάρον, πρόφασιν ἔχων ὡς οἱ Πάριοι ὑπῆρξαν πρότεροι στρατευόμενοι τριήρεϊ ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἅμα τῷ Πέρσῃ. (τοῦτο μὲν δὴ πρόσχημα λόγου ἦν· ἀτάρ τινα καὶ ἔγκοτον εἶχε τοῖσι Παρίοισι διὰ Λυσαγόρεα τὸν Τισίεω, ἐόντα γένος Πάριον, διαβαλόντα μιν πρὸς Ὑδάρνεα τὸν Πέρσην [298].) ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὴν ἔπλεε ὁ Μιλτιάδης τῇ στρατιῇ ἐπολιόρκεε Παρίους, κατειλημένους ἐντὸς τείχεος· καὶ ἐσπέμπων κήρυκα αἴτεε ἑκατὸν τάλαντα, φάς, ἢν μή οἱ δῶσι, οὐκ ἀπαναστήσειν τὴν στρατιὴν πρὶν ἢ ἐξέλῃ σφέας· οἱ δὲ Πάριοι ὅκως μέν τι δώσουσι Μιλτιάδῃ ἀργυρίου οὐδὲ διενοεῦντο· οἱ δὲ ὅκως διαφυλάξουσι τὴν πόλιν τοῦτο ἐμηχανῶντο, ἄλλα τε ἐπι- He is sent on a roving commission with seventy ships, with which he attacks *Paros* unsuccessfully.

[a] Aristotle (*Politic.* v. p. 1304) speaks of the effect of the battle of Marathon as having been to raise the influence of the court of Areopagus, and increase the aristocratic character of the Athenian government, while, on the other hand, the feats of the ναυτικὸς ὄχλος at Salamis democratised it. The inhabitants of the Piræus were, in his time, more democratically inclined than those of the city. (*Ib.* v. p. 1303.)

[298] πρὸς Ὑδάρνεα τὸν Πέρσην. A Hydarnes is mentioned in the narrative given below (vii. 135) as having the same command on the coast of Asia Minor, which above (v. 25) is said to have been entrusted to Otanes. But Otanes does not appear to have been superseded until just before the first expedition of Mardonius,—and then, apparently, by Mardonius absorbing his command and also that of others in the higher powers which he had received. See vi. 43. A year before this Miltiades had left the Chersonese; so that the calumny in question must have taken place at an earlier period. But Otanes was appointed immediately after Darius's return from Scythia, before he left Sardis (v. 25). If therefore the stories belong to the same cycle of accounts, we must suppose Hydarnes about the person of Darius before being appointed to his command, and in this capacity to have been influenced by Lysagoras. *A* Hydarnes was one of the seven conspirators (iii. 70); but if he is the individual here meant, it is strange that the circumstance should not be mentioned.

φραζόμενοι καὶ τῇ μάλιστα ἔσκε ἑκάστοτε ἐπίμαχον τοῦ τείχεος,
134 τοῦτο ἅμα νυκτὶ ἐξήρετο διπλήσιον τοῦ ἀρχαίου. Ἐς μὲν δὴ τοσοῦτο τοῦ λόγου οἱ πάντες Ἕλληνες λέγουσι· τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὐτοὶ Πάριοι γενέσθαι ὧδε λέγουσι· Μιλτιάδῃ ἀπορέοντι ἐλθεῖν ἐς λόγους αἰχμάλωτον γυναῖκα, ἐοῦσαν μὲν Παρίην γένος, οὔνομα δέ οἱ εἶναι Τιμοῦν· εἶναι δὲ ὑποζάκορον τῶν χθονίων θεῶν· ταύτην δὲ ἐλθοῦσαν ἐς ὄψιν Μιλτιάδεω συμβουλεῦσαί οἱ, εἰ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιέεται Πάρον ἑλεῖν, τὰ ἂν αὐτὴ ὑποθῆται ταῦτα ποιέειν· μετὰ δέ, τὴν μὲν ὑποθέσθαι, τὸν δὲ ἀπικόμενον ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν τὸν πρὸ τῆς πόλιος ἐόντα τὸ ἕρκος θεσμοφόρου Δήμητρος ὑπερθορέειν, οὐ δυνάμενον τὰς θύρας ἀνοῖξαι· ὑπερθορόντα δὲ ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὸ μέγαρον ὅ τι δὴ ποιήσοντα ἐντός, εἴτε κινήσοντά τι τῶν ἀκινήτων εἴτε ὅ τι δήποτε πρήξοντα· πρὸς τῇσι θύρῃσί τε γενέσθαι, καὶ πρόκατε[299] φρίκης αὐτὸν ὑπελθούσης, ὀπίσω τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἵεσθαι· καταθρώσκοντα δὲ τὴν αἱμασιὴν τὸν μηρὸν σπασθῆναι· οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ
135 γόνυ προσπταῖσαι λέγουσι. Μιλτιάδης μέν νυν φλαύρως ἔχων ἀπέπλεε ὀπίσω, οὔτε χρήματα Ἀθηναίοισι ἄγων οὔτε Πάρον προσκτησάμενος, ἀλλὰ πολιορκήσας τε ἓξ καὶ εἴκοσι ἡμέρας καὶ δηϊώσας τὴν νῆσον. Πάριοι δὲ πυθόμενοι ὡς ἡ ὑποζάκορος τῶν θεῶν Τιμὼ Μιλτιάδῃ κατηγήσατο[300], βουλόμενοί μιν ἀντὶ τούτων τιμωρήσασθαι, θεοπρόπους πέμπουσι ἐς Δελφούς, ὥς σφεας ἡσυχίη τῆς πολιορκίης ἔσχε· ἔπεμπον δὲ ἐπειρησομένους εἰ καταχρήσονται τὴν ὑποζάκορον τῶν θεῶν ὡς ἐξηγησαμένην τοῖσι ἐχθροῖσι τῆς πατρίδος ἅλωσιν, καὶ τὰ ἐς ἔρσενα γόνον ἄρρητα ἱρὰ ἐκφήνασαν[301] Μιλτιάδῃ· ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οὐκ ἔα, φᾶσα, οὐ Τιμοῦν εἶναι τὴν αἰτίην τούτων, ἀλλὰ δεῖν γὰρ Μιλτιάδεα τελευτᾶν μὴ εὖ, φανῆναί οἱ τῶν κακῶν κατηγεμόνα· Παρίοισι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἡ Πυθίη ἔχρησε.
136 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐκ Πάρου Μιλτιάδεα απονοστήσαντα ἔσχον ἐν στόμασι οἵ τε ἄλλοι καὶ μάλιστα Ξάνθιππος ὁ Ἀρίφρονος[302]· ὃς

The Parian account of the misfortune which befel him.

On his return to

[299] πρόκατε. This form of πρόκα is found four times in Herodotus. See note 392 on i. 111.

[300] καθηγήσατο. See note 161 on ii. 49, and that on vii. 183.

[301] ἐκφήνασαν, "as having exhibited." The difference between the office of the ἐξηγήτης and the ἱεροφάντης is well shown by this sentence. Timo was supposed to have "instructed Miltiades what course to pursue" (ἐξηγήσασθαι) in order to capture Paros, but to have "exhibited" (ἐκφῆναι) to him the sacred symbols, which no male might behold. See note on 141 on ii. 49 (with which compare PLATO, *Legg*. xii. § 9).

[302] Ξάνθιππος ὁ Ἀρίφρονος. See note 263 on § 115, above.

θανάτου ὑπαγαγὼν[a] ὑπὸ τὸν δῆμον Μιλτιάδεα ἐδίωκε τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἀπάτης εἵνεκεν· Μιλτιάδης δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν παρεὼν οὐκ ἀπελογέετο· ἦν γὰρ ἀδύνατος ὥστε σηπομένου τοῦ μηροῦ· προκειμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν κλίνῃ ὑπεραπολογέοντο οἱ φίλοι, τῆς μάχης τε τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι γενομένης πολλὰ ἐπιμεμνημένοι καὶ τὴν Λήμνου αἵρεσιν[303], ὡς ἑλὼν Λῆμνόν τε καὶ τισάμενος τοὺς Πελασγοὺς παρέδωκε Ἀθηναίοισι. προσγενομένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν τοῦ θανάτου[a], ζημιώσαντος δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀδικίην πεντήκοντα ταλάντοισι, Μιλτιάδης μὲν μετὰ ταῦτα σφακελίσαντός τε τοῦ μηροῦ καὶ σαπέντος τελευτᾷ, τὰ δὲ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα ἐξέτισε ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Κίμων. Athens his enemies endeavour to ruin him, and partially succeed.

137 Λῆμνον δὲ Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κίμωνος ὧδε ἔσχε· Πελασγοί, ἐπεί τε ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐξεβλήθησαν, εἴτε ὧν δὴ δικαίως εἴτε ἀδίκως· (τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι πλὴν τὰ λεγόμενα·) [ὅτι Ἑκαταῖος[304] μὲν ὁ Ἡγησάνδρου ἔφησε ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι λέγων ἀδίκως· ἐπεί τε γὰρ ἰδεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὴν χώρην, τήν σφισι αὐτοῖσι[305] ὑπὸ τὸν Ὑμησσὸν ἐοῦσαν ἔδοσαν οἰκῆσαι μισθὸν τοῦ Circumstances under which Miltiades obtained possession of *Lemnos*.

[a] *ὑπαγαγών*. The MSS vary between this and the simple form. The latter is found without any variation in § 104: *ὑπὸ δικαστήριον αὐτὸν ἀγαγόντες*, and the former in § 82: *νοστήσαντα δέ μιν ὑπῆγον οἱ ἐχθροὶ ὑπὸ τοὺς ἐφόρους*.

[303] *τὴν Λήμνου αἵρεσιν*. These words in the accusative case, coupled (as they conceived) with a genitive, *τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν* M., have caused some discussion among the commentators, which perhaps was aided by the injudicious punctuation. But there is no difficulty at all in the passage if a comma only be placed after *αἵρεσιν*. Translate: "His friends made a defence for him, in which they both frequently introduced a reference to the battle at Marathon, and spoke of the capture of Lemnos, how that he took Lemnos, and after punishing the Pelasgians, made the island over to the Athenians." *Τὴν Λήμνου αἵρεσιν* is what has sometimes been called the *accusativus de quo*. The friends of Miltiades did not make that topic *the staple* of their argument, as they did the battle of Marathon. If they had, Herodotus would have written *τῆς Λήμνου αἱρέσεως*. But they gave a turn to the fact of his having captured Lemnos, by representing it as a feat of vengeance for offences committed against the Athenians long before,—*ὡς ἑλών, κ.τ.λ.* See note 315 on § 140, below.

[a] If Plato may be trusted, his escape was a very narrow one. *Μιλτιάδην δὲ τὸν ἐν Μαραθῶνι εἰς τὸ βάραθρον ἐμβαλεῖν ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸν πρύτανιν, ἐνέπεσεν ἄν.* (*Gorgias*, § 153.)

[304] *ὅτι Ἑκαταῖος μὲν, κ.τ.λ.* I have included the remainder of this section between brackets, not from any notion of its being spurious, but because it seems undoubtedly to be of the nature of a *note*, although not improbably from the hand of the author himself.

[305] *σφισι αὐτοῖσι*. It has been proposed to erase *αὐτοῖσι*, or to read *αὐτοί*, referring it to the Athenians. But it is to be observed that here a statement is being copied from Hecatæus's work; and if Hecatæus gave the account as the Pelasgian one, making *them* tell the story (by introducing it with some such phrase as *ὡς δὲ Λήμνιοι λέγουσι*), *σφισιν αὐτοῖσι*, "them*selves*," would be the proper expression to use. The same explanation will account for the use of *αὐτοὺς* below, *i. e.* "the Pelasgians."

τείχεος τοῦ περὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολίν κοτε ἐληλαμένου· ταύτην ὡς ἰδεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐξεργασμένην εὖ, τὴν πρότερον εἶναι[306] κακήν τε καὶ τοῦ μηδενὸς ἀξίην, λαβεῖν φθόνον τε καὶ ἵμερον τῆς γῆς, καὶ οὕτω ἐξελαύνειν αὐτοὺς οὐδεμίαν ἄλλην πρόφασιν προϊσχομένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ὡς δὲ αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι, δικαίως ἐξελάσαι· κατοικημένους γὰρ τοὺς Πελασγοὺς ὑπὸ τῷ Ὑμησσῷ, ἐνθεῦτεν ὁρμεωμένους ἀδικέειν τάδε· φοιτᾶν γὰρ αἰεὶ τὰς σφετέρας θυγατέρας τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας[307] ἐπ' ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐννεάκρουνον[308]· (οὐ γὰρ εἶναι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον σφίσι κω οὐδὲ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἕλλησι οἰκέτας·) ὅκως δὲ ἔλθοιεν αὗται, τοὺς Πελασγοὺς ὑπὸ ὕβριός τε καὶ ὀλιγωρίης βιᾶσθαί σφεας· καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι σφίσι οὐκ ἀποχρᾶν ποιέειν, ἀλλὰ τέλος καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντας ἐπιχειρήσειν φανῆναι ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ· ἑωυτοὺς δὲ γενέσθαι τοσούτῳ ἐκείνων ἄνδρας ἀμείνονας, ὅσῳ παρεὸν αὐτοῖσι ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς Πελασγοὺς (ἐπεί σφεας ἔλαβον ἐπιβουλεύοντας)· οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι, ἀλλά σφι προειπεῖν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐξιέναι· τοὺς δὲ οὕτω δὴ ἐκχωρήσαντας, ἄλλα τε σχεῖν χωρία καὶ δὴ καὶ Λῆμνον[309]. ἐκεῖνα μὲν δὴ Ἑκαταῖος ἔλεξε,
138 ταῦτα δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι.] Οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ οὗτοι Λῆμνον τότε νεμόμενοι, καὶ βουλόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσασθαι, εὖ τε ἐξεπιστάμενοι τὰς Ἀθηναίων ὁρτὰς, πεντηκοντέρους στησάμενοι ἐλόχησαν Ἀρτέμιδι ἐν Βραυρῶνι ἀγούσας ὁρτὴν τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων γυναῖκας· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἁρπάσαντες τουτέων πολλὰς οἴχοντο ἀποπλέοντες· καί σφεας ἐς Λῆμνον ἀγαγόντες παλλακὰς εἶχον· ὡς δὲ τέκνων αὗται αἱ γυναῖκες ὑπεπλήσθησαν, γλῶσσάν τε τὴν

306 *τὴν πρότερον εἶναι*. This expression has caused some difficulty to the commentators from their not remarking that *τὴν* is the relative pronoun, not the article.

307 One manuscript (S) omits the words *καὶ τοὺς παῖδας*, and Schäfer and Bekker not only omit them, but the particle *τε* which precedes them. But there seems no sufficient reason for this proceeding. No doubt the practice in antiquity was for the *women* of the family to be *ὑδροφόροι*. Here however the additional words do not oppose this fact. Translate: "Their daughters with the children used to go after water." That Herodotus considered the *daughters* as the important feature in the story is evident from the gender of *σφετέρας*, and of *αὗται* two lines below.

308 *ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐννεάκρουνον*. Thucydides speaks of this spring, which was called *Callirrhoe* originally, as being in the oldest part of the city with the exception of the acropolis (ii. 15). It is to be looked for under the south-eastern part of the hill. It was beautified by the Pisistratids, and from its separation into nine outlets got the name of Enneacrunus.

309 *καὶ δὴ καὶ Λῆμνον*. From Lemnos (according to the tradition followed in iv. 145) they expelled the *grandchildren* of the Argonauts, who thereupon went as suppliants to Taygetum.

*Ἀττικὴν καὶ τρόπους τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐδίδασκον τοὺς παῖδας· οἱ δὲ
οὔτε συμμίσγεσθαι τοῖσι ἐκ τῶν Πελασγίδων γυναικῶν παισὶ
ἤθελον, εἴ τε τύπτοιτό τις αὐτῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνων τινὸς, ἐβοήθεόν τε
πάντες καὶ ἐτιμώρεον ἀλλήλοισι· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἄρχειν τε τῶν παίδων
οἱ παῖδες ἐδικαίευν, καὶ πολλὸν ἐπεκράτεον· μαθόντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ
Πελασγοὶ ἑωυτοῖσι λόγους ἐδίδοσαν· καί σφισι βουλευομένοισι
δεινόν τι ἐσέδυνε, εἰ δὴ διαγινώσκοιεν σφίσι τε βοηθέειν οἱ παῖδες
πρὸς τῶν κουριδιέων γυναικῶν*[310] *τοὺς παῖδας, καὶ τούτων αὐτίκα
ἄρχειν πειρῴατο, τί δὴ ἀνδρωθέντες δῆθεν ποιήσουσι; ἐνθαῦτα
ἔδοξέ σφι κτείνειν τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ἀττικέων γυναικῶν·
ποιεῦσι δὴ ταῦτα, προσαπολλύουσι δέ σφεων καὶ τὰς μητέρας.
ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τοῦ ἔργου*[311] *καὶ τοῦ προτέρου τούτων τὸ ἐργάσαντο
αἱ γυναῖκες τοὺς ἅμα Θόαντι ἄνδρας σφετέρους ἀποκτείνασαι,
νενόμισται ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὰ σχέτλια ἔργα πάντα Λήμνια
καλέεσθαι. Ἀποκτείνασι δὲ τοῖσι Πελασγοῖσι τοὺς σφετέρους* 139
*παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας, οὔτε γῆ καρπὸν ἔφερε οὔτε γυναῖκές τε
καὶ ποῖμναι ὁμοίως ἔτικτον καὶ πρὸ τοῦ· πιεζόμενοι δὲ λιμῷ τε καὶ
ἀπαιδίῃ, ἐς Δελφοὺς ἔπεμπον λύσιν τινὰ αἰτησόμενοι τῶν παρεόν-
των κακῶν· ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφέας ἐκέλευε Ἀθηναίοισι δίκας διδόναι
ταύτας τὰς ἂν αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι δικάσωσι· ἦλθόν τε δὴ ἐς τὰς
Ἀθήνας οἱ Πελασγοὶ, καὶ δίκας ἐπαγγέλλοντο βουλόμενοι διδόναι
παντὸς τοῦ ἀδικήματος· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐν τῷ πρυτανηΐῳ κλίνην
στρώσαντες ὡς εἶχον κάλλιστα, καὶ τράπεζαν ἐπιπλέην ἀγαθῶν
πάντων παραθέντες, ἐκέλευον τοὺς Πελασγοὺς τὴν χώρην σφίσι
παραδιδόναι οὕτω ἔχουσαν· οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ ὑπολαβόντες εἶπαν·
« ἐπεὰν βορέῃ ἀνέμῳ αὐτημερὸν νηῦς ἐξανύσῃ ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέρης ἐς
τὴν ἡμετέρην, τότε παραδώσομεν»· τοῦτο εἶπαν, ἐπιστάμενοι
τοῦτο εἶναι ἀδύνατον γενέσθαι· ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ πρὸς νότον κέεται
πολλὸν τῆς Λήμνου. τότε μὲν τοσαῦτα· ἔτεσι δὲ κάρτα πολλοῖσι* 140

[310] *κουριδιέων γυναικῶν.* See note 463 on i. 135.

[311] *ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τοῦ ἔργου.* It is not difficult to see that Herodotus is here following a popular Attic tradition. The early pride of the children is a feature showing the Athenian origin of the legend. For another tradition relative to the Pelasgian neighbours of the Athenians, see note 150 on ii. 51. Another origin still may be assigned to the proverb. *Lemnos* was a name of the *μεγάλη θεὸς*, and virgins were habitually sacrificed to her. (STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS, *sub v.* *Λῆμνος*, apparently following Hecatæus.)

ὕστερον τούτων[312], ὡς ἡ Χερσόνησος ἡ ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἐγένετο ὑπ' Ἀθηναίοισι[313], Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κίμωνος, ἐτησιέων ἀνέμων κατεστηκότων νηΐ κατανύσας ἐξ Ἐλαιοῦντος τοῦ ἐν Χερσονήσῳ ἐς Λῆμνον, προηγόρευε ἐξιέναι ἐκ τῆς νήσου τοῖσι Πελασγοῖσι, ἀναμιμνήσκων σφέας τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ οὐδαμὰ ἤλπισαν σφίσι οἱ Πελασγοὶ ἐπιτελέεσθαι. Ἡφαιστιέες[314] μέν νυν ἐπείθοντο· Μυριναῖοι δὲ οὐ συγγινωσκόμενοι εἶναι τὴν Χερσόνησον Ἀττικὴν ἐπολιορκέοντο, ἐς ὃ καὶ αὐτοὶ παρέστησαν· οὕτω δὴ τὴν Λῆμνον ἔσχον Ἀθηναῖοί τε καὶ Μιλτιάδης[315].

312 *ἔτεσι κάρτα πολλοῖσι ὕστερον τούτων.* The outrage upon the Athenian women was conceived to have taken place in the third generation after the Argonautic expedition. (See the note 309 on § 137.) Miltiades's justification of an act of violence by the plea of a mythical event supposed to have taken place centuries before, is quite in keeping with the feeling of pagan antiquity to its very close. TACITUS makes the Asiatic cities, when pleading for certain privileges before the Roman senate, urge mythical tales of their origin as an argument. The Ætolians too were said to have obtained the privilege of self-government from the Romans, on the ground that their ancestors, alone of all the Greeks, had abstained from joining the expedition against Troy. (STRABO, x. p. 348.) But the mediæval history of England furnishes a perfectly parallel case. "In a dispute which took place during the reign of Edward I. between England and Scotland, the descent of the kings of England from *Brute the Trojan* was solemnly embodied in a document put forth to sustain the rights of the crown of England, as an argument bearing on the case then in discussion, and it passed without attack from the opposing party." (GROTE, *History of Greece*, i. p. 639.)

313 *ὡς ἡ Χερσόνησος . . ἐγένετο ὑπ' Ἀθηναίοισι.* This is the form under which Athenian vanity, after the complete establishment of the popular government, was disposed to represent the dynasty of Miltiades. Compare the account (probably from family tradition) which Herodotus gives above, § 39. A precisely similar perversion of historical truth appears in the case of Sigeum. See note 271 on v. 94, and 276 on v. 95.

314 *Ἡφαιστιέες.* See note 372 on iv. 145.

315 *οὕτω δὴ τὴν Λῆμνον ἔσχον Ἀθηναῖοί τε καὶ Μιλτιάδης.* A curious passage is preserved in STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS (*sub v.* Ἡφαιστία) which throws remarkable light on this transaction. CHARAX in his *Chronica* related the capture of the Myrinæans by Miltiades, and added: *τῶν δ' Ἡφαιστιέων τύραννος ὢν φοβηθεὶς τὴν δύναμιν ἔφη χαριζόμενος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις φίλοις οὖσιν ἐμπεδοῦν τὰ ὁμολογηθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν Πελασγῶν, καὶ ἀμαχεὶ παρέδωκε τὴν πόλιν.* Valcknaer supposes that in the word ὢν exist the relics of Ἕρμων (of whom it is related that the expression Ἑρμώνειος χάρις became a proverb from the circumstance that he *βασιλεύων τῶν Πελάσγῶν ἐξέστη τῆς χώρας, τῇ μὲν ἀληθείᾳ τοῦ Δαρείου τὴν δύναμιν φοβηθεὶς, προσποιησάμενος δὲ ἑκὼν διδόναι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὴν χάριν.* ZENOBIA, *Prov. Cent.* iii. 85). But it is quite a gratuitous assumption that Hermon was tyrant of Pelasgians *in Lemnos*. He might have been so of those in Imbros (see v. 26), or those in Scylaee or Placie, or several other places in the neighbourhood of the Hellespont. But as applied to Miltiades, the matter admits of a very plausible solution. When the revolt against Darius stimulated by Aristagoras broke out, Lemnos was under Persian rule, and Lycaretus, brother of Mæandrius, satrap there (v. 27). The Ionians having for the moment command of the seas (v. 103), of course cut off all communication between Lemnos and Imbros and the main, and this gave an excellent opportunity to Miltiades (of which it can hardly be doubted he took advantage) to pounce upon the island from his eyrie in the Chersonese. The Lemnians, having no common interest with

the Ionians, would find no sympathy from the allies, and Miltiades would be enabled to secure his prize as the price of his adhesion to the revolution. When the overwhelming Persian force at last obliged him to take refuge in Athens, the jealousy of the Alcmæonids would be excited by his presence, and they would endeavour to fix a charge upon him of having played the dynast in the Chersonese (§ 104), a charge which the contrast between Lemnos and the Ionian cities, whose tyrants were expelled (v. 37), would be a most powerful argument to confirm. But his presence of mind did not fail him. He admitted the fact of his being dynast over the Hephæstians, but pleaded that this δύναμις (an euphemism for δυναστείαν) was what clinched (ἐμπεδοῦν) the surrender of the Pelasgians. *He* was only the instrument of fulfilling the omen! Lemnos *belonged* to the Athenians! Such a *coup* as this would naturally lead not only to his acquittal, but his immediate election as στρατηγός. (See note 238 on § 104.) Hermon was less fortunate or less shrewd.

ʽΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ʽΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ʽΕΚΤΗ.

EXCURSUS ON VI. 102.

Καὶ ἦν γὰρ ὁ Μαραθὼν ἐπιτηδεώτατον χωρίον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐνιππεῦσαι καὶ ἀγχοτάτω τῆς Ἐρετρίης, ἐς τοῦτό σφι κατηγέετο Ἱππίης ὁ Πεισιστράτεω.

There are several points connected with the account of the battle of Marathon which are very difficult to explain. Colonel Leake has employed a chapter of the Appendix to his work on *Athens and the Demi of Attica* in the examination of them, but has not, in my opinion, altogether cleared up the subject.

One difficulty, perhaps the greatest of all, arises from the circumstance that although Hippias, who acted as guide to the invading army, is expressly stated to have selected Marathon as the point for debarkation, partly from its adaptation to the employment of cavalry,—an arm in which the Persians were notoriously superior,—no mention of the use of cavalry appears in the account of the engagement. And that, from some cause or other, the invaders were not able to avail themselves of the advantage they possessed in this respect, may be inferred from the proverbial expression χωρὶς ἱππεῖς ("the cavalry are away"), which, according to Suidas (*sub v.*), arose from the very fact of their absence at the time of the engagement, and of the advantage which the Athenians derived from the knowledge of that circumstance.

Colonel Leake accounts for this, as well as for some other features in the narrative of Herodotus, by imputing to the Persian commanders an amount of imbecility which nothing but the strongest

direct testimony would warrant. He supposes that on landing their cavalry, and finding that there was "insufficient space for them in the plain of Marathon within the marshes, they were placed in some neighbouring plain, without any means of passing either those barriers or the mountains; and that on the day of action they were not even within sight of it." He also remarks it as a very difficult thing to explain, why the Persians should have remained inactive during the nine complete days which elapsed between the moment when the Athenians arrived in the presence of the enemy and the time of the battle. "It is even difficult to conceive (he says) how it happened that with such numbers as ancient authors have ascribed to them, and straitened for room as they must have been in the plain of Marathon, they did not spread on every side, until they had gradually occupied all the hills around the plain, had ascertained the weakness of their adversaries, and had found the means of surrounding and attacking them on the flanks and rear. But it is clear from Herodotus that no such consequences took place; that the invaders did not even venture to penetrate into the valley of Marathóna, which was open to them; but that they remained irresolute in their maritime position until the Athenians attacked them."

That the Persians expected to fight almost immediately upon their landing seems likely from the part taken by Hippias on that occasion. He himself at once drew up the troops on the debarkation being effected,—and so little did he appear to consider success certain, that he prudently got the ships afloat (probably by carrying a hawse off) as soon as ever they touched the beach (*καταγομένας ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα τὰς νέας ὥρμιζε οὕτως*, § 107). These provisions indicate a cautious temper rather than an irresolute one. Hippias, if he expected to be attacked while the debarkation was going on, took the most judicious measures to defend himself. The bowmen from the ships, they riding in just enough water to float them, could have effectually covered the troops while forming on the beach, and, in the event of their being driven back by the Greeks, would have very much facilitated their re-embarkation. That in fact they did this on the day of the engagement is very likely, from the circumstance, that in spite of the asserted panic-flight of the Persians, the victors succeeded in capturing only seven vessels.

Now, as Herodotus goes into these details of the mode of debark-

ation, it is remarkable that he should say nothing of the landing of the horses,—an extremely difficult operation at all times in the face of an enemy,—and an especially interesting one on this occasion, as the adaptation of the plain for cavalry is explicitly stated to be Hippias's motive for selecting the site he did. I believe the real reason of this omission is, that in fact no horses in any numbers were yet landed. They *had been* debarked at Eretria, as Herodotus mentions (§ 101), little more than a week before, and there, I conceive, they still remained. There was no difficulty found in landing them *there;* for the power of the Eretrians was, at least in their own opinion, so inferior to that of the Persians, that the former had no thoughts of resisting in any other way than by shutting themselves up within their own walls[1] (§ 101).

But now the question occurs, why should not the cavalry have been carried at once to Marathon? They were not so, I conceive, because of the much greater difficulty of landing them in the face of an opposing force such as Hippias's proceeding shows him to have anticipated. His plan apparently was in the first instance to form a *lodgment* on the coast, by means of which he might cover the landing of the cavalry, without fear of an attack during the operation. This preliminary step having been effected, intelligence could easily be sent to Eubœa, and the horses transported from the good quarters in which they had been left in the country of the Hippobotæ, to the barren hills of Attica, exactly at the time when their services would be required. If, instead of maintaining their important position at the temple of Heracles, the Athenians had retreated upon Athens, Hippias would doubtless have done as his father did under similar circumstances forty-seven years before; he would himself have occupied the position evacuated by them. He would then have sent for his cavalry; and on their arrival have moved up the valley and entered the plain of Athens. But the position of the Greeks seems to have been so skilfully selected as to present an almost impregnable barrier to the invaders, so long as there remained resolution to maintain it. The plain of Marathon is enclosed by the heights of

[1] Perhaps it is to this circumstance the taunt of Themistocles alludes (PLUTARCH. *Themist.* § 11): *τοῦ δ' Ἐρετριέως πειρωμένου λέγειν τι πρὸς αὐτὸν, "ἦ γὰρ, ἔφη, καὶ ὑμῖν περὶ πολέμου τίς ἐστι λόγος, οἳ καθάπερ αἱ τευθίδες μάχαιραν μὲν ἔχετε, καρδίαν δὲ οὐκ ἔχετε;"*

Diacria and Brilessus, the roots of which extend to the sea, forming respectively the northern and southern boundaries of the bay. Towards the interior the plain branches off into two valleys, flanked and separated from one another by mountains inaccessible to cavalry, and in which the positions become stronger at every step, until they meet in one point at the modern *Stamáta*, near the upper part of the plain of Athens. In the southernmost of these two valleys is a small village, called at the present day *Vraná*, which Colonel Leake, on apparently good grounds, identifies with the site of the ancient Marathon. About a mile nearer the sea this valley debouches into the plain of Marathon, and here Leake has seen reason to fix the site of the Heracleum in the precinct of which the Athenians were encamped. Their right rested upon the hill of *Argalíki* (a part of Brilessus), and their left was protected by Mount *Kotróni*, an insulated hill of no great height, but extremely rugged, which separates the two valleys above mentioned. Thus posted, the army of Miltiades effectually stopped all access to the plain of Athens by the nearest road, which ran through Vraná and Stamáta. But their position appears to have been taken up not merely with this view, but also for the purpose of defending another means of access to the city. The roots of Brilessus which form the southern boundary of Marathon fall so gradually as to present no very defensible impediment to the communication between the plain of Marathon and the plain of Mesogæa, and Athens might be reached by a road over these, passing through Gargettus and Pallene. (In the view of many this is the road by which Pisistratus marched upon Athens from Marathon.) But a glance at the map shows that while the Athenian force was posted at the Heracleum, no body of troops could move by this road without exposing their *right* flank and rear to them. And although the roots of Brilessus are not so steep as to present an inaccessible barrier, they are at this time, and doubtless were at the time of the engagement, covered with low pine-trees and brushwood; and the road itself, at its debouchment from the plain, not a mile and a half to the south of the Heracleum, passes between the mountains and a marsh. With an army so posted as that of the Athenian general, a few judiciously placed abatis, formed of trees cut down and laid with their heads towards the enemy, might be converted into a quite sufficient obstacle to prevent his march by this road in the presence of an enemy

on the vulnerable flank. And this is perhaps the operation which is obscurely indicated in the account of CORNELIUS NEPOS [2], and alluded to by CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA [3].

Under these circumstances it is perhaps more a matter of wonder that the Greeks should have assumed the offensive, as they at last did, than that the Persians should not have done so at an earlier period. Both of the proceedings, however, seem to me to admit of an explanation from the fact which Miltiades pressed upon the consideration of the polemarch Callimachus, in order to bring him over to his own view [4]. A strong Pisistratid faction still existed in Attica, and the establishment of a formidable Persian army in a corner of the territory would naturally, so soon as it was generally known, become the signal for these to show themselves in the most useful way possible under such circumstances, viz. by assembling a force to co-operate with the invading army. Now, I have above [5] endeavoured to show that the interests of the Pisistratids were especially strong in that part of Mesogæa which lay on the eastern side of Hymettus, and to explain, from that consideration, the singular account which Herodotus gives of the details of the battle at Pallene, which restored Pisistratus to his throne after his second exile. Hippias, no doubt well recollecting the success of his father's plan of operations adopted on the former occasion, pursues exactly the same course. Content with establishing himself in force on the bay of Marathon, he waits for a demonstration on the part of his friends in Attica of sufficient importance to menace the communication of Miltiades with the city. Had this taken place, and the position which kept him in

[2] Ejus auctoritate impulsi Athenienses copias ex urbe eduxerunt, locoque idoneo castra fecerunt: deinde *postero die* sub montis radicibus acie e regione instructâ, *novâ arte*, vi summâ prœlium commiserunt, namque arbores multis locis erant raræ: hoc consilio, ut et montium tegerentur altitudine, et *arborum tractu* equitatus hostium impediretur, ne multitudine clauderentur. (*Miltiades*, § 5.) In the place of *raræ*, which has been thought corrupt, Van Staueren proposes to read *stratæ* or *satæ*. But the expression seems to mean "in patches," which gives a sufficient sense; although it does not clear up the nature of the use made of the trees.

[3] ἤγαγε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους νύκτωρ δι' ἀνοδίας βαδίσας καὶ πλανήσας τοὺς τηροῦντας αὐτὸν τῶν βαρβάρων . . . καὶ τοὺς ἐπικαίρους τῶν τόπων προκαταλαβόμενος ἐφύλαττεν, διὰ τὸ τῆς χώρας ἔχειν τὴν ἐμπειρίαν. (*Stromata*, i. § 162.)

[4] ἢν μέν νυν μὴ συμβάλωμεν, ἔλπομαί τινα στάσιν μεγάλην ἐμπεσοῦσαν διασείσειν τὰ Ἀθηναίων φρονήματα, ὥστε μηδίσαι (§ 109).

[5] See note 194 on i. 59; 201 on i. 60; 210, 211 on i. 62.

check been abandoned, the cavalry would at once have been brought from Eubœa, and would have destroyed the Athenian army upon overtaking it either in the plain of Athens, or that of Mesogæa.

Herodotus, by the way in which he describes the difference of opinion among the ten generals, namely, that it was a simple question whether they should engage the enemy or not, leaves the reader strangely puzzled to account for the conduct of Miltiades, who, although four of his nine colleagues[6] resigned their command to him, and although he had won over the polemarch to his side by strongly representing the necessity of striking a blow before any internal rottenness should disclose itself, yet delayed to engage until the fifth day after he had the power of doing so. To account for this by supposing that he waited for his own regular turn, in order to prevent the possibility of any rival claim to the credit of a victory which he foresaw would follow, appears to me a notion which could never have arisen before the event. But if the real alternative at issue with the Athenian generals was, not whether they should provoke the invaders to fight or retain their position of defence; but, whether they should persist at any cost in holding their strong position, or fall back on the city[7], the conduct of Miltiades becomes quite intelligible. We may suppose him each day drawing out his force in front of his lines, and thus stopping all access to the interior by the southern road, as well as by that up the valley. The invaders in their turn forming a longer line by means of their superior numbers, keep him effectually in check (as they conceive), he not being able to move forward to attack them without being outflanked. But the experience of four days convincing him that they, on these grounds, expect nothing less than an attack by him; on the fifth he attempts to strike, and succeeds in striking, a fatal blow, by suddenly extending his line (at the price of weakening his centre), and rapidly attacking the enemy before they have time to make a counter movement. The

[6] Not *all*, as Mr. Grote assumes. Herodotus says it was those who voted with him for fighting (*τῶν ἡ γνώμη ἔφερε συμβάλλειν*).

[7] This very question perhaps lies at the bottom of Nepos's statement of the matter. "Inter quos (scil. decem prætores) magna fuit contentio, utrum *mœnibus* se defenderent, an *obviam irent hostibus* acieque decernerent." The writer apparently supposes the council of war to be held at Athens, but has no definite notion on the subject of the locality. (*Miltiades*, § 4.)

flower of the invading army—the Persians and Sacans, who were posted in the centre—broke that part of the Athenian line which was opposed to them; but these had a strong position to fall back upon, whereas the wings of the enemy were totally ruined and overwhelmed in the marshes, into which they rushed headlong in the *panic* of the moment [8].

At this stage of the proceeding Herodotus's description offers another difficulty. According to him the two victorious wings of the Athenians *united*, and, without pursuing that portion of the invading army which had given way, turned at once upon the Persians and Sacans, who had pursued their own centre quite into the interior (ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν). However little this expression be strained, we cannot take it to mean less than that the pursuit had extended considerably up one or both of the two narrow valleys which converge at Stamáta; so that when the new attack was made upon them the Persian centre must in a manner have been caught in a trap, with the victorious Athenians and Platæans between them and their ships. To reach these they must in fact have forced their way *through* their new opponents,—a work doubtless of difficulty, but not impossible for highly disciplined troops; especially as their opponents, after all their success against the wings, might think it much more expedient to harass a retreating enemy than to force him to desperation. The whole number of ships captured in the re-embarkation is only seven, little more than the hundredth part of the fleet, and the whole loss of men but 6400,—an utterly inconceivable result, if we are to suppose (what Herodotus's description would imply) at least twenty times that number flying in confusion before a victorious enemy, and re-embarking on a line of coast of not more than two miles in length [9].

[8] In the painted portico at Athens the destruction of the invaders in this way formed a prominent feature. They were depicted φεύγοντες καὶ ἐς τὸ ἕλος ὠθοῦντες ἀλλήλους. (PAUSANIAS, i. 15. 3.) Here was doubtless the good service rendered to the Athenians by the god Pan, the nature of which is not stated by Herodotus, although he speaks of the reward which was rendered for it (§ 105). But afterwards, when Marathon had become to the Athenians very much what Agincourt became to the English, a discreet silence as to the marshes seems to have been observed; and there is nothing in Herodotus's narrative even to indicate the nature of the locality, although it is so conspicuous as at once to attract the attention of a traveller.

[9] Sir Arthur Wellesley consumed the greater part of three days in landing 13,000 British troops, under the most favourable circumstances, in the Mondego river on August 1—3, 1808. Of the operation he himself says, "The landing is accompanied

The design which is attributed to the Persians of surprising Athens, before the return of the army which had just foiled them in the plain of Marathon, is another feature in the narrative of Herodotus which harmonizes well with the view that the Persians and Sacans retreated in comparatively good order, and for the most part got safe on board their vessels; but it combines very ill with the notion that they had saved themselves in a precipitate flight. Such a scheme could never occur to a commander whose whole force had been routed, and demoralized to the extent which a complete defeat implies.

But although, in my opinion, the description given by Herodotus of this celebrated action cannot possibly be received as an accurate account of its real circumstances, it appears to be a most faithful reflection of the opinions which in his time currently prevailed upon the subject at Athens. It is in all ages the habit of the vulgar to regard great military successes as the result of merely superior prowess; consequently popular tradition rapidly drops all those particulars of a battle which evince strategic genius, and substitutes for them exaggerated accounts of personal bravery. Few Englishmen can endure to acknowledge the share which the Prussians had in the complete victory at Waterloo; although the nature of the ground alone proves conclusively to the eye even of a civilian, that their co-operation must have entered into the original design of the illustrious commander of the British. There can be no wonder therefore if the consummate skill of Miltiades in seizing the only conditions under which victory could be hoped for, soon became a less satisfactory way of accounting for his success, than the principle that one Athenian was a match for ten, twenty, or even sixty Persians; and if the story of the action soon took a corresponding shape [10].

One other circumstance may be pointed out confirmatory of the above remarks. PAUSANIAS, when he visited the field of Marathon, seems to have been puzzled to account for the circumstance, that

with some difficulties even here, and would be quite impossible if we had not the cordial assistance of the country, notwithstanding the zeal and abilities of the officers of the navy." GURWOOD (*Selections from Dispatches*, No. 233).

[10] The jealousy which would have been excited by the truer view of the matter may be guessed from the story told by PLUTARCH (*Cimon*, § 8). The sentiment of Sochares of Decelea : *ὅταν μόνος ἀγωνισάμενος, ὦ Μιλτιάδη, νικήσῃς τοὺς βαρβάρους, τότε καὶ τιμᾶσθαι μόνος ἀξίου*, was doubtless shared by all the *ἄνδρες Μαραθωνομάχαι.*

although the barrows which respectively covered the Athenians, the Platæans, and the slaves who fell in the action, were conspicuous objects, there was no indication of where the Persians were buried. That the corpses were covered with earth he makes no doubt: common humanity would prevent their being left exposed. The solution of the difficulty with which he contents himself at last is, that they were buried here and there as they fell[11]. But, as a mere question of labour, it is obvious that the digging a single pit requires far less time than a multitude of separate graves. The fact apparently is, that the loss of the Persians consisted almost entirely[12] of the fugitives who perished in the marshes, for whom therefore no grave was requisite.

[11] i. 32. 5.

[12] This is, in fact, stated by PAUSANIAS as a current belief (i. 32. 7).

W. Hughes.

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῾ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ

῾ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ῾ΕΒΔΟΜΗ.

ΠΟΛΥΜΝΙΑ.

᾿ΕΠΕΙ δὲ ἀγγελίη[1] ἀπίκετο περὶ τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι γενομένης παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον τὸν Ὑστάσπεος, καὶ πρὶν μεγάλως κεχαραγμένον[2] τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι διὰ τὴν ἐς Σάρδις ἐσβολήν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε πολλῷ τε δεινότερα ἐποίεε[3] καὶ μᾶλλον ὥρμητο στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. καὶ αὐτίκα μὲν ἐπηγγέλλετο πέμπων ἀγγέλους κατὰ πόλις, ἑτοιμάζειν στρατιήν, πολλῷ πλέω ἐπιτάσσων ἑκάστοισι ἢ πρότερον παρεῖχον, καὶ νέας τε καὶ ἵππους καὶ σῖτον καὶ πλοῖα· τούτων δὲ περιαγγελλομένων, ἡ Ἀσίη ἐδονέετο ἐπὶ τρία ἔτεα, καταλεγομένων τε τῶν ἀρίστων ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευσομένων[4], καὶ παρασκευαζομένων. 1

The news of the battle of Marathon irritates Darius, and he orders preparations to be made for a fresh attempt. These last for three years, and in the fourth Egypt revolts.

[1] ἀγγελίη. Gaisford, with several MSS, has ἡ ἀγγελίη. But the use of the words τὸν Ὑστάσπεος in the next line, as well as the statement of Darius's irritation at the invasion of Sardis in such general terms, seem to indicate that here we have the beginning of what, in its first draft at any rate, was an independent history. And the manuscripts S, F, *c*, and *d* all omit the article. In fact the whole of the work of Herodotus up to this point may almost be regarded as a mere introduction for the more complete understanding of what follows. See note on § 173, below.

[2] κεχαραγμένον. Hesychius explains this word by ὠργισμένος. Euripides (*Med.* 156) has κείνῳ τόδε μὴ χαράσσου. The idea seems to be that of a person on whom a strong *impression* has been made which cannot easily be got rid of. Hence in philosophical language the word χαρακτὴρ is used for that which defines the εἶδος.

[3] πολλῷ δεινότερα ἐποίεε, "came to take it much worse." The difference between δεινὸν ἡγεῖσθαι and δεινὸν ποιεῖν is that between a man who at once conceives a feeling of irritation, and one who, by brooding over the matter of wrong, aggravates and exaggerates the instinctive resentment.

[4] τῶν ἀρίστων ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευσομένων, "the choicest troops, as it was against Hellas that they were to act."

τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτεϊ[5] Αἰγύπτιοι, ὑπὸ Καμβύσεω δουλωθέντες, ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Περσέων· ἐνθαῦτα δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ὥρμητο καὶ ἐπ'
2 ἀμφοτέρους στρατεύεσθαι. Στελλομένου δὲ Δαρείου ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον καὶ Ἀθήνας, τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ στάσις ἐγένετο μεγάλη περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίης· ὡς δεῖ μιν ἀποδέξαντα βασιλέα κατὰ τὸν Περσέων νόμον[6], οὕτω στρατεύεσθαι· ἦσαν γὰρ Δαρείῳ καὶ πρότερον ἢ βασιλεῦσαι γεγονότες τρεῖς παῖδες, ἐκ τῆς προτέρης γυναικὸς Γωβρύεω θυγατρὸς, καὶ βασιλεύσαντι ἐξ Ἀτόσσης τῆς Κύρου ἕτεροι τέσσερες· τῶν μὲν δὴ προτέρων ἐπρέσβευε Ἀρταβαζάνης[7], τῶν δὲ ἐπιγενομένων Ξέρξης· ἐόντες δὲ μητρὸς οὐ τῆς αὐτῆς, ἐστασίαζον· ὁ μὲν Ἀρταβαζάνης, κατότι πρεσβύτατός τε εἴη παντὸς τοῦ γόνου καὶ ὅτι νομιζόμενα εἴη πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων τὸν πρεσβύτατον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχειν· Ξέρξης δὲ, ὡς Ἀτόσσης τε παῖς εἴη τῆς Κύρου θυγατρὸς καὶ ὅτι Κῦρος εἴη ὁ κτησάμενος τοῖσι
3 Πέρσῃσι τὴν ἐλευθερίην. Δαρείου δὲ οὐκ ἀποδεικνυμένου κω γνώμην, ἐτύγχανε κατὰ τὠυτὸ τούτοισι καὶ Δημάρητος ὁ Ἀρίστωνος ἀναβεβηκὼς[8] ἐς Σοῦσα, ἐστερημένος τε τῆς ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιληΐης καὶ φυγὴν ἐπιβαλὼν ἑωυτῷ[9] ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος· οὗτος ὡνὴρ πυθόμενος τῶν Δαρείου παίδων τὴν διαφορὴν, ἐλθὼν, ὡς ἡ φάτις

The question of the next heir to the empire is discussed at court,

and by the shrewdness of *Demaratus*, and the influence of Atossa, set-

[5] τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτεϊ. CLINTON (*F. H.* a. 486) makes this the fourth year, *not* reckoning the one in which the battle of Marathon took place; but it does not seem necessary to suppose this from what Herodotus says, and such a sense is contrary to the ordinary usage of the writer. In another passage, where he wishes to state that years were *completed*, he adds the word πλήρεα (§ 20, below). The battle of Marathon took place in the month of September, 490 B.C., and if we suppose the revolt of Egypt to have taken place during the time of the inundation—which would be the most favourable opportunity for a rebellion—in B.C. 487, the intelligence would probably not arrive at the head-quarters of the army in Asia Minor till after the expiration of the season for military operations in the same year. This arrangement of events seems more consistent with Herodotus's expressions than the equally hypothetical one of Clinton, who supposes the revolt to have taken place a year later; and it will be seen below (see note in § 7) to aid in reconciling the statements of Herodotus with that of THUCYDIDES (i. 18), who puts the great expedition against Hellas *in the tenth year* after the battle of Marathon.

[6] κατὰ τὸν Περσέων νόμον. In accordance with this custom Cyrus is represented as naming Cambyses as his successor, previously to his expedition against the Massagetæ (i. 208).

[7] Ἀρταβαζάνης. PLUTARCH (*De Fraterno Amore*, § 18) gives different particulars of the disputed succession. According to him Darius died without determining the matter, and Xerxes, in the absence of *Ariamenes* (whom, and not Artabazanes, he makes the eldest son), assumed the sovereignty. The two brothers referred their claims to the decision of their uncle Artabanus, and continued perfect friends. It is apparently the account of Plutarch to which JULIAN refers (*Orat.* i. p. 33), and certainly JUSTIN (ii. 10) draws from the same source.

[8] ἐτύγχανε κατὰ τὠυτὸ . . ἀναβεβηκώς. See vi. 70, above.

[9] φυγὴν ἐπιβαλὼν ἑωυτῷ. See vi. 70.

μιν ἔχει[10], Ξέρξῃ συνεβούλευε λέγειν πρὸς τοῖσι ἔλεγε ἔπεσι, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν γένοιτο Δαρείῳ ἤδη βασιλεύοντι καὶ ἔχοντι τὸ Περσέων κράτος· Ἀρταβαζάνης δὲ ἔτι ἰδιώτῃ ἐόντι Δαρείῳ[11]· οὔκων οὔτ' οἰκὸς εἴη οὔτε δίκαιον ἄλλον τινὰ τὸ γέρας ἔχειν πρὸ ἑωυτοῦ· ἐπεί γε καὶ ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἔφη ὁ Δημάρητος ὑποτιθέμενος, οὕτω νομίζεσθαι, ἢν οἱ μὲν προγεγονότες ἔωσι πρὶν ἢ τὸν πατέρα σφέων βασιλεῦσαι· ὁ δὲ βασιλεύοντι ὀψίγονος ἐπιγένηται, τοῦ ἐπιγενομένου τὴν ἔκδεξιν τῆς βασιληίης γίνεσθαι. χρησαμένου δὲ Ξέρξεω τῇ Δημαρήτου ὑποθήκῃ, γνοὺς ὁ Δαρεῖος[12] ὡς λέγοι δίκαια, βασιλέα μιν ἀπέδεξε. δοκέει δέ μοι καὶ ἄνευ ταύτης τῆς ὑποθήκης βασιλεῦσαι ἂν Ξέρξης· ἡ γὰρ Ἄτοσσα εἶχε τὸ πᾶν κράτος. *tled in favour of Xerxes.*

4 Ἀποδέξας δὲ βασιλέα Πέρσῃσι Δαρεῖος Ξέρξεα, ὅρμητο στρατεύεσθαι· ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτά τε καὶ Αἰγύπτου ἀπόστασιν τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτεϊ[13] παρασκευαζόμενον συνήνεικε αὐτὸν Δαρεῖον βασιλεύσαντα τὰ πάντα ἔτεα ἕξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα[14], ἀποθανεῖν, οὐδέ οἱ ἐξεγένετο οὔτε τοὺς ἀπεστεῶτας Αἰγυπτίους οὔτε Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσασθαι· ἀποθανόντος δὲ Δαρειου, ἡ βασιληίη ἀνεχώρησε ἐς τὸν παῖδα τὸν ἐκείνου Ξέρξεα.

In the fifth year Darius dies, having reigned thirty-six years.

5 Ὁ τοίνυν Ξέρξης ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐδαμῶς πρόθυμος ἦν κατ' ἀρχὰς στρατεύεσθαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἴγυπτον ἐποιέετο στρατιῆς ἄγερσιν· παρεὼν δὲ καὶ δυνάμενος παρ' αὐτῷ μέγιστον Περσέων Μαρδόνιος ὁ Γωβρύεω[15], ὃς ἦν Ξέρξῃ μὲν ἀνεψιὸς Δαρείου δὲ

Xerxes at first was not desirous to invade Hellas, but was urged to it

[10] ὡς ἡ φάτις μιν ἔχει. So viii. 94: τούτους μὲν τοιαύτη φάτις ἔχει. In ix. 84 the expression is varied: ἔχει δέ τινα φάτιν καὶ Διονυσοφάνης.

[11] ἔτι ἰδιώτῃ ἐόντι Δαρείῳ. It appears from iii. 70 that at the time of the conspiracy against the Magians, Darius's father was still alive.

[12] γνοὺς ὁ Δαρεῖος. Another account made the matter settled *after* Darius's death. See note 7, above.

[13] τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτεϊ. This would probably be in the early spring of 486 B.C., not in 485 B.C., as CLINTON puts it. See note 5, above.

[14] τὰ πάντα ἔτεα ἕξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα. This is the reading of the great majority of the MSS. Gaisford adopts the variation of two, which put the word ἔτεα after τριήκοντα.

At the time of Cyrus's death Darius is represented as being about twenty years old (i. 209). The reign of Cambyses occupies seven years and five months (iii. 66), and the usurpation of the Magians seven months more (iii. 67, 8). Assuming, therefore, the identity of the sources from which these accounts proceed, Darius was in them considered to be sixty-four years old at the time of his death. See however note 308 on ii. 110. CTESIAS makes Darius reign thirty-one years, and die at the age of seventy-two.

[15] Μαρδόνιος ὁ Γωβρύεω. It seems remarkable at first sight that a member of Gobryas's family, which had contested the succession with Xerxes, should be of all Persians the highest in his confidence. But it is not impossible that Artazostra, the wife of Mardonius (vi. 43), was the daughter of Atossa, and if so, his connexion with Xerxes would be a closer one than with Artabarzanes. It is also probable that the daughter of Gobryas, whom Da-

by Mardonius, ἀδελφεῆς παῖς, τοιούτου λόγου εἴχετο, λέγων· "δέσποτα, οὐκ οἰκός ἐστι Ἀθηναίους ἐργασαμένους πολλὰ ἤδη κακὰ Πέρσας, μὴ οὐ δοῦναι δίκας τῶν ἐποίησαν· ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν νῦν ταῦτα πρήσσοις τάπερ ἐν χερσὶ ἔχεις· ἡμερώσας δὲ Αἴγυπτον τὴν ἐξυβρίσασαν στρατηλάτεε ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἵνα λόγος τέ σε ἔχῃ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθὸς καί τις ὕστερον φυλάσσηται ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν στρατεύεσθαι." οὗτος μέν οἱ ὁ λόγος ἦν τιμωρός· τοῦ δὲ λόγου[16] παρενθήκην ποιεέσκετο τήνδε, ὡς ἡ Εὐρώπη περικαλλὴς χώρη, καὶ δένδρεα παντοῖα φέρει τὰ ἥμερα, ἀρετήν τε ἄκρη, βασιλέϊ τε μούνῳ θνητῶν

6 ἀξίη ἐκτῆσθαι. Ταῦτα ἔλεγε[17], οἷα νεωτέρων ἔργων ἐπιθυμητὴς ἐὼν καὶ θέλων αὐτὸς τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὕπαρχος εἶναι· χρόνῳ δὲ κατεργάσατό[18] τε καὶ ἀνέπεισε Ξέρξεα, ὥστε ποιέειν ταῦτα· συνέλαβε γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα οἱ σύμμαχα γενόμενα ἐς τὸ πείθεσθαι Ξέρξεα· τοῦτο μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Θεσσαλίης παρὰ τῶν Ἀλευαδέων[19] ἀπιγμένοι ἄγγελοι

the Aleuadæ of Thessaly, and the Pisistratids, with the aid of the prophet

rius married when a private individual, was not by the same mother as Mardonius. She had borne three children to Darius before he became king, whereas Mardonius was a young man just married twenty-six years afterwards (vi. 43). It is not likely therefore that there was less than eighteen or twenty years' difference between their ages, which in the east would be almost conclusive against their having the same mother. But above all it would seem (see notes 105 on vi. 43, and 213 on vi. 94) that Mardonius and Artaphernes represented different schools of policy, and that the late unsuccessful attempt at Marathon issued in a restoration of Mardonius's influence,—which had been damaged by his own partial, though not complete, failure in Thrace (vi. 45). It will be observed that the plan of both his campaigns contemplated the extension of operations along the line of posts established by Megabazus (see note 111 on vi. 44), whereas Datis and Artaphernes followed out the sketch of Aristagoras (see note 226 on vi. 99).

16 τοῦ δὲ λόγου. The MSS vary between this reading, τούτου δὲ τοῦ λόγου, τοῦδε δὲ τοῦ λόγου, and τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου, which last is adopted by Gaisford.

17 ταῦτα ἔλεγε. Gaisford, with several MSS, has ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεγε.

18 χρόνῳ δὲ κατεργάσατο. ÆSCHYLUS makes Atossa, the mother of Xerxes, represent her son as having been influenced by the solicitations of evil advisers to make war upon Hellas:

> ταῦτα τοῖς κακοῖς ὁμιλῶν ἀνδράσιν διδάσκεται
> θούριος Ξέρξης· λέγουσι δ' ὡς σὺ μὲν μέγαν τέκνοις
> πλοῦτον ἐκτήσω ξὺν αἰχμῇ, τὸν δ' ἀνανδρίας ὕπο
> ἔνδον αἰχμάζειν, πατρῷον δ' ὄλβον οὐδὲν αὐξάνειν.
> τοιάδ' ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ὀνείδη πολλάκις κλύων κακῶν,
> τήνδ' ἐβούλευσεν κέλευθον καὶ στράτευμ' ἐφ' Ἑλλάδα. (*Pers.* 753—8.)

CTESIAS couples an *Artapanus* with Mardonius as the principal agents in this unfortunate policy (*ap. Photium*, p. 38). But even if this is the same name as Artabanus, it is not intended for the uncle of Xerxes, whom Herodotus represents as taking an entirely contrary view of the matter, but for a son of one Artasyras, by whose aid the Magian succeeded to the throne, and by whose treachery Darius and the other conspirators were subsequently assisted.

19 παρὰ τῶν Ἀλευαδέων. The Aleuadæ were a distinguished house at Larissa in Thessaly; and it is a boast of Gorgias that he was the instructor of some of its principal members. (PLATO, *Menon*, § 1.) They were probably anxious to occupy the same position in Thessaly which Histiæus had done at Miletus. Philip of Macedonia

ἐπεκαλέοντο βασιλέα, πᾶσαν προθυμίην παρεχόμενοι, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· οἱ δὲ Ἀλευάδαι οὗτοι ἦσαν Θεσσαλίης βασιλέες[20]. τοῦτο δὲ Πεισιστρατιδέων οἱ ἀναβεβηκότες ἐς Σοῦσα, τῶν τε αὐτῶν λόγων ἐχόμενοι τῶν καὶ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι[21] καὶ δή τι πρὸς τούτοισι ἔτι πλέον προσορέγοντό οἱ[22], ἔχοντες Ὀνομάκριτον, ἄνδρα Ἀθηναῖον, χρησμολόγον τε καὶ διαθέτην χρησμῶν τῶν Μουσαίου. ἀναβεβήκεσαν γὰρ τὴν ἔχθρην προκαταλυσάμενοι· ἐξηλάσθη γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἱππάρχου τοῦ Πεισιστράτου ὁ Ὀνομάκριτος ἐξ Ἀθηνέων, ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ ἁλοὺς ὑπὸ Λάσου τοῦ Ἑρμιονέος ἐμποιέων ἐς τὰ Μουσαίου[23] χρησμὸν, ὡς αἱ ἐπὶ Λήμνου ἐπικείμεναι νῆσοι ἀφανιζοίατο κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης[24]· διὸ ἐξήλασέ μιν ὁ Ἵππαρχος, πρότερον χρεώμενος τὰ μάλιστα. τότε δὲ συναναβὰς, ὅκως ἀπίκοιτο ἐς ὄψιν τὴν βασιλέος, λεγόντων τῶν Πεισιστρατιδέων περὶ αὐτοῦ σεμνοὺς λόγους, κατέλεγε τῶν χρησμῶν· εἰ μέν τι ἐνέοι σφάλμα φέρον τῷ βαρβάρῳ, τῶν μὲν ἔλεγε οὐδέν· ὁ δὲ τὰ εὐτυχέστατα *Onomacritus.*

subsequently made use of one of them, by name Simus, for furthering his plans. (HARPOCRATION, *v.* τετραρχία.) Those who came to Susa appear to have been three in number (ix. 58), and to have put themselves forward as the representatives of the whole of their countrymen (vii. 130). Their proceeding was attributed by CRITIAS to their excessive luxury and taste for expense, which made the habits of the Persian court an object of desire to them,—and probably rendered supplies from thence necessary (*ap. Athenæum,* xii. p. 527).

20 οἱ δὲ Ἀλευάδαι οὗτοι ἦσαν Θεσσαλίης βασιλέες. These words exist in all the MSS, but from a comparison of vii. 130 it seems not unlikely that they are a marginal note which has crept into the text.

21 τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων ἐχόμενοι τῶν καὶ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι. It seems far from unlikely that the Thessalian cavalry which assisted the Pisistratids against the Lacedæmonian interference related above (v. 63, 64), was a force consisting of clansmen of the Aleuadæ. Compare the relations into which Pisistratus entered with Lygdamis (note 214 on i. 64). The names of the exiles (who were three in number) are given below (ix. 58). Gorgias the rhetorician boasted that among his pupils at Larissa he had Ἀλευαδῶν τοὺς πρώτους (PLATO, *Menon.* § 1), and the same family had the reputation of having secured the success of Philip of Macedonia in their own country. (DEMOSTHENES, *ap. Harpocration.* v. τετραρχία.)

22 προσορέγοντό οἱ, "plied him." This is the interpretation of Schweighäuser, and it seems a probable one, although there is no confirmation of it to be found elsewhere. Schweighäuser considers the expression προσεφέρετο to imply the same kind of solicitation, only pursued with less ardour.

23 ἐμποιέων ἐς τὰ Μουσαίου. Onomacritus had also the reputation of interpolating the line: εἴδωλον· αὐτὸς δὲ μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν, after xi. 601 of the *Odyssey.* (See PORSON on *Eurip. Orest.* 5.) This interpolation, by whomsoever effected, was obviously imagined for the purpose of reconciling the notice of Heracles in Hades with the received tradition which regarded him as one of the tenants of Olympus. See note 339 on ii. 120. It is the more curious as the whole passage, xi. 562—626, is obviously much more recent than the context. For the importance attached to the possession of oracles, see note 238 on v. 90.

24 κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης. In subsequent writers the accusative case would be more usual; but the genitive appears in a similar case, below, § 235: κέρδος μέζον εἶναι Σπαρτιήτῃσι κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης καταδεδυκέναι ἢ ὑπερέχειν.

ἐκλεγόμενος, ἔλεγε τόν τε Ἑλλήσποντον, ὡς ζευχθῆναι χρεὸν εἴη ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω, τήν τε ἔλασιν ἐξηγεόμενος. οὗτός τε δὴ χρησμῳδέων προσεφέρετο, καὶ οἵ τε Πεισιστρατίδαι καὶ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι γνώμας ἀποδεικνύμενοι.

In the year after his father's death he reduces Egypt, and makes his brother Achaemenes lord-lieutenant. He then convokes an assembly of the Per-

7 Ὡς δὲ ἀνεγνώσθη Ξέρξης στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐνθαῦτα δευτέρῳ μὲν ἔτεϊ[25] μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τὸν Δαρείου, πρῶτα στρατηΐην ποιέεται ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπεστεῶτας. τούτους μέν νυν καταστρεψάμενος, καὶ Αἴγυπτον πᾶσαν πολλὸν δουλοτέρην ποιήσας ἢ ἐπὶ Δαρείου ἦν, ἐπιτρέπει Ἀχαιμένεϊ, ἀδελφεῷ μὲν ἑωυτοῦ Δαρείου δὲ παιδί. Ἀχαιμένεα[26] μέν νυν ἐπιτροπεύοντα Αἰγύπτου χρόνῳ
8 μετέπειτα[27] ἐφόνευσε Ἰνάρως ὁ Ψαμμιτίχου, ἀνὴρ Λίβυς. Ξέρξης δὲ μετὰ Αἰγύπτου ἅλωσιν, ὡς ἔμελλε ἐς χεῖρας ἄξεσθαι[28] τὸ στράτευμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, σύλλογον ἐπίκλητον[29] Περσέων τῶν ἀρίστων ἐποιέετο, ἵνα γνώμας τε πύθηται σφέων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν

[25] δευτέρῳ ἔτεϊ, "in the second year." Much difficulty will follow if we suppose this "second year" to begin twelve months after the death of Darius; for then it will be necessary to bring the commencement of the movements of the grand army of Xerxes (§ 20, below) into the *eleventh* year after the battle of Marathon, reckoning both extremes. But I apprehend that the expedition against Egypt really took place in "the second year" of the reign of Xerxes, which would be regarded as commencing on the first of Thoth preceding the actual decease of his father. HALES (*quoted by Clinton, Appendix to Vol.* ii. p. 247) gives the rule that appears to have prevailed in the Astronomical Canon, which reckoned from the epoch of Nabonassar, and which probably represents the practice of the Persian court. It is "that each king's reign begins at the *Thoth* (or Egyptian new year's day) before his accession, and all the odd months of his last year are included in the first year of his successor." Now if we suppose (consistently with the notes 5 and 13 on §§ 1. 4) that Darius died in the spring of 486 B.C., the reign of Xerxes would be reckoned from the preceding Thoth, *i.e.* from the twenty-second of December, 487 B.C. His second year then would commence in the same month of 486; and if Egypt was rapidly conquered, its subjugation would doubtless be completed before the commencement of the inundation in 485 B.C. Four *full* years from this time (§ 20) would bring it to the middle of the season for military operations in 481, leaving time for the assemblage of the grand army in the neighbourhood of Sardis before the winter set in. This arrangement brings Herodotus into perfect harmony with the statement of THUCYDIDES: δεκάτῳ δὲ ἔτει μετ' αὐτὴν [τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχην] αὖθις ὁ βάρβαρος τῷ μεγάλῳ στόλῳ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα δουλωσόμενος ἦλθε (i. 18), and involves nothing arbitrary except the supposition that the *death* of Darius was regarded by Herodotus as synchronizing with the *conventional accession* of Xerxes: There is no occasion either to take Thucydides to mean ten complete years, as Clinton does, or to change δεκάτῳ into ἑνδεκάτῳ in his text, as others have proposed. The difficulty has arisen from the tacit assumption that Herodotus reckons, as a modern would do, *from a fixed epoch*, instead of simply referring one event to another before it, as a logographer naturally would.

[26] Ἀχαιμένεα. See note on vii. 97.

[27] χρόνῳ μετέπειτα. About the year 460 B.C. See the notes 39 and 40 on iii. 12.

[28] ἐς χεῖρας ἄξεσθαι. See note 434 on i. 126.

[29] σύλλογον ἐπίκλητον. The epithet seems to indicate that the members of the council were specially cited, as might be expected if they were only the chief of the nobles of the empire.

πᾶσι εἴπῃ τὰ θέλει· ὡς δὲ συνελέχθησαν, ἔλεξε Ξέρξης τάδε[30]· sian notables. His speech,
"ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, οὔτ' αὐτὸς κατηγήσομαι νόμον τόνδε ἐν ὑμῖν τιθεὶς, παραδεξάμενός τε αὐτῷ χρήσομαι· ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, οὐδαμά κω ἠτρεμήσαμεν, ἐπεί τε[31] παρελάβομεν τὴν ἡγεμονίην τήνδε παρὰ Μήδων Κύρου κατελόντος Ἀστυάγεα· ἀλλὰ θεός τε οὕτω ἄγει[32], καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν πολλὰ ἐπέπουσι συμφέρεται ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμεινον. τὰ μέν νυν Κῦρός τε καὶ Καμβύσης πατήρ τε ἐμὸς Δαρεῖος κατεργάσαντο καὶ προσεκτήσαντο ἔθνεα, ἐπισταμένοισι εὖ οὐκ ἄν τις λέγοι· ἐγω δὲ ἐπεί τε παρέλαβον τὸν θρόνον, τοῦτο ἐφρόντιζον, ὅκως μὴ λείψομαι τῶν πρότερον γενομένων ἐν τιμῇ τῇδε, μηδὲ ἐλάσσω προσκτήσομαι δύναμιν Πέρσῃσι. φροντίζων δὲ εὑρίσκω ἅμα μὲν κῦδος ἡμῖν τε προσγινόμενον, χώρην τε τῆς νῦν ἐκτήμεθα οὐκ ἐλάσσονα οὐδὲ φλαυροτέρην, παμφορωτέρην τε, ἅμα δὲ τιμωρίην τε καὶ τίσιν γινομένην· διὸ ὑμέας νῦν ἐγὼ συνέλεξα, ἵνα τὸ νοέω πρήσσειν ὑπερθέωμαι ὑμῖν. μέλλω, ζεύξας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἐλᾶν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἵνα Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσομαι ὅσα δὴ πεποιήκασι Πέρσας τε καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἐμόν. ὡρᾶτε μέν νυν καὶ Δαρεῖον ἰθύοντα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τετελεύτηκε, καὶ οὐκ ἐξεγένετό οἱ τιμωρήσασθαι· ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπέρ τε ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων οὐ πρότερον παύσομαι πρὶν ἢ ἕλω[33] τε καὶ πυρώσω[34] τὰς Ἀθήνας· οἵ γε ἐμὲ καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν ὑπῆρξαν ἄδικα ποιεῦντες. πρῶτα μὲν ἐς Σάρδις ἐλθόντες ἅμα Ἀρισταγόρῃ, (τῷ Μιλησίῳ, δούλῳ δὲ ἡμετέρῳ,) ἀπικόμενοι ἐνέπρησαν τά τε ἄλσεα καὶ τὰ ἱρά[35]· δεύτερα δὲ ἡμέας οἷα

[30] ἔλεξε Ξέρξης τάδε. The whole of the following speech is quoted by DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS in the treatise in which he compares the relative merits of Herodotus and Thucydides, as an example of the medium between the severe and the florid styles. For such a purpose it was natural that he should, as he does, convert it into the common dialect of his time. There are also some other slight variations.

[31] ἐπεί τε. DIONYSIUS has ἐξ οὗ.

[32] ἄγει. DIONYSIUS has ἐνάγει.

[33] οὐ πρότερον παύσομαι πρὶν ἢ ἕλω. See note 323 on v. 118.

[34] πυρώσω. The use of this word by Herodotus (here and in viii. 102) in the place of the more usual πρήσω, is remarked by EUSTATHIUS, who observes that SOPHOCLES also has done the same thing: ἀμφικίονας ναοὺς πυρώσων ἦλθεν. (*Antig.* 290.)

[35] τά τε ἄλσεα καὶ τὰ ἱρά. The simplicity of the Ormuzd worship must have been out of fashion at the Medo-Persian court, if Xerxes really took an interest in vindicating the sanctity of the Sardian goddess *Cybebe*, for whose nature see note on v. 102. This indeed is only what was to be expected from the policy of Darius as represented by Herodotus. (See *Excursus* on iii. 74, pp. 434, 5.) At the same time, the whole speech is obviously of Hellenic manufacture.

ἔρξαν ἐς τὴν σφετέρην ἀποβάντας, ὅτε Δᾶτίς τε καὶ Ἀρταφέρνης[36] ἐστρατήγεον, τὰ ἐπίστασθέ κου πάντες· τούτων μέντοι εἵνεκα ἀνάρτημαι[37] ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατεύεσθαι· ἀγαθὰ δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖσι τοσάδε ἀνευρίσκω λογιζόμενος, εἰ τούτους τε καὶ τοὺς τούτοισι πλησιοχώρους καταστρεψόμεθα, οἳ Πέλοπος τοῦ Φρυγὸς νέμονται χώρην· γῆν τὴν Περσίδα ἀποδέξομεν τῷ Διὸς αἰθέρι ὁμουρέουσαν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ χώρην γε οὐδεμίαν κατόψεται ὁ ἥλιος ὅμουρον ἐοῦσαν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ, ἀλλά σφεας πάσας ἐγὼ ἅμα ὑμῖν μίαν χώρην θήσω, διὰ πάσης διεξελθὼν τῆς Εὐρώπης· πυνθάνομαι γὰρ ὧδε ἔχειν· οὔτε τινὰ πόλιν ἀνδρῶν οὐδεμίαν, οὔτε ἔθνος οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπων ὑπολείπεσθαι τὸ ἡμῖν οἷόν τε ἔσται ἐλθεῖν ἐς μάχην, τούτων τῶν κατέλεξα ὑπεξαραιρημένων· οὕτω οἵ τε ἡμῖν αἴτιοι ἕξουσι δούλιον ζυγὸν, οἵ τε ἀναίτιοι. ὑμεῖς δ' ἄν μοι τάδε ποιέοντες χαρίζοισθε· ἐπεὰν ὑμῖν σημήνω τὸν χρόνον ἐς τὸν ἥκειν δεῖ, προθύμως πάντα τινὰ ὑμέων χρήσει παρεῖναι· ὃς ἂν δὲ ἔχων ἥκῃ παρεσκευασμένον στρατὸν κάλλιστα, δώσω οἱ δῶρα τὰ τιμιώτατα νομίζεται εἶναι ἐν ἡμετέρου[38]. ποιητέα μέν νυν ταῦτά ἐστι οὕτω· ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἰδιοβουλεύειν ὑμῖν δοκέω, τίθημι τὸ πρῆγμα ἐς μέσον, γνώμην κελεύων ὑμέων τὸν βουλόμενον ἀποφαίνεσθαι." ταῦτα εἴπας ἐπαύετο.

in which he announces his purpose to conquer Hellas, and desires their zealous co-operation.

9 Μετ' αὐτὸν δὲ Μαρδόνιος ἔλεγε· "ὦ δέσποτα, οὐ μόνον εἶς τῶν γενομένων Περσέων ἄριστος ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων· ὃς τά τε ἄλλα λέγων ἐπίκεο ἄριστα καὶ ἀληθέστατα, καὶ Ἴωνας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κατοικημένους οὐκ ἐάσεις καταγελάσαι ἡμῖν, ἐόντας ἀναξίους· καὶ γὰρ δεινὸν ἂν εἴη πρῆγμα, εἰ Σάκας[39] μὲν καὶ Ἰνδοὺς[40] καὶ Αἰθίοπάς[41] τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίους ἄλλα τε ἔθνεα πολλὰ

Mardonius applauds his views.

[36] Ἀρταφέρνης. The manuscripts K, V, F have Ἀρταφρένης.

[37] ἀνάρτημαι. This word seems used in a sort of technical sense, to express the bounden duty of a liege lord to avenge his vassals. (See notes 313 and 315 on i. 90.)

[38] ἐν ἡμετέρου. See note 123 on i. 36. Dionysius quotes this passage: δώσω αὐτῷ δωρεὰν ἤδη τιμιωτάτην ἢ νομίζεται ἐν ἡμετέρᾳ, which Valcknaer considers to be a corruption from δωρεὰν ἣ δὴ τιμιωτάτη νομίζεται ἐν ἡμετέρᾳ.

[39] Σάκας. No victory of the Persians over the Scythians is to be found mentioned in Herodotus; and even court flattery would hardly venture upon such a description of the unhappy campaign related in the Fourth Book. But here doubtless is a trace of another and totally different tradition from that mainly followed by Herodotus, one in accordance with the Behistun Inscription. See note 2 on iv. 1.

[40] Ἰνδούς. These are said to have been subdued by Darius, by taking advantage of the information he obtained from Scylax of Caryanda (iv. 44). But his power must have been very limited indeed. See note 293 on iii. 101.

[41] Αἰθίοπας. It is not necessary to sup-

καὶ μεγάλα, ἀδικήσαντα Πέρσας οὐδὲν ἀλλὰ δύναμιν προσκτᾶσθαι βουλόμενοι, καταστρεψάμενοι δούλους ἔχομεν, Ἕλληνας δὲ ὑπάρξαντας ἀδικίης, οὐ τιμωρησόμεθα· τί δείσαντες; κοίην πλήθεος συστροφήν, κοίην δὲ χρημάτων δύναμιν; τῶν ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν τὴν μάχην [42], ἐπιστάμεθα δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐοῦσαν ἀσθενέα· ἔχομεν δὲ αὐτῶν παῖδας καταστρεψάμενοι τούτους, οἳ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ κατοικημένοι, Ἴωνές τε καὶ Αἰολέες καὶ Δωριέες καλέονται. ἐπειρήθην δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἤδη ἐπελαύνων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους, ὑπὸ πατρὸς τοῦ σοῦ κελευσθείς· καί μοι μέχρι Μακεδονίης ἐλάσαντι, καὶ ὀλίγον ἀπολιπόντι ἐς αὐτὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπικέσθαι, οὐδεὶς ἀντιώθη ἐς μάχην. καίτοι γε ἐώθασι Ἕλληνες, ὡς πυνθάνομαι, ἀβουλότατα πολέμους ἵστασθαι, ὑπό τε ἀγνωμοσύνης καὶ σκαιότητος· ἐπεὰν γὰρ [43] ἀλλήλοισι πόλεμον προείπωσι, ἐξευρόντες τὸ κάλλιστον χωρίον καὶ λειότατον, ἐς τοῦτο κατιόντες μάχονται· ὥστε σὺν κακῷ μεγάλῳ οἱ νικῶντες ἀπαλλάσσονται· περὶ δὲ τῶν ἑσσωμένων οὐδὲ λέγω ἀρχήν, ἐξώλεες γὰρ δὴ γίνονται· τοὺς χρῆν, ἐόντας ὁμογλώσσους, κήρυξί τε διαχρεωμένους καὶ ἀγγέλοισι καταλαμβάνειν τὰς διαφορὰς [44], καὶ παντὶ μᾶλλον ἢ μάχῃσι· εἰ δὲ πάντως ἔδεε πολεμέειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐξευρίσκειν χρῆν τῇ ἑκάτεροί εἰσι δυσχειρωτότατοι, καὶ ταύτῃ πειρᾶν· τρόπῳ τοίνυν οὐ χρηστῷ Ἕλληνες διαχρεώμενοι, ἐμέο ἐλάσαντος μέχρι Μακεδονίης γῆς, οὐκ ἦλθον ἐς τούτου λόγον ὥστε μάχεσθαι, σοὶ δὲ δὴ μέλλει τις [45], ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀντιώσεσθαι πόλεμον προσφέρων, ἄγοντι καὶ πλῆθος τὸ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης καὶ νέας τὰς ἁπάσας [46]; ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐκ ἐς τοῦτο θράσεος [47] ἀνήκει τὰ Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα. εἰ δὲ ἄρα ἐγώ γε ψευσθείην γνώμῃ, καὶ

pose that the miscarriage of Cambyses (iii. 25, 26) was represented at court as a conquest. It will be remembered that the term Αἰθίοψ denoted an Asiatic black as well as an African. (See §§ 69, 70, below.) Besides, a portion of the African Ethiopians submitted (iii. 97).

42 ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν τὴν μάχην. See note 268 on i. 77.

43 ἐπεὰν γάρ. The manuscripts S, V omit the latter word.

44 καταλαμβάνειν τὰς διαφορὰς, "to quash their differences." Compare iii. 128: κατέλαβε ἐρίζοντας, and see note 130 on i. 45, and note 55 on v. 21.

45 σοὶ δὲ δὴ μέλλει τις. The pronoun σοὶ is emphatic, and opposed to ἐμέο which has just preceded. "When *I* marched as far as Macedonia, the Greeks never came to a question of meeting me in fair fight, and when it comes to *you* (δὴ), Sire, is any one likely to meet *you* with offer of battle?" See the note 424 on iii. 155.

46 πλῆθος τὸ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης καὶ νέας τὰς ἁπάσας. The force of the articles is to be observed. Mardonius speaks as to persons cognizant of the available resources of the empire, "*the* Asiatic levies and the whole of the navy."

47 θράσεος. The manuscripts S, V have θάρσεος.

ἐκεῖνοι ἐπαρθέντες ἀβουλίῃ ἔλθοιεν ἡμῖν ἐς μάχην, μάθοιεν ἂν ὥς εἰμεν ἀνθρώπων ἄριστοι τὰ πολεμήϊα. ἔστω δ' ὦν μηδὲν ἀπείρητον· αὐτόματον γὰρ οὐδὲν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πείρης πάντα ἀνθρώποισι φιλέει γίνεσθαι." Μαρδόνιος μὲν τοσαῦτα ἐπιλεήνας τὴν Ξέρξεω γνώμην[48], ἐπέπαυτο.

10 Artabanus takes the other side of the question.

Σιωπώντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων καὶ οὐ τολμώντων γνώμην ἀποδείκνυσθαι ἀντίην τῇ προκειμένῃ, Ἀρτάβανος ὁ Ὑστάσπεος πάτρως ἐὼν Ξέρξῃ, τῷ δὴ καὶ πίσυνος ἐὼν[49], ἔλεγε τάδε· "ὦ βασιλεῦ, μὴ λεχθεισέων μὲν γνωμέων ἀντιέων ἀλλήλῃσι, οὐκ ἔστι τὴν ἀμείνω αἱρεόμενον ἑλέσθαι ἀλλὰ δεῖ τῇ εἰρημένῃ χρῆσθαι· λεχθεισέων δὲ, ἔστι·. ὥσπερ τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἀκήρατον αὐτὸν μὲν ἐπ' ἑωυτοῦ οὐ διαγινώσκομεν, ἐπεὰν δὲ παρατρίψωμεν ἄλλῳ χρυσῷ, διαγινώσκομεν τὸν ἀμείνω. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ πατρὶ τῷ σῷ ἀδελφεῷ δὲ ἐμῷ, Δαρείῳ, ἠγόρευον μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ἄνδρας οὐδαμόθι γῆς ἄστυ νέμοντας· ὁ δὲ ἐλπίζων Σκύθας τοὺς νομάδας καταστρέψεσθαι, ἐμοί τε οὐκ ἐπείθετο στρατευσάμενός τε πολλούς τε καὶ ἀγαθοὺς τῆς στρατιῆς ἀποβαλὼν ἀπῆλθε· σὺ δὲ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μέλλεις ἐπ' ἄνδρας στρατεύεσθαι πολλὸν ἀμείνονας[50] ἢ Σκύθας· οἳ κατὰ θάλασσάν τε ἄριστοι[51] καὶ κατὰ γῆν λέγονται εἶναι. τὸ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἔνεστι δεινὸν, ἐμέ σοι δίκαιόν ἐστι φράζειν· ζεύξας φῂς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐλᾶν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα· καὶ δὴ καὶ συνήνεικε ἤτοι κατὰ γῆν ἢ καὶ κατὰ

[48] τοσαῦτα ἐπιλεήνας τὴν Ξέρξεω γνώμην, "after so far smoothing down [the objections to] the opinion of Xerxes." The metaphor seems to be taken from the act of a carpenter, who smooths a piece of wood so that no knot or obstacle causing friction can be found. The Latin proverb, "nodum in scirpo quærere," rests on a similar idea. The simple form λεαίνω is used below (viii. 142).

[49] τῷ δὴ καὶ πίσυνος ἐών. The weight of Artabanus at the Persian court appears, independently of his relationship to the sovereign, from the advice which he ventures to give to Darius (iv. 83) when meditating his expedition against the Scythians. The traditions followed by CTESIAS, (or whoever is the authority for Plutarch's story quoted in the note 7 on § 2, above,) seem to represent him in the same light with those adopted by Herodotus, as enjoying a high repute for wisdom and moderation.

[50] πολλὸν ἀμείνονας. S and V have πολλὸν ἔτι ἀμείνονας.

[51] κατὰ θάλασσαν ἄριστοι. The anachronism of attributing power at sea to the Athenians of this time shows the origin of the speech here put into the mouth of Artabanus. His brother Artaphernes is made to take a very different and a juster view of the matter. (See note 193 on v. 73.) The encomium passed upon the Greeks, especially the Athenians, towards the end of the speech, as also the common places of ethical philosophy which appear in it, would lead one to refer it to the same class of compositions as the address of Solon to Crœsus (i. 32, 33), and the political discussions (iii. 80—82). See notes 113 on i. 32, and 221 on iii. 80.

θάλασσαν ἑσσωθῆναι, ἢ καὶ κατ' ἀμφότερα· οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες λέγονται εἶναι ἄλκιμοι· πάρεστι δὲ καὶ σταθμώσασθαι, εἰ στρατιήν γε τοσαύτην σὺν Δάτι καὶ Ἀρταφέρνεϊ ἐλθοῦσαν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν χώρην μοῦνοι Ἀθηναῖοι διέφθειραν. οὐκ ὦν ἀμφοτέρῃ σφι ἐχώρησε [52]· ἀλλ' ἢν τῇσι νηυσὶ ἐμβάλωσι, καὶ νικήσαντες ναυμαχίῃ πλέωσι ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ ἔπειτα λύσωσι τὴν γέφυραν, τοῦτο δή, βασιλεῦ, γίνεται δεινόν. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδεμιῇ σοφίῃ οἰκηΐῃ αὐτὸς ταῦτα συμβάλλομαι, ἀλλ' οἷόν κοτε ἡμέας ὀλίγου ἐδέησε [53] καταλαβεῖν πάθος, ὅτε πατὴρ σὸς ζεύξας Βόσπορον τὸν Θρηΐκιον, γεφυρώσας δὲ ποταμὸν Ἴστρον διέβη ἐπὶ Σκύθας, τότε παντοῖοι ἐγένοντο Σκύθαι δεόμενοι Ἰώνων λῦσαι τὸν πόρον, τοῖσι ἐπιτέτραπτο ἡ φυλακὴ τῶν γεφυρέων τοῦ Ἴστρου· καὶ τότε γε Ἱστιαῖος ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος εἰ ἐπέσπετο τῶν ἄλλων τυράννων τῇ γνώμῃ, μηδὲ ἠντιώθη [54], διέργαστο ἂν τὰ Περσέων πρήγματα· καίτοι καὶ λόγῳ ἀκοῦσαι δεινόν, ἐπ' ἀνδρί γε ἑνὶ πάντα τὰ βασιλέος πρήγματα γεγενῆσθαι. σὺ ὦν μὴ βούλευ ἐς κίνδυνον μηδένα τοιοῦτον ἀπικέσθαι, μηδεμιῆς ἀνάγκης ἐούσης· ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ πείθευ· νῦν μὲν τὸν σύλλογον τόνδε διάλυσον· αὖτις τε, ὅταν τοι δοκέῃ, προσκεψάμενος ἐπὶ σεωυτοῦ, προαγόρευε τά τοι δοκέει εἶναι ἄριστα· τὸ γὰρ εὖ βουλεύεσθαι κέρδος μέγιστον εὑρίσκω ἐόν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἐναντιωθῆναί τι θέλει, βεβούλευται μὲν οὐδὲν ἧσσον εὖ, ἕσσωται δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης τὸ βούλευμα· ὁ δὲ βουλευσάμενος αἰσχρῶς, εἴ οἱ ἡ τύχη ἐπίσποιτο, εὕρημα εὕρηκε· ἧσσον δὲ οὐδέν οἱ κακῶς βεβούλευται. ὁρᾷς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα ζῶα ὡς κεραυνοῖ ὁ θεὸς οὐδὲ ἐᾷ φαντάζεσθαι [55], τὰ δὲ σμικρὰ οὐδέν μιν κνίζει; ὁρᾷς δὲ ὡς ἐς οἰκήματα τὰ μέγιστα αἰεὶ καὶ δένδρεα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀποσκήπτει τὰ βέλεα; φιλέει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα πάντα κολούειν. οὕτω δὴ καὶ στρατὸς πολλὸς ὑπὸ ὀλίγου διαφθείρεται κατὰ τοιόνδε· ἐπεάν σφι ὁ θεὸς φθονήσας φόβον ἐμβάλῃ, ἢ βροντήν, δι' ὧν

[52] οὐκ ὦν ἀμφοτέρῃ σφι ἐχώρησε, "still success did not attend them in both arms," *i.e.* by land and sea. Artabanus goes on to show what peril would follow if this should be the case; and it is to be remarked that he imagines by way of argument a scheme which was subsequently proposed. (See viii. 108.)

[53] ὀλίγου ἐδέησε, "wanted little." Translate: "what a calamity all but befel us."

[54] ἠντιώθη. The manuscripts M, F, K, P have ἠναντιώθη, which Schweighäuser considers to be a mixture of the two readings ἀντιώθη and ἠντιώθη.

[55] φαντάζεσθαι. This word is used in a similar sense by EURIPIDES (*Phœniss.* 93): μή τις πολιτῶν ἐν τρίβῳ φαντάζεται.

ἐφθάρησαν[56] *ἀναξίως ἑωυτῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἐᾷ φρονέειν μέγα ὁ θεὸς ἄλλον ἢ ἑωυτόν*[57]. *ἐπειχθῆναι μέν νυν πᾶν πρῆγμα τίκτει σφάλματα, ἐκ τῶν ζημίαι μεγάλαι φιλέουσι γίνεσθαι· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐπισχεῖν ἔνεστι ἀγαθὰ, εἰ μὴ παραυτίκα δοκέοντα εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐξεύροι τις ἄν. σοὶ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα, ὦ βασιλεῦ, συμβουλεύω· σὺ δὲ, ὦ παῖ Γωβρύεω Μαρδόνιε, παῦσαι λέγων λόγους ματαίους περὶ Ἑλλήνων, οὐκ ἐόντων ἀξίων φλαύρως ἀκούειν· Ἕλληνας γὰρ διαβάλλων, ἐπαίρεις αὐτὸν βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι· αὐτοῦ δὲ τούτου εἵνεκα δοκέεις μοι πᾶσαν προθυμίην ἐκτείνειν. μή νυν οὕτω γένηται· διαβολὴ γάρ ἐστι δεινότατον· ἐν τῇ δύο μέν εἰσι οἱ ἀδικέοντες, εἷς δὲ ὁ ἀδικεόμενος· ὁ μὲν γὰρ διαβάλλων ἀδικέει οὐ παρεόντος κατηγορέων· ὁ δὲ ἀδικέει, ἀναπειθόμενος πρὶν ἢ ἀτρεκέως ἐκμάθῃ· ὁ δὲ δὴ ἀπεὼν τοῦ λόγου τάδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι ἀδικέεται, διαβληθείς τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου καὶ νομισθεὶς πρὸς τοῦ ἑτέρου κακὸς εἶναι*[58]. *ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ δεῖ γε πάντως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους στρατεύεσθαι, φέρε, βασιλεὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἐν ἤθεσι τοῖσι Περσέων μενέτω· ἡμέων δὲ ἀμφοτέρων παραβαλλομένων τὰ τέκνα, στρατηλάτεε αὐτὸς σὺ ἐπιλεξάμενός τε ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐθέλεις καὶ λαβὼν στρατιὴν ὁκόσην τινὰ βούλεαι· καὶ ἢν μὲν τῇ σὺ λέγεις ἀναβαίνῃ βασιλέϊ τὰ πρήγματα, κτεινέσθων οἱ ἐμοὶ παῖδες πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖσι καὶ ἐγώ· ἢν δὲ τῇ ἐγὼ προλέγω, οἱ σοὶ ταῦτα πασχόντων σὺν δέ σφι καὶ σύ, ἢν ἀπονοστήσῃς· εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ὑποδύνειν οὐκ ἐθελήσεις, σὺ δὲ πάντως στράτευμα ἀνάξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀκούσεσθαί τινά φημι τῶν αὐτοῦ τῇδε ὑπολειπομένων, Μαρδόνιον μέγα τι κακὸν ἐξεργασμένον Πέρσας ὑπὸ κυνῶν τε καὶ ὀρνίθων διαφορεύμενον, ἤ κου ἐν γῇ τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἢ σέ γε ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων, εἰ μὴ ἄρα καὶ πρότερον κατ' ὁδὸν, γνόντα ἐπ' οἵους ἄνδρας ἀναγινώσκεις στρατεύεσθαι βασιλέα."*

11 *Ἀρτάβανος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε· Ξέρξης δὲ θυμωθεὶς ἀμείβεται τοῖσδε· " Ἀρτάβανε, πατρὸς εἷς τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφεός· τοῦτό σε ῥύσεται μηδένα ἄξιον μισθὸν λαβεῖν ἐπέων ματαίων· καί τοι*

Great anger of Xerxes at the counsel of Artabanus.

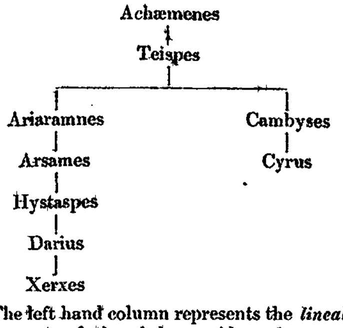
[56] *ἐφθάρησαν*. Some MSS have *ἐσφάλησαν*·

[57] *οὐ γὰρ ἐᾷ φρονέειν μέγα ὁ θεὸς ἄλλον ἢ ἑωυτόν*. The MSS vary between this reading, *οὐ γὰρ ἐᾷ φρονέειν ὁ θεὸς μέγα ἄλλον ἢ ἑωυτὸν*, and *οὐ γὰρ ἐᾷ φρονέειν ἄλλον μέγα ὁ θεὸς ἢ ἑωυτόν*.

[58] *ὁ δὲ δὴ ἀπεὼν . . . κακὸς εἶναι*. In one manuscript (P) the place of these words are supplied by the sentence *ὁ δὲ διαβαλλόμενος αὖ διπλῶς ἀδικεῖται· διαβληθεὶς τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου καὶ ἅμα νομισθεὶς πρὸς τοῦ ἑτέρου ἀκούσαντος καὶ πεισθέντος εἶναι κακός*.

ταύτην τὴν ἀτιμίην προστίθημι ἐόντι κακῷ τε καὶ ἀθύμῳ, μήτε συστρατεύεσθαι ἐμοί γε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἅμα τῇσι γυναιξί· ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἄνευ σέο ὅσαπερ εἶπα ἐπιτελέα ποιήσω· μὴ γὰρ εἴην ἐκ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπεος, τοῦ Ἀρσάμεος, τοῦ Ἀριαράμνεω, τοῦ Τεΐσπεος, τοῦ Κύρου, τοῦ Καμβύσεω, τοῦ Τεΐσπεος, τοῦ Ἀχαιμένεος γεγονὼς[59], *μὴ τιμωρησάμενος Ἀθηναίους· εὖ ἐπιστάμενος, ὅτι εἰ ἡμεῖς ἡσυχίην ἄξομεν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκεῖνοι*[60] *ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλα στρατεύσονται ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέρην, εἰ χρὴ σταθμώσασθαι τοῖσι ὑπαργμένοισι ἐξ ἐκείνων· οἳ Σάρδις τε ἐνέπρησαν καὶ ἤλασαν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. οὔκων ἐξαναχωρέειν οὐδετέροισι δυνατῶς*[61] *ἔχει, ἀλλὰ ποιέειν ἢ παθέειν προκέεται ἀγών· ἵνα ἢ τάδε πάντα ὑπὸ Ἕλλησι, ἢ ἐκεῖνα πάντα ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι γένηται· τὸ γὰρ μέσον οὐδὲν τῆς ἔχθρης ἐστί· καλὸν ὦν προπεπονθότας ἡμέας τιμωρέειν ἤδη γίνεται, ἵνα καὶ τὸ δεινὸν τὸ πείσομαι*[62] *τοῦτο μάθω, ἐλάσας ἐπ' ἄνδρας τούτους, τούς γε καὶ Πέλοψ ὁ Φρὺξ, ἐὼν πατέρων τῶν ἐμῶν δοῦλος*[63], *κατεστρέψατο οὕτω, ὡς καὶ ἐς τόδε αὐτοί τε ὤνθρωποι καὶ ἡ γῆ αὐτῶν ἐπώνυμοι τοῦ καταστρεψαμένου καλέονται."*

59 *μὴ γὰρ εἴην ἐκ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπεος . . . τοῦ Ἀχαιμένεος γεγονώς.* The decyphering of the arrow-headed character by Major Rawlinson has rendered possible the complete explanation of this genealogy. See the *Excursus on* iii. 74, pp. 427—9. The corrected genealogy will run thus, representing pure Persian traditions:



The left hand column represents the *lineal* descent of the Achæmenids, *who were kings of Persia*; while the right hand column *connects* Xerxes's claim to be the king of Media in right of his mother Atossa *with this Achæmenid pedigree.* Teispes is repeated by the error of putting the two branches one after the other instead of side by side.

60 *ὅτι εἰ ἡμεῖς ἡσυχίην ἄξομεν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκεῖνοι*, "that if we shall keep the peace, *yet* will not they." This use of ἀλλὰ after a hypothetical proposition is found throughout Greek literature from the Homeric poems downwards. From the nature of the case it is appropriate to oratory, and in the later writers alone is it used otherwise than in a speech.

61 *οὐδετέροισι δυνατῶς.* The manuscripts S and V have *οὐδετέροις ἱκανῶς*, and one other *δυνατὰ* for *δυνατῶς*. P and V have also *προσκεῖται* in the place of *προκέεται.*

62 *τὸ δεινὸν τὸ πείσομαι.* This ironical expression appears to be directed against the words of Artabanus: *τὸ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἔνεστι δεινὸν, ἐμέ σοι δίκαιόν ἐστι φράζειν.*

63 *ἐὼν πατέρων τῶν ἐμῶν δοῦλος.* These words indicate that in the mind of the authority followed here by Herodotus, Xerxes was regarded as the lineal descendant of the Assyrian dynasties, as in no other way could Pelops possibly be described as the vassal of his ancestors.

In the night after the council has been held Xerxes has a vision,

12 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐλέγετο· μετὰ δέ, εὐφρόνη τε ἐγίνετο
καὶ Ξέρξεα ἔκνιζε ἡ Ἀρταβάνου γνώμη· νυκτὶ δὲ βουλὴν διδούς,
πάγχυ εὕρισκέ οἱ οὐ πρῆγμα εἶναι στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα·
δεδογμένων δέ οἱ αὖτις τούτων, κατύπνωσε· καὶ δή κου ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ
εἶδε ὄψιν τοιήνδε, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων[64]· ἐδόκεε ὁ Ξέρξης
ἄνδρα οἱ ἐπιστάντα μέγαν τε καὶ εὐειδέα εἰπεῖν· "μετὰ δὴ βου-
λεύεαι, ὦ Πέρσα, στράτευμα μὴ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προείπας
ἁλίζειν Πέρσας στρατόν; οὔτε ὦν μεταβουλευόμενος ποιέεις εὖ,
οὔτε ὁ συγγνωσόμενός τοι πάρα· ἀλλ', ὥσπερ τῆς ἡμέρης ἐβου-
13 λεύσαο ποιέειν, ταύτην ἴθι τῶν ὁδῶν." Τὸν μέν, ταῦτα εἴπαντα,
ἐδόκεε ὁ Ξέρξης ἀποπτάσθαι· ἡμέρης δὲ ἐπιλαμψάσης, ὀνείρου μὲν
τούτου λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιέετο, ὁ δὲ Περσέων συναλίσας τοὺς καὶ
πρότερον συνέλεξε, ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε· "ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, συγγνώμην
μοι ἔχετε ὅτι ἀγχίστροφα βουλεύομαι· φρενῶν τε γὰρ ἐς τὰ
ἐμεωυτοῦ πρῶτα οὔ κω ἀνήκω[65], καὶ οἱ παρηγορεύμενοι κεῖνα
ποιέειν οὐδένα χρόνον μευ ἀπέχονται· ἀκούσαντι μέντοι μοι τῆς
Ἀρταβάνου γνώμης, παραυτίκα μὲν ἡ νεότης ἐπέζεσε, ὥστε
ἀεικέστερα ἀπορρίψαι[66] ἔπεα ἐς ἄνδρα πρεσβύτερον ἢ χρεόν· νῦν
μέντοι συγγνούς, χρήσομαι τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ· ὡς ὦν μεταδε-
δογμένον[67] μοι μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἥσυχοί ἐστε."
14 Πέρσαι μὲν ὡς ἤκουσαν ταῦτα, κεχαρηκότες προσεκύνεον· νυκτὸς
δὲ γενομένης, αὖτις τὠυτὸ ὄνειρον τῷ Ξέρξῃ κατυπνωμένῳ ἔλεγε
ἐπιστάν· "ὦ παῖ Δαρείου, καὶ δὴ φαίνεαι ἐν Πέρσῃσί τε ἀπειπά-
μενος τὴν στρατηλασίην, καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ ἔπεα ἐν οὐδενὶ ποιεύμενος
λόγῳ, ὡς παρ' οὐδενὸς ἀκούσας· εὖ νυν τόδ' ἴσθι, ἤνπερ μὴ αὐτίκα
στρατηλατέῃς, τάδε τοι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνασχήσειν· ὡς καὶ μέγας καὶ
πολλὸς ἐγένεο ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, οὕτω καὶ ταπεινὸς ὀπίσω κατὰ

and the next day he changes his mind.

The next night the same vision reappears to him with threats.

[64] *ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων.* See note 338 on i. 95.

[65] *φρενῶν τε γὰρ ἐς τὰ ἐμεωυτοῦ πρῶτα οὔ κω ἀνήκω.* These words seem to be intended as an ostentatious display of modesty on the part of the monarch. He pleads that he has not yet arrived at the complete maturity of his judgment: "I am not yet come to the perfection of my own mental powers." Consciousness of this makes him ask advice, and, on the other hand, those who give him advice other than his own judgment suggests (*κεῖνα*), never leave him alone to think. Hence, he argues, the Persians should excuse him for "turning short off in his resolutions" (*ὅτι ἀγχίστροφα· βουλεύομαι*). In a court where the infallibility of the sovereign was an axiom, the alteration of a decree became a serious matter, and Xerxes seems spontaneously to have hit on the useful theory of advisers, who should be responsible for his mistakes.

[66] *ἀπορρίψαι.* See note 366 on iv. 142.

[67] *μεταδεδογμένον.* The MSS vary between this reading, *μεταδεδογμένων*, *μεταδεδογμένου*, and *μεταδεδογμένῳ*.

τάχος ἔσεαι." Ξέρξης μὲν, περιδεὴς γενόμενος[68] τῇ ὄψει, ἀνά τε 15
ἔδραμε ἐκ τῆς κοίτης, καὶ πέμπει ἄγγελον ἐπὶ Ἀρτάβανον[69] καλέοντα· ἀπικομένῳ δέ οἱ ἔλεγε Ξέρξης τάδε· "Ἀρτάβανε, ἐγὼ τὸ παραυτίκα μὲν οὐκ ἐσωφρόνεον, εἴπας ἐς σὲ μάταια ἔπεα χρηστῆς εἵνεκα συμβουλίης· μετὰ μέντοι οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον μετέγνων, ἔγνων δὲ ταῦτά μοι ποιητέα ἐόντα τὰ σὺ ὑπεθήκαο[70]. οὔκων δυνατός τοι εἰμὶ ταῦτα ποιέειν βουλόμενος· τετραμμένῳ γὰρ δὴ καὶ μετεγνωκότι ἐπιφοιτῶν ὄνειρον φαντάζεταί μοι, οὐδαμῶς συνέπαινον ἐὸν ποιέειν με ταῦτα· νῦν δὲ καὶ διαπειλῆσαν οἴχεται. εἰ ὦν θεός ἐστι ὁ ἐπιπέμπων, καί οἱ πάντως ἐν ἡδονῇ ἐστι γενέσθαι στρατηλασίην ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐπιπτήσεται καὶ σοὶ τὠυτὸ τοῦτο ὄνειρον ὁμοίως καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐντελλόμενον[71]· εὑρίσκω δὲ ὧδε ἂν γινόμενα ταῦτα, εἰ λάβοις τὴν ἐμὴν σκευὴν πᾶσαν, καὶ ἐνδὺς, μετὰ τοῦτο ἵζοιο ἐς τὸν ἐμὸν θρόνον, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ ἐμῇ κατυπνώσειας." Ξέρξης μὲν ταῦτά οἱ ἔλεγε· Ἀρτάβανος δὲ οὐ 16
τῷ πρώτῳ οἱ κελεύσματι πειθόμενος οἷα οὐκ ἀξιεύμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλήϊον θρόνον ἵζεσθαι[72], τέλος ὡς ἠναγκάζετο, εἴπας τάδε ἐποίεε τὸ κελευόμενον· "ἴσον ἐκεῖνο, ὦ βασιλεῦ, παρ' ἐμοὶ κέκριται, φρονέειν τε εὖ καὶ τῷ λέγοντι χρηστὰ ἐθέλειν πείθεσθαι· τὰ σὲ καὶ ἀμφότερα περιήκοντα[73], ἀνθρώπων κακῶν ὁμιλίαι σφάλ-

He sends for Artabanus, and advises with him.

[68] *γενόμενος.* So Gaisford prints, on the authority of S, V, A, B. But M, P, K, F have *ἐγένετο*,—alternative readings which can scarcely have been derived the one from the other. F also omits *καὶ* before *πέμπει*.

[69] *ἐπὶ Ἀρτάβανον.* S, V, A, B omit the preposition *ἐπί*.

[70] *ὑπεθήκαο.* S and V have *ὑπέθηκας*.

[71] *καὶ σοὶ τὠυτὸ τοῦτο ὄνειρον ὁμοίως καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐντελλόμενον.* The force of the word *ἐντελλόμενον*, no less than that of *ἐπιπτήσεται*, is to be extended to the dative *καὶ σοί*. Translate: "This same dream will be wafted to you too with commands for you no less than for me."

[72] *οὐκ ἀξιεύμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλήϊον θρόνον ἵζεσθαι.* In later times it was a received opinion that the sitting on the seat of the king, even involuntarily, brought the penalty of death with it. In Alexander's expedition into Sogdiana, a Macedonian soldier, benumbed by the cold, staggered in a nearly insensible state up to the king's quarters. Alexander placed him on his own couch, and caused his limbs to be fomented until the circulation was restored. On recovering his senses, the man discovered where he was lying, and started up in a fright, upon which Alexander took the opportunity to observe to him how much better it was to live under the Macedonian monarchy than the Persian, as the same thing which would have brought death in the one case saved life in the other. (Quintus Curtius, viii. 4. 17.) But although no doubt the act, if wantonly committed, would always have been considered a gross outrage, and as such perhaps punished with death, there seems no trace in Herodotus of such a superstitious rule as that which is implied in Curtius's story. At the same time, since the accidental occurrence of such an indecency would doubtless have been regarded as an omen (see iii. 30, above), mere blind fear might very well have led to the adoption of the sternest rule by way of precaution.

[73] *περιήκοντα.* See note 198 on vi. 86.

λουσι· κατά περ τὴν πάντων χρησιμωτάτην ἀνθρώποισι θάλασσαν πνεύματά φασι ἀνέμων ἐμπίπτοντα, οὐ περιορᾶν φύσει τῇ ἑωυτῆς χρῆσθαι. ἐμὲ δὲ ἀκούσαντα πρὸς σεῦ κακῶς οὐ τοσοῦτο ἔδακε λύπη, ὅσον, γνωμέων δύο προκειμενέων Πέρσῃσι,—τῆς μὲν ὕβριν αὐξανούσης τῆς δὲ καταπαυούσης, καὶ λεγούσης ὡς κακὸν εἴη διδάσκειν τὴν ψυχὴν πλέον τι δίζησθαι αἰεὶ ἔχειν τοῦ παρεόντος,—τοιουτέων προκειμενέων γνωμέων, ὅτι τὴν σφαλερωτέρην[74] σεωυτῷ τε καὶ Πέρσῃσι ἀναίρεο· νῦν ὦν, ἐπειδὴ τέτραψαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀμείνω, φῄς τοι μετιέντι τὸν ἐπ' Ἕλληνας στόλον ἐπιφοιτᾶν ὄνειρον θεοῦ τινος πομπῇ, οὐκ ἐῶντά[75] σε καταλύειν τὸν στόλον· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ταῦτά ἐστι, ὦ παῖ, θεῖα· ἐνύπνια γὰρ τὰ ἐς ἀνθρώπους πεπλανημένα τοιαῦτά ἐστι οἷά σε ἐγὼ διδάξω, ἔτεσι σεῦ πολλοῖσι πρεσβύτερος ἐών· πεπλανῆσθαι αὗται μάλιστα ἐώθασι αἱ ὄψιες τῶν ὀνειράτων, τά τις ἡμέρης φροντίζει· ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰς πρὸ τοῦ ἡμέρας ταύτην τὴν στρατηλασίην καὶ τὸ κάρτα εἴχομεν μετὰ χεῖρας· εἰ δὲ ἄρα μὴ ἔστι τοῦτο τοιοῦτο οἷον ἐγὼ διαιρέω, ἀλλά τι τοῦ θεοῦ μετέχον, σὺ πᾶν αὐτὸς[76] συλλαβὼν εἴρηκας· φανήτω γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐμοὶ ὡς καὶ σοὶ διακελευόμενον· φανῆναι δὲ οὐδὲν μᾶλλόν μοι ὀφείλει ἔχοντι τὴν σὴν ἐσθῆτα ἢ οὐ καὶ τὴν ἐμήν[77]· οὐδέ τι μᾶλλον ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ σῇ ἀναπαυομένῳ ἢ οὐ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ· εἴπερ γε καὶ ἄλλως ἐθέλει φανῆναι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐς τοσοῦτό γε εὐηθείης ἀνήκει τοῦτό, ὅ τι δή κοτέ ἐστι τὸ ἐπιφαινόμενόν τοι ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ, ὥστε δόξει ἐμὲ ὁρῶν σὲ εἶναι, τῇ σῇ ἐσθῆτι τεκμαιρόμενον· εἰ δὲ ἐμὲ μὲν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ποιήσεται, οὐδὲ ἀξιώσει ἐπιφανῆναι, οὔτε ἢν τὴν

[74] *σφαλερωτέρην.* This is the reading of the majority of MSS, and is adopted by Gaisford. But S, V, and K have the superlative *σφαλερωτάτην*, which is certainly more likely to have been wilfully altered by copyists into the comparative than the converse.

[75] *ἐῶντα.* So Gaisford prints on the authority of several MSS, the others having *ἐῶντος*, which of course would require to be referred to the word *θεοῦ*. But although no doubt *ὄνειρος* and *ὄνειρον* are equally legitimate forms, it seems very unlikely that in the same anecdote in which the latter has been repeatedly used, the former should in a single instance be substituted for it. Yet it is perhaps even less probable that a transcriber finding *ἐῶντος* should have wilfully violated the course of precedent by changing it into *ἐῶντα*.

[76] *αὐτός.* So S. Gaisford and the other MSS have *αὐτό*. But the emphatic word *αὐτὸς* seems more appropriate, considering the dignity of the person addressed; and in the oldest uncial MSS the final Σ would very likely be omitted before the same letter beginning the following word. See note 25 on i. 5. Translate: "Thou thyself in what thou saidst didst take in every thing. For let it appear now with orders for me too as it did to thee." The allusion is to the words above: *ἐπιπτήσεται καὶ σοὶ τὠυτὸ τοῦτο ὄνειρον ὁμοίως καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐντελλόμενον* (§ 15, above).

[77] *ἢ οὐ καὶ τὴν ἐμήν.* See the note 300 on iv. 118.

ἐμὴν ἐσθῆτα ἔχω οὔτε ἢν τὴν σήν, σὲ δὲ ἐπιφοιτήσει, τοῦτο ἤδη μαθητέον ἐστί· εἰ γὰρ δὴ ἐπιφοιτήσειέ γε συνεχέως, φαίην ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς θεῖον εἶναι· εἰ δέ τοι οὕτω δεδόκηται γίνεσθαι, καὶ οὐκ οἷά τε αὐτὸ παρατρέψαι, ἀλλ' ἤδη δεῖ ἐμὲ ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ σῇ κατυπνῶσαι, φέρε, τούτων ἐξ ἐμεῦ ἐπιτελευμένων, φανήτω καὶ ἐμοί· μέχρι δὲ τούτου, τῇ παρεούσῃ γνώμῃ χρήσομαι." Τοσαῦτα εἴπας Ἀρτά- 17
βανος ἐλπίζων Ξέρξεα ἀποδέξειν λέγοντα οὐδὲν, ἐποίεε τὸ κελευόμενον· ἐνδὺς δὲ τὴν Ξέρξεω ἐσθῆτα καὶ ἱζόμενός ἐς τὸν βασιλήϊον θρόνον, ὡς μετὰ ταῦτα κοῖτον ἐποιέετο, ἦλθέ οἱ κατυπνωμένῳ τὠυτὸ ὄνειρον τὸ καὶ παρὰ Ξέρξεα ἐφοίτα· ὑπερστὰν δὲ τοῦ Ἀρταβάνου, εἶπε τάδε· "ἆρα σὺ δὴ κεῖνος εἶς ὁ ἀποσπεύδων Ξέρξεα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὡς δὴ κηδόμενος αὐτοῦ; ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐς τὸ μετέπειτα, οὔτε ἐς τὸ παραυτίκα νῦν καταπροΐξεαι[78] ἀποτρέπων τὸ χρεὸν γενέσθαι· Ξέρξεα δὲ τὰ δεῖ ἀνηκουστέοντα παθέειν, αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ δεδήλωται." Ταῦτά τε δὴ ἐδόκεε Ἀρτάβανος τὸ 18
ὄνειρον[79] ἀπειλέειν, καὶ θερμοῖσι σιδηρίοισι ἐκκαίειν αὐτοῦ μέλλειν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς· καὶ ὅς, ἀμβώσας μέγα, ἀναθρώσκει, καὶ παριζόμενος Ξέρξῃ, ὡς τὴν ὄψιν οἱ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου διεξῆλθε ἀπηγεόμενος, δεύτερά οἱ λέγει τάδε· "ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, οἷα ἄνθρωπος ἰδὼν ἤδη πολλά τε καὶ μεγάλα πεσόντα πρήγματα ὑπὸ ἡσσόνων, οὐκ ἔων σε τὰ πάντα τῇ ἡλικίῃ εἴκειν[80], ἐπιστάμενος ὡς κακὸν εἴη τὸ πολλῶν ἐπιθυμέειν, μεμνημένος μὲν τὸν ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας Κύρου στόλον ὡς ἔπρηξε, μεμνημένος δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπ' Αἰθίοπας τὸν Καμβύσεω, συστρατευόμενος δὲ καὶ Δαρείῳ ἐπὶ Σκύθας· ἐπιστάμενος ταῦτα, γνώμην εἶχον, ἀτρεμίζοντά σε μακαριστὸν εἶναι πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων. ἐπεὶ δὲ δαιμονίη τις γίνεται ὁρμή, καὶ Ἕλληνας, ὡς ἔοικε, φθορή τις καταλαμβάνει θεήλατος, ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς τράπομαι καὶ τὴν γνώμην μετατίθεμαι· σὺ δὲ σήμηνον μὲν Πέρσῃσι τὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ πεμπόμενα, χρῆσθαι δὲ κέλευε τοῖσι ἐκ σέο πρώτοισι προειρημένοισι ἐς τὴν παρασκευήν· ποίεε δὲ οὕτω, ὅκως,

The same vision appears to Artabanus,

and, influenced by it, Artabanus yields to the proposal to invade Hellas.

[78] καταπροΐξεαι. See note 106 on iii. 36.

[79] τὸ ὄνειρον. The MSS are divided between this reading and τὸν ὄνειρον. See note 75 on § 16, above.

[80] τῇ ἡλικίῃ εἴκειν. It is an error to suppose that these *words* are used in a different sense here from v. 19. In both cases they mean "to follow the dictates of one's age." Xerxes being a young man, his natural impulses were to adventurous action; Amyntas (v. 19) being aged, his were to retire from a banquet which was becoming indecent and boisterous. The note of Baehr on this passage is an example of a very common mistake in commentators, to attribute to actual phrases a meaning in themselves, which only follows inferentially from the circumstances in which they are used.

τοῦ θεοῦ παραδιδόντος, τῶν σῶν ἐνδεήσει μηδέν." τούτων λεχθέντων, ἐνθαῦτα ἐπαρθέντες τῇ ὄψει, ὡς ἡμέρη ἐγένετο τάχιστα, Ξέρξης τε ὑπερετίθετο [81] ταῦτα Πέρσῃσι, καὶ Ἀρτάβανος, ὃς πρότερον ἀποσπεύδων μοῦνος ἐφαίνετο, τότε ἐπισπεύδων φανερὸς ἦν.

Xerxes afterwards has a third vision which raises his spirits.

19 Ὡρμημένῳ δὲ Ξέρξῃ στρατηλατέειν, μετὰ ταῦτα τρίτη ὄψις ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ἐγένετο, τὴν οἱ μάγοι ἔκριναν [82] ἀκούσαντες φέρειν τε ἐπὶ πᾶσαν γῆν, δουλεύσειν τέ οἱ πάντας ἀνθρώπους. ἡ δὲ ὄψις ἦν ἥδε· ἐδόκεε ὁ Ξέρξης ἐστεφανῶσθαι ἐλαίης θαλλῷ [83]· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐλαίης τοὺς κλάδους γῆν πᾶσαν ἐπισχεῖν· μετὰ δὲ, ἀφανισθῆναι περὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ κείμενον τὸν στέφανον. κρινάντων δὲ ταύτῃ τῶν μάγων, Περσέων τε τῶν συλλεχθέντων αὐτίκα πᾶς ἀνὴρ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ἀπελάσας, εἶχε προθυμίην πᾶσαν ἐπὶ τοῖσι εἰρημένοισι [84], θέλων αὐτὸς ἕκαστος τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα λαβεῖν· καὶ Ξέρξης τοῦ στρατοῦ οὕτω ἐπάγερσιν [85] ποιέεται, χῶρον πάντα ἐρευνῶν τῆς

The preparations for the invasion of Hellas took

20 ἠπείρου. Ἀπὸ γὰρ Αἰγύπτου ἁλώσιος, ἐπὶ μὲν τέσσερα ἔτεα πλήρεα παραρτέετο στρατιήν τε καὶ τὰ πρόσφορα τῇ στρατιῇ· πέμπτῳ δὲ ἔτεϊ ἀνομένῳ [86] ἐστρατηλάτεε χειρὶ μεγάλῃ πλήθεος [87]. στόλων γὰρ, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, πολλῷ δὴ μέγιστος οὗτος ἐγένετο·

[81] ὑπερετίθετο. S and V have ὑπετίθεε. But the latter word seems quite out of place here. See notes 378, 379 on i. 108.

[82] οἱ μάγοι ἔκριναν. The Magi appear from this passage to stand in the same position as at the court of Astyages, their influence having entirely recovered from the effects of the revolution by which Darius was raised to the throne. See *Excursus* ii. on Book iii. p. 435.

[83] ἐλαίης θαλλῷ. This feature in the story would lead one to look for its origin in some locality where a crown of olive leaves would be a symbol of superiority. It can therefore scarcely be a native Persian legend, and may very well be an Athenian.

[84] ἐπὶ τοῖσι εἰρημένοισι, "on the faith of the promise which had been given," *i.e.* that the satrap who brought his contingent in the best order into the field should receive the presents which were deemed the most honourable. (See § 8, above.)

[85] ἐπάγερσιν, "an *extraordinary* levy." The ordinary contingent sufficed for the conquest of Egypt (ἐπὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐποιέετο τῆς στρατιῆς ἄγερσιν, § 5, above), but *additional* troops were called out for the expedition against Athens. It is no objection to this interpretation that the simple form is used below (§ 48), for there the force of the ἐπὶ is supplied by the epithet ἄλλου coupled with στρατοῦ.

[86] πέμπτῳ δὲ ἔτεϊ ἀνομένῳ ἐστρατηλάτεε, "in the course of the fifth year he put the army in motion." The word ἀνομένῳ has been by some commentators explained as meaning "ending," and by others "commencing," according as the one or the other meaning squared best with their chronological arrangements. But it really seems to mean neither the one nor the other, but simply "advancing." This is the sense of ἤνετο τὸ ἔργον, an expression used in i. 189 and viii. 71. For an attempt to explain the difficulties in the chronology of the events related as occurring subsequently to the battle of Marathon, see notes 5 on § 1, and 25 on § 7, above.

[87] χειρὶ μεγάλῃ πλήθεος, "with an enormous force of troops." The word πλῆθος nearly corresponds with the French 'monde,' which also is sometimes employed to mean the aggregate of rank and file under the command of the general.

ὥστε μήτε τὸν Δαρείου τὸν ἐπὶ Σκύθας παρὰ τοῦτον μηδὲν φαίνεσθαι, μήτε τὸν Σκυθικὸν, ὅτε Σκύθαι Κιμμερίους διώκοντες ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν χώρην ἐμβαλόντες σχεδὸν πάντα τὰ ἄνω τῆς Ἀσίης καταστρεψάμενοι ἐνέμοντο· τῶν εἵνεκεν ὕστερον Δαρεῖος ἐτιμωρέετο[88]· μήτε κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα τὸν Ἀτρειδέων ἐς Ἴλιον, μήτε τὸν Μυσῶν τε καὶ Τευκρῶν τὸν πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν γενόμενον[89]· οἳ διαβάντες ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην κατὰ Βόσπορον, τούς τε Θρήϊκας κατεστρέψαντο πάντας καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον πόντον κατέβησαν, μέχρι τε Πηνειοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ πρὸς μεσαμβρίης ἤλασαν.

up four full years after the reduction of Egypt.

21 Αὗται αἱ πᾶσαι, καὶ οὐδ' εἰ ἕτεραι[90] πρὸς ταύτῃσι γενόμεναι στρατηλασίαι, μιῆς τῆσδε οὐκ ἄξιαι. τί γὰρ οὐκ ἤγαγε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἔθνος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ξέρξης; κοῖον δὲ πινόμενόν μιν ὕδωρ οὐκ ἐπέλιπε, πλὴν τῶν μεγάλων ποταμῶν; οἱ μὲν γὰρ νέας παρείχοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς πεζὸν ἐτετάχατο· τοῖσι δὲ ἵππος προσετέτακτο, τοῖσι δὲ ἱππαγωγὰ πλοῖα ἅμα στρατευομένοισι· τοῖσι δὲ ἐς τὰς γεφύρας μακρὰς νέας παρέχειν, τοῖσι δὲ σῖτά τε καὶ νέας.

22 Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, ὡς προσπταισάντων τῶν πρώτων περιπλεόντων περὶ τὸν Ἄθων, προετοιμάζετο ἐκ τριῶν ἐτέων κου μάλιστα ἐς τὸν Ἄθων· ἐν γὰρ Ἐλαιοῦντι τῆς Χερσονήσου ὥρμεον τριήρεες[91].

Canal dug through the isthmus connecting

[88] τῶν εἵνεκεν ὕστερον Δαρεῖος ἐτιμωρέετο. See i. 103—106, and iv. 4.

[89] τὸν πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν γενόμενον. This expedition does not enter into the chain of events which are connected with one another by the author in the opening of his work (i. 1—4). And the reason of this seems to be, that it belonged to a different mythical cycle from that which he is there following. It is a tradition posterior to the time of CALLINUS, the elegiac poet of Ephesus. (STRABO, cited in note 332 on ii. 118.) The *Teucri* here mentioned are that race of which the Gergithians subjugated by Hymeas were the last relics. But although called the 'ancient Teucrians' (v. 122), and very probably an ancient race, the *name* was certainly more recent than the Iliad. See note 332 on ii. 118.

[90] οὐδ' εἰ ἕτεραι. The word οὐδὲ appears to be introduced here with the same object as οὐ in § 16, above: φανῆναι δὲ οὐδὲν μᾶλλόν μοι ὀφείλει ἔχοντι τὴν σὴν ἐσθῆτα ἢ οὐ καὶ τὴν ἐμήν. See note 300 on iv. 118.

[91] ἐν Ἐλαιοῦντι τῆς Χερσονήσου ὥρμεον τριήρεες. *Elæus*, which was at the extreme point of the Chersonese, was excellently situated as a look-out for all vessels from whatever quarter, proposing to enter the Hellespont. The Persian commander in the Chersonese appears to have possessed a semi-naval character. His title was στρατηγὸς τῶν παραθαλασσίων ἀνδρῶν (v. 25); and his jurisdiction appears to have extended over the neighbouring islands. We may perhaps suppose Elæus the head-quarters of the fleet under his command, with which he would control Lemnos, Imbros, Samothrace, Thasos, and the maritime towns on the Thracian main. In this sense, therefore, Elæus may be said to be the point from which the engineering operations were carried on at the isthmus of Athos. The labourers employed in them would probably be relieved from thence, and also supplied with meal from the corn produced in Pontus, shipped in transports. The head-quarters of the commandant, however, would doubtless be *Sestos*, the strongest position in the Chersonese (ix. 115), and the point where the communication be-

Athos with the main.

ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὁρμεώμενοι, ὤρυσσον ὑπὸ μαστίγων [92] παντοδαποὶ τῆς στρατιῆς· διάδοχοι δ' ἐφοίτων. ὤρυσσον δὲ καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἄθων κατοικημένοι. Βουβάρης [93] δὲ ὁ Μεγαβάζου [94], καὶ Ἀρταχαίης ὁ Ἀρταίου [95], ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, ἐπεστάτεον τοῦ ἔργου. ὁ γὰρ Ἄθως ἐστὶ ὄρος μέγα τε καὶ οὐνομαστὸν, ἐς θάλασσαν κατῆκον, οἰκημένον ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων· τῇ δὲ τελευτᾷ ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον τὸ ὄρος, χερσονησοειδές τέ ἐστι καὶ ἰσθμὸς ὡς δώδεκα σταδίων· πεδίον δὲ τοῦτο καὶ κολωνοὶ οὐ μεγάλοι ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς Ἀκανθίων ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τὴν ἀντίον Τορώνης· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἰσθμῷ τούτῳ, ἐς τὸν τελευτᾷ ὁ Ἄθως, Σάνη πόλις Ἑλλὰς [96] οἴκηται· αἱ δὲ ἐντὸς Σάνης ἔσω δὲ τοῦ Ἄθω οἰκημέναι, τὰς τότε ὁ Πέρσης νησιώτιδας ἀντὶ ἠπειρωτίδων ὥρμητο ποιέειν, εἰσὶ αἵδε· Δῖον, Ὀλόφυξος, Ἀκράθωον [97], Θύσσος, Κλεωναί· πόλις μὲν αὗται, αἳ τὸν Ἄθων νέμονται.

23 Method of conducting the excavation.

Ὤρυσσον δὲ ὧδε· δασάμενοι τὸν χῶρον οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ ἔθνεα, κατὰ Σάνην πόλιν σχοινοτενὲς ποιησάμενοι· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο βαθεῖα ἡ διώρυξ, οἱ μὲν, κατώτατα ἑστεῶτες, ὤρυσσον· ἕτεροι δὲ παρεδίδοσαν τὸν αἰεὶ ἐξορυσσόμενον χοῦν ἄλλοισι κατύπερθε ἑστεῶσι ἐπὶ βάθρων· οἱ δ' αὖ ἐκδεκόμενοι, ἑτέροισι, ἕως

tween Europe and Asia, which it was of vital importance to the Persians to maintain, could be most securely preserved. Elæus is the scene of a transaction related by Herodotus elsewhere (ix. 116) on the authority of Chersonesitan informants (ix. 120).

[92] ὑπὸ μαστίγων. The practice of the Persian petty-officers to inflict summary corporal punishment, like the centurions in the Roman army and the boatswains in the English navy, seems to have struck the Greeks forcibly, judging by the way in which it is repeatedly noticed, *e.g.* §§ 56, 103, below. Larcher remarks, with the simplicity of a closet critic, that "a soldier thus treated must have been insensible to honour." It is strange that the instance of Marius, who "nodosam frangebat vertice vitem, cum tardus pigrâ muniret castra dolabrâ," did not occur to his mind to disabuse him of such a pedantic notion.

[93] Βουβάρης. This individual is probably the same who is mentioned in v. 21.

[94] Μεγαβάζου. One MS has Μεγαβύζου.

[95] Ἀρταίου. S and V have Ἀρταχαίου.

[96] Σάνη πόλις Ἑλλάς. *Sane* was a colony from Andros (THUCYDIDES, iv. 109), and appears to have contained a purely Hellenic population. The other towns are enumerated by Thucydides (who calls one *Acrathoi*), and described as containing a mixed population, speaking *two* languages. Sane was so near to Acanthus, that it would seem from the treaty made in the middle of the Peloponnesian war, it must have been placed by that town in the position of a dependency, and its citizens removed thither, as those of Alba were by Tullus to Rome. One provision is: Μηκυβερναίους καὶ Σαναίους καὶ Σιγγαίους οἰκεῖν τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἑαυτῶν, καθάπερ Ὀλύνθιοι καὶ Ἀκάνθιοι. (THUCYDIDES, v. 18.) In subsequent times its importance seems to have outgrown that of Acanthus; for STRABO (vii. *Fragm.* 15) obviously assigns that name to the locality occupied by Sane.

[97] Ἀκράθωον. The MSS vary between Ἀκρόθωον and Ἀκρόθοον, and Gaisford adopts the former. But I have not hesitated to change the reading on the authority of THUCYDIDES (iv. 109). The Acrathoi are the inhabitants of the high peak of Athos, in which there are now so many monasteries.

ἀπίκοντο ἐς τοὺς ἀνωτάτω· οὗτοι δὲ ἐξεφόρεόν τε καὶ ἐξέβαλλον. τοῖσι μέν νυν ἄλλοισι, πλὴν Φοινίκων, καταρρηγνύμενοι οἱ κρημνοὶ τοῦ ὀρύγματος πόνον διπλήσιον παρεῖχον· ἅτε γὰρ τοῦ τε ἄνω στόματος καὶ τοῦ κάτω τὰ αὐτὰ μέτρα ποιευμένων, ἔμελλέ σφι τοιοῦτο ἀποβήσεσθαι· οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες σοφίην ἔν τε τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἔργοισι ἀποδείκνυνται, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ· ἀπολαχόντες γὰρ μόριον ὅσον αὐτοῖσι ἐπέβαλλε [98], ὄρυσσον τὸ μὲν ἄνω στόμα τῆς διώρυχος ποιεῦντες διπλήσιον ἢ ὅσον ἔδει αὐτὴν τὴν διώρυχα γενέσθαι· προβαίνοντος δὲ τοῦ ἔργου, συνῆγον αἰεί· κάτω τε δὴ ἐγίνετο, καὶ ἐξισοῦτο τοῖσι ἄλλοισι τὸ ἔργον. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ λειμών ἐστι, ἵνα σφι ἀγορή τε ἐγίνετο καὶ πρητήριον· σῖτος δέ σφισι πολλὸς ἐφοίτα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἀληλεσμένος.

24 Motives which induced Xerxes to attempt the work.

Ὡς μὲν ἐμὲ συμβαλλεόμενον εὑρίσκειν [99], μεγαλοφροσύνης εἵνεκα αὐτὸ Ξέρξης ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε, ἐθέλων τε δύναμιν ἀποδείκνυσθαι καὶ μνημόσυνα λιπέσθαι· παρεὸν γὰρ μηδένα πόνον λαβόντας τὸν ἰσθμὸν τὰς νέας διειρύσαι, ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε διώρυχα τῇ θαλάσσῃ, εὖρος ὡς δύο τριήρεας πλέειν ὁμοῦ ἐλαστρευμένας. τοῖσι δὲ αὐτοῖσι τούτοισι, τοῖσί περ καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα, προσετέτακτο καὶ τὸν Στρυμόνα ποταμὸν ζεύξαντας γεφυρῶσαι.

25 Ταῦτα μέν νυν οὕτω ἐποίεε· παρασκευάζετο δὲ καὶ ὅπλα [100] ἐς

98 ὅσον αὐτοῖσι ἐπέβαλλε, "as much as fell to their shares." See note 370 on i. 106.

99 ὡς μὲν ἐμὲ συμβαλλεόμενον εὑρίσκειν. This notion of Herodotus, that no permanent object was in view in the construction of a ship canal, was doubtless shared by many; and perhaps was partly the cause of the scepticism which many of the ancients felt as to the operation having been really effected, so that 'velificatus Athos' came to be reckoned with 'epota flumina Medo prandente' among the proverbial fictions of Greek historical writing. (JUVENAL, *Sat.* x. 178.) But the canal was traced by CARLYLE (*ap. Walpole's Turkey*, i. p. 224) throughout the whole of its extent. "It is about a mile and a quarter long, and twenty-five yards across. It has been much filled up with mud and rushes. Its bottom is in many places very little above the level of the sea; in some parts of it corn is sown, in others there are pools of water." And if it be regarded as a part of the system of arrangements for the permanent occupation of the country, by facilitating the access of a fleet which might be required to carry stores for a land army whenever occasion demanded, it ceases to excite wonder. As for the amount of labour, it cannot have been any thing like so great as must have been expended on the great earth-works in Mesopotamia. But when the whole of the chain of military posts (with the exception of Doriscus) fell before the arms of the Greeks, the scope of the canal ceased to appear, and it came to be represented as due simply to the ostentatious spirit of the invader. Subsequent writers did not fail to improve upon this idea. PLUTARCH gives *a letter* written by Xerxes to Mount Athos, menacing it with his vengeance for opposition to his will. (*De cohibendâ irâ*, p. 455.)

100 ὅπλα, "tackle." The word is applicable to all instruments used in working a vessel, and not confined to the ropes, although in this particular instance the ropes would be the most important por-

Preparation of stores for the expedition.

τὰς γεφύρας βύβλινά τε καὶ λευκολίνου, ἐπιτάξας Φοίνιξί τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίοισι καὶ σιτία τῇ στρατιῇ καταβάλλειν[a], ἵνα μὴ λιμήνειε ἡ στρατιὴ, μηδὲ τὰ ὑποζύγια ἐλαυνόμενα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· ἀναπυθόμενος δὲ τοὺς χώρους, καταβάλλειν ἐκέλευε ἵνα ἐπιτηδεώτατον εἴη, ἄλλον ἄλλῃ ἀγινέοντας ὁλκάσι τε καὶ πορθμηΐοισι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης πανταχόθεν. τὸν δὲ ὦν πλεῖστον ἐς Λευκὴν Ἀκτὴν καλεομένην τῆς Θρηΐκης ἀγίνεον, οἱ δὲ ἐς Τυρόδιζαν τὴν Περινθίων, οἱ δὲ ἐς Δορίσκον[101], οἱ δὲ ἐς Ἠϊόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι, οἱ δὲ ἐς Μακεδονίην διατεταγμένοι.

26

March of the army from *Critalla*, the point of rendezvous. They cross the *Halys*, and reach *Celænæ*, where are the fountains of the *Mæander* and the

Ἐν τῷ δὲ οὗτοι τὸν προκείμενον πόνον ἐργάζοντο, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ πεζὸς ἅπας συλλελεγμένος ἅμα Ξέρξῃ ἐπορεύετο ἐς Σάρδις, ἐκ Κριτάλλων[102] ὁρμηθεὶς τῶν ἐν Καππαδοκίῃ· ἐνθαῦτα γὰρ εἴρητο συλλέγεσθαι πάντα τὸν κατ᾽ ἤπειρον μέλλοντα ἅμα αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ πορεύεσθαι στρατόν. ὃς μέν νυν τῶν ὑπάρχων στρατὸν κάλλιστα ἐσταλμένον ἀγαγὼν τὰ προκείμενα[103] παρὰ βασιλέος ἔλαβε δῶρα, οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀρχὴν ἐς κρίσιν τούτου πέρι ἐλθόντας οἶδα· οἱ δὲ ἐπεί τε διαβάντες τὸν Ἅλυν ποταμὸν ὡμίλησαν τῇ Φρυγίῃ[104], δι᾽ αὐτῆς πορευόμενοι παρεγένοντο ἐς Κελαινάς[105]· ἵνα

tion. In THEOCRITUS (xiii. 52) the order κουφότερα ποιεῖσθαι ὅπλα would imply the laying in the oars and, as English sailors express it, "making all snug," to prepare for the coming breeze indicated by the falling star.

[a] καταβάλλειν σιτία, "to form magazines of provision."

[101] ἐς Δορίσκον. See note 289 on v. 98. The site is described below, § 59. It will be observed that the places named here form a chain of posts along the line of march into Hellas. *Eion* and *Doriscus*, besides their accessibility from the sea, of which the Persians had the command, secured the passage over the Strymon and the Hebrus respectively. That the greatest quantity of stores should be laid up at Leuce Acte was likely from the circumstance that the supplies came chiefly from Pontus (above, § 23). What the particular points for magazines in Macedonia were, Herodotus does not say. His informant was perhaps a Hellespontine Greek, more familar with his own neighbourhood than with the coast west of the Strymon. He also knew no particulars which happened on the march until *Celænæ* was reached.

[102] ἐκ Κριτάλλων. *Critalla* was the frontier town of Cappadocia. See notes 243 on i. 72, and 130 on v. 52.

[103] τὰ προκείμενα. See above, § 8.

[104] ἐπεί τε διαβάντες τὸν Ἅλυν ποταμὸν ὡμίλησαν τῇ Φρυγίῃ. The passage of the river here seems undoubtedly to be at the same place which Herodotus speaks of in v. 52. See the note 129 on that passage, and also 243 on i. 72.

[105] ἐς Κελαινάς. The population of this city were removed by Antiochus Soter to *Apamea*, which he built in honour of his mother Apame, and which became, next to Ephesus, the most important commercial town of Asia. (STRABO, xii. c. 8, p. 73.) From this circumstance it may be presumed that the same character had attached to Celænæ, which quite accords with its being the locality in which an individual like Pythius was established. See note 111, below. Apamea was situated at the source of the river *Marsyas*, which was no doubt the same as that which Herodotus calls *Cataract*, for the

πηγαὶ ἀναδιδοῦσι Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ[106], καὶ ἑτέρου οὐκ ἐλάσσονος ἢ Μαιάνδρου, τῷ οὔνομα τυγχάνει ἐὸν Καταρρήκτης, ὃς ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀγορῆς τῆς Κελαινέων ἀνατέλλων, ἐς τὸν Μαίανδρον ἐκδιδοῖ· ἐν τῇ[107] καὶ ὁ τοῦ Σιληνοῦ Μαρσύεω ἀσκὸς ἐν τῇ πόλι ἀνακρέμαται, τὸν ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν λόγος ἔχει ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκδαρέντα ἀνακρεμασθῆναι.

Cataract, which bursts out in the agora. There too is the Skin of Marsyas.

27 Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλι ὑποκατήμενος Πύθιος ὁ Ἄτυος[108], ἀνὴρ Λυδὸς, ἐξείνισε τὴν βασιλέος στρατιὴν πᾶσαν ξεινίοισι μεγίστοισι καὶ αὐτὸν Ξέρξεα, χρήματά τε ἐπαγγέλλετο βουλόμενος ἐς τὸν πόλεμον παρέχειν· ἐπαγγελλομένου δὲ χρήματα Πυθίου, εἴρετο Ξέρξης Περσέων τοὺς παρεόντας, τίς τε ἐὼν ἀνδρῶν Πύθιος καὶ κόσα χρήματα κεκτημένος ἐπαγγέλλοιτο ταῦτα; οἱ δὲ εἶπαν· "ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὗτός ἐστι ὅς τοι τὸν πατέρα Δαρεῖον ἐδωρήσατο τῇ πλατανίστῳ τῇ χρυσέῃ καὶ τῇ ἀμπέλῳ[109]· ὃς καὶ νῦν ἐστι πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων πλούτῳ, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, μετὰ σέ."

Anecdote of Pythius the Lydian and his enormous wealth.

28 Θωμάσας δὲ τῶν ἐπέων τὸ τελευταῖον Ξέρξης, αὐτὸς δεύτερα εἴρετο Πύθιον ὁκόσα οἱ εἴη χρήματα; ὁ δὲ εἶπε· "ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὔτε σε ἀποκρύψω οὔτε σκήψομαι τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι τὴν ἐμεωυτοῦ[110] οὐσίην, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπιστάμενός τοι ἀτρεκέως καταλέξω· ἐπεί τε γὰρ τάχιστά σε ἐπυθόμην ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καταβαίνοντα τὴν Ἑλληνίδα, βουλόμενός τοι δοῦναι ἐς τὸν πόλεμον χρήματα, ἐξέμαθον, καὶ εὗρον λογιζό-

current belief was that both the Marsyas and the Mæander rose from the same tarn, which was above the hill on which Celænæ had stood. (STRABO, p. 74.) This tarn abounded in the reeds from which the musical pipes were made,—a circumstance which doubtless determined the assignment of this locality to the contest of Marsyas with Apollo.

[106] ἵνα πηγαὶ ἀναδιδοῦσι Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ. In the time of XENOPHON the stream issued from a court in the palace of the younger Cyrus, which had been built there, surrounded with a park of wild animals preserved for the purposes of the chase. Probably this residence did not exist in the time of Herodotus, as he takes no notice of it, although the tradition ran that it was built by Xerxes on his retreat out of Europe after the defeat at Salamis. (*Anabasis*, i. 2. 9.)

[107] ἐν τῇ. One manuscript (*b*) has ἐν ᾧ. In the time of XENOPHON the skin was suspended in the grotto from whence the stream called Marsyas issued, and the place where it joined the Mæander was fixed as the site of the flaying. (*Anabasis*, i. 2. 8.)

[108] Ἄτυος. The manuscripts P, K, F, *b* have Ἀτρέος.

[109] τῇ πλατανίστῳ τῇ χρυσέῃ καὶ τῇ ἀμπέλῳ. The article is to be observed: "the well-known golden plane," &c. Pythius had doubtless both received benefits from Darius and rendered services to him (see note 111, below), and the superiority of Greek artists gave him an opportunity of making a present which for its beauty astonished the Medo-Persian courtiers. The trait of Xerxes knowing nothing of the man's name, but being familiar with his magnificent present, is beautifully characteristic of courtly selfishness.

[110] ἐμεωυτοῦ. The majority of MSS have ἐμεωυτοῦ, which Gaisford retains. But ἑωυτοῦ exists in K, and it is perhaps more likely to have been altered into the usual form than the converse. In iv. 97 the great majority of the MSS have ἑωυτοῦ, and only two ἐμεωυτοῦ.

μενος, ἀργυρίου μὲν δύο χιλιάδας ἐούσας μοι ταλάντων, χρυσίου δὲ τετρακοσίας μυριάδας στατήρων Δαρεικῶν[111], ἐπιδεούσας ἑπτὰ χιλιαδέων. καὶ τούτοισί σε ἐγὼ δωρέομαι· αὐτῷ δ' ἐμοὶ ἀπὸ ἀν-
29 δραπόδων τε καὶ γεωπεδίων ἀρκέων ἐστὶ βίος." Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε· Ξέρξης δὲ ἡσθεὶς τοῖσι εἰρημένοισι, εἶπε· "ξεῖνε Λυδὲ, ἐγὼ ἐπεί τε ἐξῆλθον τὴν Περσίδα χώρην, οὐδενὶ ἀνδρὶ συνέμιξα ἐς τόδε, ὅστις ἠθέλησε ξείνια προθεῖναι στρατῷ τῷ ἐμῷ, οὐδὲ ὅστις ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἐμὴν καταστὰς αὐτεπάγγελτος ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐμοὶ ἠθέλησε συμβαλέσθαι χρήματα, ἔξω σεῦ· σὺ δὲ καὶ ἐξείνισας μεγάλως στρατὸν τὸν ἐμὸν, καὶ χρήματα μεγάλα ἐπαγγέλλεαι. σοὶ ὦν ἐγὼ ἀντὶ αὐτῶν γέρεα τοιάδε δίδωμι· ξεῖνόν τέ σε ποιεῦμαι ἐμὸν[112] καὶ

[111] *τετρακοσίας μυριάδας στατήρων Δαρεικῶν.* If the *Daric* be reckoned at 1*l.* 1*s.* 10·44*d.*, which would be its value if compared with our own sovereigns with reference to the amount of pure gold in each, this sum would be enormous, and make the wealth of Pythius such as to throw into the shade not only the fortunes of European Greece, but even those of the modern millionnaires of England. But it seems clear from the excess of gold over silver, that this is too great an estimate of its current value in Phrygia at the time of Xerxes's invasion. Independently of the Lydian gold from the Tmolus, a great deal would come in from central Asia, where it has always been abundant in comparison of silver. (See the note 280 on iii. 95.) In the time of Xenophon (*Anabasis*, i. 7. 18), when there had been a vast efflux of gold from Asia into Europe, the *daric* was still reckoned as equivalent to only twenty silver *drachms*, or 300 *darics* to one *talent*. This would give about 16*s.* 3*d.* for the value of the daric. Taking it at this sum, the property of Pythius would still amount to £3,400,000 in gold (after Xerxes had made it up to a round number), and £510,000 in silver. The wealth of Callias, the richest of Athenian citizens in the most flourishing times of the commonwealth, was assessed at 200 talents, or £51,000. (Lysias, xix. p. 649, *Reiske*.) The only way in which this enormous accumulation in the hands of a private individual in those days becomes conceivable, is by supposing that Pythius had farmed the revenues, and probably on very favourable terms, upon the constitution of Darius's system of satrapies. In carrying out those arrangements the assistance of the experienced Lydian financiers would be one of the greatest necessities; and the same class of persons would, almost alone, be able to turn to their own advantage the troubles which ever since the destruction of the Lydian dynasty had prevailed in Asia. The whole matter becomes explicable if Pythius is regarded in the same light as the Fuggers of Augsburg, and his liberality to Xerxes as an act parallel to the well-known story of the head of that house; who presented the emperor Charles V., towards the close of a splendid entertainment he gave to him, with his own bond to light a pile of fragrant spices. In its turn the agency of Ionian capitalists will help to explain the peculiar order of the satrapies in Darius's cadastral system, as given by Herodotus, to which attention was called in note 251 on iii. 90. Plutarch (*de Virtut. Mul.* p. 262) gives a long story of Pythius, whom he calls Pythes, and whose wealth he derives from the discovery of some gold mines, and represents him as forcing all the inhabitants of "the city which he governed" to work these. He is converted from this policy by his wife, who gives him a practical lesson that gold is only useful as an article of exchange.

[112] *ξεινόν τέ σε ποιεῦμαι ἐμόν.* In these formal expressions of friendship between persons of very unequal rank there seems to be the germ of modern titles, at any rate of that of "count" (*comes*). Philip of Macedonia gave a formality to the title *ἑταῖρος*, which he seems to have bestowed upon men of weight by whose services he hoped to profit.

τὰς τετρακοσίας μυριάδας τοι τῶν στατήρων ἀποπλήσω παρ'
ἐμεωυτοῦ, δοὺς τὰς ἑπτὰ χιλιάδας· ἵνα μή τοι ἐπιδεέες ἔωσι αἱ
τετρακόσιαι μυριάδες ἑπτὰ χιλιαδέων, ἀλλ' ᾖ τοι ἀπαρτιλογίη ὑπ'
ἐμέο πεπληρωμένη· κέκτησό τε αὐτὸς τά περ αὐτὸς ἐκτήσαο,
ἐπίστασό τε εἶναι αἰεὶ τοιοῦτος· οὐ γάρ τοι ταῦτα ποιεῦντι οὔτε ἐς
τὸ παρεὸν οὔτε ἐς χρόνον μεταμελήσει."

Ταῦτα δὲ εἴπας καὶ ἐπιτελέα ποιήσας, ἐπορεύετο αἰεὶ τὸ πρόσω. 30
Ἄναυα δὲ καλεομένην Φρυγῶν πόλιν παραμειβόμενος, καὶ λίμνην
ἐκ τῆς ἅλες γίνονται, ἀπίκετο ἐς Κολοσσὰς, πόλιν μεγάλην Φρυ-
γίης [113], ἐν τῇ Λύκος ποταμὸς ἐς χάσμα γῆς ἐσβάλλων ἀφανίζεται,
ἔπειτα διὰ σταδίων ὡς πέντε μάλιστά κῃ ἀναφαινόμενος ἐκδιδοῖ
καὶ οὗτος ἐς τὸν Μαίανδρον. ἐκ δὲ Κολοσσέων ὁρμεώμενος ὁ
στρατὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς οὔρους τῶν Φρυγῶν καὶ τῶν Λυδῶν, ἀπίκετο ἐς
Κύδραρα πόλιν· ἔνθα στήλη [114] καταπεπηγυῖα, σταθεῖσα δὲ ὑπὸ
Κροίσου, καταμηνύει διὰ γραμμάτων τοὺς οὔρους. Ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς 31
Φρυγίης ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὴν Λυδίην, σχιζομένης τῆς ὁδοῦ, καὶ τῆς μὲν
ἐς ἀριστερὴν ἐπὶ Καρίης φερούσης, τῆς δὲ ἐς δεξιὴν ἐς Σάρδις, τῇ
καὶ πορευομένῳ διαβῆναι τὸν Μαίανδρον ποταμὸν πᾶσα ἀνάγκη
γίνεται, καὶ ἰέναι παρὰ Καλλάτηβον [115] πόλιν, ἐν τῇ ἄνδρες δη-
μιοεργοὶ μέλι ἐκ μυρίκης τε καὶ πυροῦ ποιεῦσι [116], ταύτην ἰὼν ὁ

Xerxes passes by *Anaua* and a salt lake, and arrives at *Colossæ*, where the river *Lycus* runs under ground for five *stades*; then at *Cydrara*, on the frontier of Phrygia and Lydia, as shown by a *stele* set up by Crœsus.

After this the road divides, the

[113] ἐς Κολοσσὰς, πόλιν μεγάλην Φρυγίης. S and V omit the word μεγάλην, and the former has the form Κολοσσούς. The city *Colosse* is said by STRABO to have derived its name from the peculiar aptness of the wool produced by the sheep in the neighbourhood to take the colour which was designated by that name. Laodicæa, which was in the immediate neighbourhood, on the Lycus, was equally remarkable for the excellence of its wool in taking the colour called *coraxe* (xii. c. 8, p. 74).

[114] Κύδραρα πόλιν· ἔνθα στήλη. S has Κυδραπόλιν, ἔνθα ἡ στήλη, an important variation, as it indicates that the monument was a well-known one. Two or three other MSS also have Κύδρα instead of Κύδραρα. Nothing is known of the town. Probably it was a mere frontier station, existing chiefly for the purpose of exacting transit duties,—a circumstance which would make it notable to travelling merchants. (See note 130 on v. 52.) It has been identified with the *Carura* of STRABO (xiv. c. 3, p. 212) by Schweighäuser; but *Carura* was the frontier town between *Caria* and Phrygia, whereas *Cydrara* is represented by Herodotus as the frontier between Phrygia and *Lydia*, and somewhat south of the point where the road towards Caria turned off.

[115] Καλλάτηβον. The manuscripts S and V have Καλλάτιον. Nothing is known of the place. Probably it was only noted for the manufacture spoken of in the text. It has been placed by conjecture on the site of *Philadelphia*, but apparently without any good reason.

[116] ἄνδρες δημιοεργοὶ μέλι ἐκ μυρίκης τε καὶ πυροῦ ποιεῦσι. Herodotus speaks of an extensive *manufacture of honey* among one of the Libyan tribes (iv. 194). It must be remembered that the word 'honey' would, as naturally as the word 'sugar' with us, be employed by the ancients to express any saccharine substance which might be obtained by an artificial process. As the bee-honey furnished the original and also the principal means of sweetening, its name would be extended to

left leading to Caria, the right, which Xerxes took, to Sardis. From Sardis heralds are sent into Hellas.

Ξέρξης τὴν ὁδὸν, εὗρε πλατάνιστον, τὴν κάλλεος εἵνεκα δωρησάμενος κόσμῳ χρυσέῳ καὶ μελεδωνῷ ἀθανάτῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐπιτρέψας [117],
32 δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπίκετο ἐς τῶν Λυδῶν τὸ ἄστυ. Ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Σάρδις [118], πρῶτα μὲν ἀπέπεμπε κήρυκας ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, αἰτήσοντας γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ προερέοντας δεῖπνα βασιλέϊ παρασκευάζειν· πλὴν οὔτε ἐς Ἀθήνας οὔτε ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἀπέπεμπε ἐπὶ γῆς αἴτησιν [119], τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ πάντῃ· τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα τὸ δεύτερον [120] ἀπέπεμπε ἐπὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ· ὅσοι πρότερον οὐκ ἔδοσαν [121] Δαρείῳ πέμψαντι, τούτους πάγχυ ἐδόκεε τότε δείσαντας δώσειν· βουλόμενος ὦν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐκμαθεῖν ἀκριβῶς, ἔπεμπε [122]. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἐλῶν ἐς Ἄβυδον.

Site of the bridge across the Hellespont.

33 Οἱ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐζεύγνυσαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην. ἔστι δὲ τῆς Χερσονήσου τῆς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, Σηστοῦ τε πόλιος μεταξὺ καὶ Μαδύτου, ἀκτὴ τραχέα ἐς θάλασσαν κατήκουσα Ἀβύδῳ καταντίον· ἔνθα μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνῳ ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ, ἐπὶ Ξανθίππου τοῦ Ἀρίφρονος στρατηγοῦ Ἀθηναίων, Ἀρταΰκτην [123] ἄνδρα Πέρσην λαβόντες Σηστοῦ ὕπαρχον, ζῶντα πρὸς σανίδα προσδιεπασσάλευσαν· ὃς καὶ ἐς τοῦ Πρωτεσίλεω τὸ
34 ἱρὸν ἐς Ἐλαιοῦντα [124] ἀγινεόμενος γυναῖκας, ἀθέμιτα ἔρδεσκε. Ἐς ταύτην ὦν τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐξ Ἀβύδου ὁρμεώμενοι ἐγεφύρουν τοῖσι προσεκέετο, τὴν μὲν [125] λευκολίνου Φοίνικες, τὴν δ' ἑτέρην τὴν βυβλίνην Αἰγύπτιοι· ἔστι δὲ ἑπτὰ στάδιοι ἐξ Ἀβύδου ἐς τὴν

all others. The word δημιουργὸς is mentioned by ATHENÆUS (iv. 172) as having been the name given by the *ancients* (οἱ πρότερον) to the makers of pastry,—which may induce the conjecture that the origin of this kind of cakes was in the offerings made to the deities, and that a peculiar mode of manufacturing them was preserved as a part of the sacred traditions, and committed to the hands of certain officials.

117 μελεδωνῷ ἀθανάτῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐπιτρέψας, "having committed it to the charge of a member of the Immortal Band as its guardian." Of these 'immortals,' see below, § 83.

118 ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Σάρδις. It will be observed that in the description of the route of Xerxes to Sardis, there is no pretence at any thing like the accuracy of an itinerary. All the points mentioned have a mercantile interest, which appears on the very face of the matter, and nothing is related which would not naturally remain in the current traditions of the several localities. These considerations are important in estimating the value of the details in Herodotus's story.

119 πλὴν οὔτε ἐς Ἀθήνας .... αἴτησιν. For a reason of this see § 133, below.

120 τὸ δεύτερον. These words are omitted by S and V.

121 ἔδοσαν. The MSS are divided between this word and ἔπεμψαν.

122 βουλόμενος ὦν .... ἔπεμπε. This clause is omitted in V, and apparently from no error of vision in the transcriber.

123 Ἀρταΰκτην. Of this Artayctes see ix. 120, below.

124 ἐς Ἐλαιοῦντα. See note on § 22, above.

125 τὴν μέν. The word with which τὴν agrees is γέφυραν, gathered by inference from the preceding verb ἐγεφύρουν.

ἀπαντίον. Καὶ δὴ ἐζευγμένου τοῦ πόρου, ἐπιγενόμενος χειμὼν 35
μέγας συνέκοψέ τε ἐκεῖνα πάντα καὶ διέλυσε· ὡς δ' ἐπύθετο Ξέρξης, δεινὰ ποιεύμενος, τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐκέλευε τριηκοσίας ἐπικέσθαι μάστιγι πληγὰς[126], καὶ κατεῖναι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος πεδέων ζεῦγος. ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα ὡς καὶ στιγέας ἅμα τούτοισι ἀπέπεμψε στίξοντας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον· ἐνετέλλετο δὴ ὧν ῥαπίζοντας λέγειν βάρβαρά τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλα· "ὦ πικρὸν ὕδωρ, δεσπότης τοι δίκην ἐπιτιθεῖ τήνδε, ὅτι μιν ἠδίκησας οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐκείνου ἄδικον παθόν· καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν Ξέρξης διαβήσεταί σε, ἤν τε σύ γε βούλῃ ἤν τε μή· σοὶ δὲ κατὰ δίκην ἄρα οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων θύει, ὡς ἐόντι δολερῷ τε καὶ ἁλμυρῷ ποταμῷ[127]." τήν τε δὴ θάλασσαν ἐνετέλλετο τούτοισι ζημιοῦν, καὶ τῶν ἐπεστεώτων τῇ ζεύξι τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ἀποταμεῖν τὰς κεφαλάς. Καὶ οἱ μὲν 36
ταῦτα ἐποίεον τοῖσι προσεκέετο αὕτη ἡ ἄχαρις τιμή· τὰς δὲ ἄλλοι ἀρχιτέκτονες ἐζεύγνυσαν· ἐζεύγνυσαν δὲ ὧδε· πεντηκοντέρους καὶ

Story of the outrageous behaviour of Xerxes when the bridge gave way.

[126] *τριηκοσίας ἐπικέσθαι μάστιγι πληγάς.* The construction is the same as if the author had said *ἐπὶ τὸν* Ἑλλήσποντον *ἐκέλευε τριηκοσίας ἱκέσθαι πληγὰς*, "he ordered that three hundred stripes with the scourge should be applied to the Hellespont." By the way in which ÆSCHYLUS speaks of the act of bridging over the strait, it seems likely that the whole story of the insults wreaked on the Hellespont has for its foundation "poetry condensed into fact."

ὅστις Ἑλλήσποντον ἱρὸν, δοῦλον ὣς δεσμώμασιν
ἤλπισε σχήσειν ῥέοντα, Βόσπορον ῥόον θεοῦ,
καὶ πόρον μετεῤῥύθμιζε, καὶ πέδαις σφυρηλάτοις
περιβαλὼν πολλὴν κέλευθον ἤνυσεν πολλῷ στρατῷ,
θνητὸς ὢν, θεῶν δὲ πάντων ᾤετ' οὐκ εὐβουλίᾳ
καὶ Ποσειδῶνος κρατήσειν, πῶς τάδ' οὐ νόσος φρενῶν; (*Pers.* 745.)

It seems quite plain that in the time when the *Persians* were produced on the stage, the particulars related by Herodotus of Xerxes's fury were unknown at Athens. His impiety is made to consist in the *forcing* his passage across the sacred strait, the displeasure of which had been already evinced. Under more equivocal circumstances Cleomenes did not venture to cross the *Erasinus* (vi. 76). Æschylus represents the Persian metaphorically as treating the Hellespont like a rebellious slave, —for whom bonds, the lash, and the *στίγματα* would be the appropriate punishment; and the popular traditions supplied these, although the last feature seems (as was not unlikely from its utter inappropriateness) to have been wanting in most of these. It did not appear in the account with which JUVENAL was familiar, which also varied in making the *winds*, not the Hellespont, the objects scourged.

Ille tamen qualis rediit, Salamine relictâ,
In *Caurum* atque *Eurum* solitus sævire flagellis
Barbarus, Æolio nunquam hoc in carcere passos?
Ipsum compedibus qui vinxerat Ennosigæum,
Mitius id sane, quod non et stigmate dignum
Credidit! (*Sat.* x. 179, *seqq.*)

The address to the Hellespont, which is put into the mouth of the Persian king, is of nearly the same stamp as the letter to Mount Athos given by Plutarch. See note 99, above.

[127] *ποταμῷ.* The Hellespont, perfectly land-locked, and with a stream running some three knots an hour, presents to a person who is sailing in it altogether the appearance of a 'river;' and it is from this notion of it that the epithets *πλατὺς* and *ἀπείρων* are applied to it in the Homeric poems.

τριήρεας συνθέντες, ὑπὸ μὲν τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Εὐξείνου Πόντου ἑξήκοντά τε καὶ τριηκοσίας, ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἑτέρην τεσσερεσκαίδεκα καὶ τριηκοσίας, τοῦ μὲν Πόντου ἐπικαρσίας[128] *τοῦ δὲ Ἑλλησπόντου κατὰ ῥόον, ἵνα ἀνακωχεύῃ τὸν τόνον τῶν ὅπλων· συνθέντες δέ, ἀγκύρας κατῆκαν περιμήκεας—τὰς μὲν πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου τῆς ἑτέρης, τῶν ἀνέμων εἵνεκεν τῶν ἔσωθεν ἐκπνεόντων, τῆς δὲ ἑτέρης [τῆς*[129]*] πρὸς ἑσπέρης τε καὶ τοῦ Αἰγαίου—εὔρου τε καὶ νότου εἵνεκα· διέκπλοον δὲ ὑπόφαυσιν*[130] *κατέλιπον τῶν πεντηκοντέρων*

[128] *τοῦ μὲν Πόντου, ἐπικαρσίας.* See the note on iv. 101. It is impossible that any persons who had ever constructed a pontoon bridge should think of mooring vessels, when stability was an object, in any other position than with their heads or sterns in the direction of the current; and it is such an erroneous assumption which has caused so much difficulty in the understanding of this passage. Owing to the shape of the channel the set of the current is not in the line of water, but oblique from one shore to the other. A vessel therefore laid, as it must be if it is not to be soon carried away, *in the line* of the current, would be *at an angle* to the apparent line of the shore of the Propontis; it would seem as if not going direct up channel. All the ships were so moored,—*each* being what the writer describes the *whole* to have been,—with the object of "steadying the strain of the tackle" (*ἵνα ἀνακωχεύῃ τὸν τόνον τῶν ὅπλων*). The only difficulty arises from the circumstance that the author imagines the pontoon-ships to have been *first* put together (*συνθέντες*), and then brought into line by an operation like that effected with the tubes of the Menai tunnel; whereas no doubt they were first anchored individually, then brought accurately into line by heaving at the capstan, and finally made fast to each other. The two bridges reciprocally acted as breakwaters to each other against the effects of the prevalent winds, the East and the South-west. (See note 87 on iv. 27.) No doubt anchors were also laid out from the inner extremity of each vessel in the two lines, but these would not need to be of the size of the external ones, as the strain upon them would be much less.

Strabo describes the line of the bridge as having been from a point *above* Abydos to one a little *below* Sestos, which in his time bore the name of *Apobathra*. The ferrymen in crossing from Sestos used to go down channel a short distance until they came off 'Hero's Tower,' from which point the set of the current enabled them to make Abydos. From Abydos, on the contrary, they crept up along shore for about eight stades, and then stood for Sestos. The distance from port to port he puts at thirty stades, but the length of the bridge at only seven (xiii. c. 1, p. 96). The passage from Europe to Asia was considered the easier.

[129] [*τῆς.*] This word is not found in S, P, F, and I have little doubt that it is an interpolation. It seems impossible to give any sense to the passage if it be retained. But after expunging it from Gaisford's text, on the authority of the above-mentioned MSS, the sense becomes manifest, making allowance for the false notion the author entertained of the mode of the operation. Translate: "After attaching together penteconters and triremes, 360 for the bridge on the side of the Euxine Sea, and 314 for the other (all laid at an angle to the sea, but in the line of the stream of the Hellespont, to steady the strain on the gear), they laid out anchors with very long flukes,—some on the side of the sea for the one bridge, on account of the winds that blew from inwards; and for the other bridge, on the side of the west and the Ægean,—[they laid them out, I say] on account of the E. and S.W. winds [respectively]."

[130] *ὑπόφαυσιν.* This word is used in the sense of 'a window' in the LXX (Ezekiel xli. 16), *διέκπλους ὑπόφαυσις* appears to mean 'a passage like a window,' *i.e.* an arch. We must suppose a line of triremes and penteconters alternated in general, but in three places one of the latter left out in order to allow of a passage during the time of the construction of the bridge. Before the army crossed these were doubtless restored to their proper places, and made to bear their share of the pressure of the main cables,

καὶ τριχοῦ, ἵνα καὶ ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἔχῃ ὁ βουλόμενος πλέειν πλοίοισι λεπτοῖσι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἔξω· ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες, κατέτεινον ἐκ γῆς στρεβλοῦντες ὄνοισι ξυλίνοισι τὰ ὅπλα, οὐκέτι χωρὶς ἑκάτερα τάξαντες, ἀλλὰ δύο μὲν λευκολίνου δασάμενοι ἐς ἑκατέρην, τέσσερα δὲ τῶν βυβλίνων· παχύτης μὲν ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ καλλονὴ, κατὰ λόγον δὲ ἦν ἐμβριθέστερα τὰ λίνεα· τοῦ τάλαντον ὁ πῆχυς εἷλκε. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγεφυρώθη ὁ πόρος, κορμοὺς ξύλων καταπρίσαντες καὶ ποιήσαντες ἴσους τῆς σχεδίης τῷ εὖρεϊ, κόσμῳ ἐπετίθεσαν κατύπερθε τῶν ὅπλων τοῦ τόνου· θέντες δὲ ἐπεξῆς, ἐνθαῦτα αὖτις ἐπεζεύγνυον· ποιήσαντες δὲ ταῦτα, ὕλην ἐπεφόρησαν· κόσμῳ δὲ θέντες καὶ τὴν ὕλην, γῆν ἐπεφόρησαν· κατανάξαντες δὲ καὶ τὴν γῆν, φραγμὸν παρείρυσαν ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν, ἵνα μὴ φοβέηται τὰ ὑποζύγια τὴν θάλασσαν ὑπερορῶντα καὶ οἱ ἵπποι.

37 Ὡς δὲ τά τε τῶν γεφυρέων κατεσκεύαστο καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἄθων, οἵ τε χυτοὶ[131] περὶ τὰ στόματα τῆς διώρυχος, (οἳ τῆς ῥηχίης εἵνεκεν ἐποιήθησαν ἵνα μὴ πίμπληται τὰ στόματα τοῦ ὀρύγματος,) καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ διώρυξ παντελέως πεποιημένη ἄγγελτο· ἐνθαῦτα χειμερίσας, ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι παρεσκευασμένος ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων ὡρμᾶτο ἐλῶν ἐς Ἄβυδον. ὡρμημένῳ δέ οἱ ὁ ἥλιος ἐκλιπὼν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἕδρην ἀφανὴς ἦν, οὔτ' ἐπινεφέλων[132] ἐόντων, αἰθρίης τε τὰ μάλιστα· ἀντὶ ἡμέρης τε νὺξ ἐγένετο· ἰδόντι δὲ καὶ μαθόντι τοῦτο τῷ Ξέρξῃ ἐπιμελὲς ἐγένετο· καὶ εἴρετο τοὺς μάγους τὸ θέλοι προφαίνειν τὸ φάσμα; οἱ δὲ ἔφραζον ὡς Ἕλλησι προδεικνύει ὁ

The bridge and the canal being reported complete, Xerxes moves his army on Abydos in the early spring. Just at the same time an eclipse of the sun alarms him, but the Ma-

which were passed from shore to shore, and strained tight by the gigantic capstans (ὄνοι) on land.

[131] χυτοί. These appear to have been moles or breakwaters run out for some distance, to prevent the mouth of the canal from being choked up by the shingle, which would otherwise accumulate. The phrase ῥηχίης is not to be interpreted too strictly, as if it meant merely the rise of the tide. That would be very inconsiderable (although not absolutely null) in this part of the Mediterranean. But a great *sea* would get up on the shore under the influence of the Etesian winds, and soon fill the mouth of the channel with shingle and sand, unless prevented by some such contrivance as that referred to in the text.

[132] ἐπινεφέλων. So Gaisford prints. But two MSS have ἐπὶ νεφελῶν, and several ἐπὶ νεφέων. If absolute dependence could be placed on the statement that an eclipse took place, as Herodotus relates, the exact time of the passage of the raft might be determined. But it seems (see LARCHER), that no eclipse took place in the year 480 B.C. which would be visible at Abydos, although such a one did occur the year before. It is however quite impossible to reconcile the passage of the army in that year with the general chronology of Herodotus's history. See notes 5 and 25, above. It is more reasonable to suppose that in subsequent times the traditions connected the celebrated eclipse of 481 with the transit of Xerxes in 480. See note 32 on iii. 10, and 221 on vi. 98.

gians re-assure him.

θεὸς ἔκλειψιν τῶν πολίων· λέγοντες ἥλιον εἶναι Ἑλλήνων προδέκτορα, σελήνην δὲ σφέων[133]· πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ξέρξης περιχαρὴς ἐὼν ἐποιέετο τὴν ἔλασιν[134].

38 Story of the horrible punishment for an offence given by Pythius the Lydian.

Ὡς δ' ἐξήλαυνε τὴν στρατιὴν, Πύθιος ὁ Λυδὸς καταρρωδήσας τὸ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φάσμα ἐπαρθείς τε τοῖσι δωρήμασι, ἐλθὼν παρὰ Ξέρξεα ἔλεγε τάδε· "ὦ δέσποτα, χρήσας ἄν τι τεῦ βουλοίμην τυχεῖν[135], τὸ σοὶ μὲν ἐλαφρὸν τυγχάνει ἐὸν ὑπουργῆσαι, ἐμοὶ δὲ μέγα γενόμενον·" Ξέρξης δὲ πᾶν μᾶλλον δοκέων μιν χρηΐσειν ἢ τὸ ἐδεήθη, ἔφη τε ὑπουργήσειν καὶ διαγορεύειν ἐκέλευε ὅτευ δέοιτο· ὁ δὲ ἐπεί τε ταῦτα ἤκουσε, ἔλεγε θαρσήσας τάδε· "ὦ δέσποτα, τυγχάνουσί μοι παῖδες ἐόντες πέντε, καί σφεας καταλαμβάνει πάντας ἅμα σοὶ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· σὺ δὲ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐμὲ ἐς τόδε ἡλικίης ἥκοντα οἰκτείρας, τῶν μοι παίδων ἕνα παράλυσον τῆς στρατηΐης τὸν πρεσβύτατον[136],

[133] λέγοντες ἥλιον εἶναι Ἑλλήνων προδέκτορα, σελήνην δὲ σφέων. This passage indicates a great change in the religion of the Persian court as compared with the time of Cambyses. (See notes on iii. 35, and on § 114, below.) The same doctrine was laid down by the *Egyptians* in Alexander's army, which had been terrified by an eclipse of the *moon* just before the battle of Arbela. (CURTIUS, iv. 10. 7.) But it seems not unlikely from the expression "veteraque exempla percensent," that the story is framed on the model of this very passage. At any rate Darius, very soon after (iv. 13. 12), is represented as invoking "*Solem* Mithren, sacrumque et æternum ignem." The popular notion at Athens in the time of the Peloponnesian war was that both sun and moon were the especial deities of the barbarians, as contradistinguished from the anthropomorphic divinities of European Hellas. Thus ARISTOPHANES takes advantage of the irregularity of the Athenian calendar to show the Athenians how the feuds of Greece served the policy of Persia:

ΤΡ. σοὶ φράσω τι πρᾶγμα δεινὸν καὶ μέγα,
ὃ τοῖς θεοῖς ἅπασιν ἐπιβουλεύεται·
ΕΡ. ἴθι δή, κάτειπ'· ἴσως γὰρ ἂν πείσαις ἐμέ.
ΤΡ. ἡ γὰρ σελήνη χὠ πανοῦργος ἥλιος
ὑμῖν ἐπιβουλεύοντε πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον
τοῖς βαρβάροισι προδίδοτον τὴν Ἑλλάδα.
ΕΡ. ἵνα τί δὲ τοῦτο δρᾶτον; ΤΡ. ὁτιὴ νὴ Δία
ἡμεῖς μὲν ὑμῖν θύομεν, τούτοισι δὲ
οἱ βάρβαροι θύουσι. (*Pac.* 403.)

[134] περιχαρὴς ἐὼν ἐποιέετο τὴν ἔλασιν. Photius (*Biblioth.* p. 39) gives the following words as the summary of CTESIAS, immediately after mentioning the building of the bridge: Δημάρατος δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος παρεγένετο ἤδη πρῶτον, καὶ συνῆν αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ διαβάσει, καὶ ἀπεῖργε τῆς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐφόδου. It is observable that while differing in every particular, the prominent point brought forward equally in both narratives is the dim apprehension of calamity impending if the strait should be crossed.

[135] χρήσας ἄν τι τεῦ βουλοίμην τυχεῖν, "I would fain obtain at thy hands a thing I wished for." The particle ἂν is to be taken with βουλοίμην.

[136] τὸν πρεσβύτατον. It would seem that the anger of Xerxes was mainly excited by the request of Pythius being made for his *eldest* son,—who, according to oriental ways of thinking, would be the most precious of his children. (See the note 676 on i. 199.) Hence the expression τοῦ περιέχεαι μάλιστα in Xerxes's reply. SENECA 'improves' the story, by making Pythius ask for one son without specifying which. Xerxes allows him to take his choice, and having by this means discovered which was the favourite child, proceeds in the manner related in the text. (*De Irâ*, iii. 17.) See the note 235 on iv. 84. The non-historical character of the story is confirmed by the circumstance that no eclipse seems to have happened in the year when the army crossed into Europe. (See note 132, above.) Compare note 235 on iv. 84.

ἵνα αὐτοῦ τε ἐμεῦ καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ᾖ μελεδωνός· τοὺς δὲ τέσσερας ἄγεν ἅμα σεωυτῷ· καὶ πρήξας τὰ νοέεις νοστήσειας ὀπίσω." Κάρτα τε ἐθυμώθη ὁ Ξέρξης, καὶ ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε· "ὦ κακὲ ἄνθρωπε, σὺ ἐτόλμησας, ἐμεῦ στρατευομένου αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἄγοντος παῖδας ἐμοὺς καὶ ἀδελφεοὺς καὶ οἰκηΐους καὶ φίλους, μνήσασθαι περὶ σέο παιδός· ἐὼν ἐμὸς δοῦλος, τὸν χρῆν πανοικίῃ αὐτῇ γυναικὶ συνέπεσθαι; εὖ νῦν τόδ' ἐξεπίστασο, ὡς ἐν τοῖσι ὠσὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἰκέει ὁ θυμός· ὃς χρηστὰ μὲν ἀκούσας τέρψιος ἐμπιπλέει τὸ σῶμα, ὑπεναντία δὲ τούτοισι ἀκούσας ἀνοιδέει· ὅτε μέν νυν χρηστὰ ποιήσας ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ἐπηγγέλλεο, εὐεργεσίῃσι βασιλέα οὐ καυχήσεαι ὑπερβαλέσθαι· ἐπεί τε δὲ ἐς τὸ ἀναιδέστερον ἐτράπευ, τὴν μὲν ἀξίην οὐ λάμψεαι, ἐλάσσω δὲ τῆς ἀξίης· σὲ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοὺς τέσσερας τῶν παίδων ῥύεται τὰ ξείνια· τοῦ δὲ ἑνός, τοῦ περιέχεαι μάλιστα, τῇ ψυχῇ ζημιώσεαι." ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ὑπεκρίνατο, αὐτίκα ἐκέλευε τοῖσι προσετέτακτο ταῦτα πρήσσειν, τῶν Πυθίου παίδων ἐξευρόντας τὸν πρεσβύτατον μέσον διαταμεῖν· διαταμόντας δὲ τὰ ἡμίτομα διαθεῖναι, τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ δὲ ἐπ' ἀριστερά· καὶ ταύτῃ διεξιέναι τὸν στρατόν [137]. 39

Ποιησάντων δὲ τούτων τοῦτο, μετὰ ταῦτα διεξήϊε ὁ στρατός· 40
ἡγέοντο δὲ πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ σκευοφόροι τε καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια· μετὰ δὲ τούτους στρατὸς παντοίων ἐθνέων ἀναμὶξ, οὐ διακεκριμένοι [138]. τῇ δὲ ὑπερημίσεες ἦσαν, ἐνθαῦτα διελέλειπτο [139]· καὶ οὐ συνέμισγον οὗτοι βασιλέϊ. προηγεῦντο μὲν δὴ ἱππόται χίλιοι ἐκ Περσέων πάντων ἀπολελεγμένοι· μετὰ δὲ, αἰχμοφόροι χίλιοι, καὶ οὗτοι ἐκ πάντων ἀπολελεγμένοι, τὰς λόγχας κάτω ἐς τὴν γῆν τρέψαντες· μετὰ δὲ, ἱροὶ Νισαῖοι [140] καλεύμενοι ἵπποι δέκα, κεκοσμημένοι ὡς κάλλιστα. Νισαῖοι δὲ καλέονται ἵπποι ἐπὶ τοῦδε· ἔστι πεδίον μέγα τῆς Μηδικῆς [141] τῷ οὔνομά ἐστι Νίσαιον· τοὺς ὦν δὴ ἵππους

Order of the line of march.

[137] *καὶ ταύτῃ διεξιέναι τὸν στρατόν.* See note 235 on iv. 84.

[138] *στρατὸς παντοίων ἐθνέων ἀναμὶξ, οὐ διακεκριμένοι.* These troops were probably raised for general service, and entered into the framework of the standing army. Such an arrangement, natural to a great empire, was quite foreign to the habits of the Greeks of Herodotus's time, where the civil relations were not lost sight of in associating levies from different states.

[139] *τῇ δὲ ὑπερημίσεες ἦσαν, ἐνθαῦτα διελέλειπτο,* "in the point where the half of the number was turned, there a break in the line had been left."

[140] *Νισαῖοι.* Some of the MSS have *Νησαῖοι.*

[141] *πεδίον μέγα τῆς Μηδικῆς.* See note 307 on iii. 106. RAWLINSON says (*Journal of the Geogr. Soc.* ix. p. 101), "With Herodotus, who was most imperfectly acquainted with the geography of Media, originated the error of transferring to that province the Nisæa (Nesá) of

τοὺς μεγάλους φέρει τὸ πεδίον τοῦτο. ὄπισθε δὲ τούτων τῶν δέκα ἵππων ἅρμα Διὸς ἱρὸν ἐπετέτακτο, τὸ ἵπποι μὲν εἷλκον λευκοὶ ὀκτώ· ὄπισθε δὲ τῶν ἵππων εἵπετο πεζῇ ἡνίοχος, ἐχόμενος τῶν χαλινῶν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ δὴ ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν θρόνον ἀνθρώπων ἀναβαίνει· τούτου δὲ ὄπισθεν αὐτὸς Ξέρξης ἐπ' ἅρματος ἵππων Νισαίων· παραβέβηκε δέ οἱ ἡνίοχος, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Πατιράμφης, Ὀτάνεω
41 παῖς ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω [142]. Ἐξήλασε μὲν οὕτω ἐκ Σαρδίων Ξέρξης· μετεκβαίνεσκε δέ, ὅκως μιν λόγος αἱρέοι, ἐκ τοῦ ἅρματος ἐς ἁρμάμαξαν. αὐτοῦ δὲ ὄπισθεν αἰχμοφόροι, Περσέων οἱ ἄριστοί τε καὶ γενναιότατοι, χίλιοι, κατὰ νόμον τὰς λόγχας ἔχοντες [143]. μετὰ δέ, ἵππος ἄλλη χιλίη ἐκ Περσέων ἀπολελεγμένη· μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἵππον, ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν Περσέων ἀπολελεγμένοι μύριοι. οὗτος πεζὸς ἦν· καὶ τούτων χίλιοι μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖσι δόρασι ἀντὶ τῶν σαυρωτήρων ῥοιὰς εἶχον χρυσέας [144], καὶ πέριξ συνεκλήϊον τοὺς ἄλλους· οἱ δὲ

Khorassan, and all later writers either copied or confounded his statement. Strabo alone has escaped from the general confusion. . . . In his description we recognize the great grazing plains of Kháwah, Alishtar, Huru, Silákhúr, Burbúrúd, Jápalák, and Ferídún, which thus stretch in a continuous line from one point to another along the southern frontiers of Media." These pastures lie along the mountain range, reaching from about Behistun (*Bagistane*), lat. 34° 15′, long. 47° 35′, to Ispahan, and it is probably the westernmost of them which were visited by Alexander on his march from Susa to Agbatana. (Arrian, vii. 13.)

142 Ὀτάνεω παῖς ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω. The office of ἡνίοχος was no doubt one of high rank, like that of bow-bearer and quiver-bearer and all others which involved close proximity to the person of the sovereign. This circumstance suggests that Patiramphes may have been son of the conspirator Otanes, apparently the most powerful of the Persian aristocracy. (See notes 192 on iii. 68, and 390 on iii. 141, and the exceptional position of his family described in the text, iii. 84.) On the other hand, it is certainly striking that so important an individual as the *conspirator* Otanes should be designated merely as ἀνὴρ Πέρσης, *if* the narrative here belongs to the same cycle of historical traditions as the account of the conspiracy in Book III.

143 κατὰ νόμον τὰς λόγχας ἔχοντες. This seems to indicate, when taken in connexion with the reversal of the arms of the guard who preceded the sovereign, a symbol of respect to him. The notion seems to have been that the rear guard were regarded as more in the actual presence of the monarch than the advanced guard. In the university of Cambridge the maces of the esquire bedells are borne reversed when preceding any other official than the chancellor himself.

144 ῥοιὰς . . χρυσέας. These *pomegranates* were no doubt sacred emblems. (See note 666 on i. 195.) The statue of Here in the temple at Mycenæ had a pomegranate in the one hand and a sceptre (on which a cuckoo was perched) in the other. Pausanias says that there was a secret doctrine connected with the former (ii. 17. 4). The statue Pausanias saw was by Polycletus, but the symbol would doubtless be traditionary, and derived from a much earlier time. The wife of the 'rex sacrificulus' at Rome, when sacrificing, wore a garland composed of a twig of the same tree. (Festus, v. *Inarculum*, and Servius, *ad Æn.* iv. 137.) As the deity at Mycenæ was a θεὸς γαμήλιος, and the rites at Rome alluded to were of the same nature as the Attic Thesmophoria, it seems likely that the productivity of nature was symbolized by the fruit, remarkable as it was for the number of seeds it contained. In this case the deity to which the emblem belonged would be some form of Aphrodite Urania, and would be a recent adoption among the pure Persians,

εἰνακισχίλιοι ἐντὸς τούτων ἐόντες ἀργυρέας ῥοιὰς εἶχον. (εἶχον δὲ χρυσέας ῥοιὰς καὶ οἱ εἰς τὴν γῆν τρέποντες τὰς λόγχας, καὶ μῆλα οἱ ἄγχιστα ἑπόμενοι Ξέρξῃ.) τοῖσι δὲ μυρίοισι ἐπετέτακτο ἵππος Περσέων μυρίη. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἵππον διέλειπε καὶ δύο σταδίους, καὶ ἔπειτα ὁ λοιπὸς ὅμιλος ἤιε ἀναμίξ.

Ἐποιέετο δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκ τῆς Λυδίης ὁ στρατὸς ἐπί τε ποταμὸν 42
Κάϊκον καὶ γῆν τὴν Μυσίην· ἀπὸ δὲ Καΐκου[145] ὁρμεώμενος, Κάνης ὄρος ἔχων ἐν ἀριστερῇ, διὰ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος ἐς Καρίνην πόλιν· ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης διὰ Θήβης πεδίου[146] ἐπορεύετο, Ἀτραμύττειόν τε πόλιν καὶ Ἄντανδρον τὴν Πελασγίδα[147] παραμειβόμενος· τὴν Ἴδην δὲ λαβὼν ἐς ἀριστερὴν χέρα[148], ἤιε ἐς τὴν Ἰλιάδα γῆν. καὶ πρῶτα μέν οἱ ὑπὸ τῇ Ἴδῃ νύκτα ἀναμείναντι βρονταί τε καὶ πρηστῆρες ἐπεισπίπτουσι, καί τινα αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ συχνὸν ὅμιλον διέφθειραν.

Course of the march from Sardis to Abydos.

Ἀπικομένου δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Σκάμανδρον, ὃς πρῶτος 43
ποταμῶν ἐπεί τε ἐκ Σαρδίων ὁρμηθέντες ἐπεχείρησαν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἐπέλιπε τὸ ῥέεθρον, οὐδ' ἀπέχρησε τῇ στρατιῇ τε καὶ τοῖσι κτήνεσι πινόμενος· ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς ἀπίκετο Ξέρξης, ἐς τὸ Πριάμου Πέργαμον[149] ἀνέβη, ἵμερον ἔχων θεήσασθαι· θεησάμενος

probably under the name of *Mitra*. See i. 132, above. LAYARD professes to have found the pomegranate among the sacred emblems on the Nimroud sculptures. (*Nineveh*, ii. p. 296.) A Parthian with a short spear, at the extremity of which is a sphere, is figured by HOPE. (*Costumes of the Ancients*, vol. i. *fig.* 13.)

[145] ἀπὸ δὲ Καΐκου. From this point the line of march until the Hellespont was crossed would lie among an Æolian population, which covered the whole country from Cyzicum to the Caicus. (STRABO, xiii. c. 1, p. 81.) *Cane* is the promontory which constitutes the southern point of the bay of Adramyttium, Lectium, a spur of Mount Ida, being the northern one. (ID. *ib.* p. 134.)

[146] διὰ Θήβης πεδίου. The town *Thebe* is represented in the *Iliad* as having been sacked by Achilles, together with eleven others in the neighbourhood. It was there that Chryses, the priest of Apollo under the name of *Hecatus* (see note 506 on i. 151), dwelt, and Andromache, the wife of Hector, was the daughter of its king Aetion. Xerxes, according to the text, seems to have kept the coast road which led from Atarneus to Adramyttium, but on arriving near the latter place to have passed between it and Antandrus, and struck northwards into the hill country between Ida and a range running east and west, called in the Iliad *Placus*, under which Thebe lay.

[147] Ἄντανδρον τὴν Πελασγίδα. See note 179 on i. 56.

[148] τὴν Ἴδην δὲ λαβὼν ἐς ἀριστερὴν χέρα. It is not easy to understand this expression; for if Xerxes had left Ida *on his left*, he would have come upon the *Granicus*, not upon the *Scamander*. Their sources however were not distant from one another, although the rivers descended on opposite sides of the water-shed. (STRABO, xiii. p. 113.) His route between Adramyttium and Abydos is over the top of Ida, and there seems no obvious reason why he should have abandoned the coast road, which, although longer, would have been much easier for a large army. Perhaps the bulk of the force did really take the coast road, and only a detachment accompany the king by the short cut over the mountains.

[149] ἐς τὸ Πριάμου Πέργαμον. This phrase is perhaps used to distinguish the place visited by Xerxes from the hill-fort

δὲ καὶ πυθόμενος κείνων ἕκαστα, τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ Ἰλιάδι ἔθυσε βοῦς χιλίας, χοὰς δὲ οἱ μάγοι τοῖσι ἥρωσι[150] ἐχέαντο· ταῦτα δὲ ποιησαμένοισι νυκτὸς φόβος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐνέπεσε· ἅμα ἡμέρῃ δὲ ἐπορεύετο ἐνθεῦτεν, ἐν ἀριστερῇ μὲν ἀπέργων Ῥοίτειον πόλιν καὶ Ὀφρύνειον καὶ Δάρδανον, ἥπερ δὴ Ἀβύδῳ ὅμουρός ἐστι, ἐν δεξιῇ δὲ Γέργιθας Τευκρούς[151].

44 In Abydos the army is reviewed. Ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἐγένοντο ἐν Ἀβύδῳ, ἠθέλησε Ξέρξης ἰδέσθαι πάντα τὸν στρατόν· καὶ προεπεποίητο γὰρ ἐπὶ κολωνοῦ ἐπίτηδες αὐτῷ ταύτῃ προεξέδρη λίθου λευκοῦ[152]· ἐποίησαν δὲ Ἀβυδηνοί, ἐντειλαμένου πρότερον βασιλέος· ἐνθαῦτα ὡς ἵζετο, κατορῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἠϊόνος ἐθηεῖτο καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὰς νέας· θηεύμενος δὲ ἱμέρθη τῶν νεῶν ἅμιλλαν[153] γινομένην ἰδέσθαι· ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἐγένετό τε καὶ ἐνίκων Φοίνικες Σιδώνιοι, ἥσθη τε τῇ ἁμίλλῃ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ.

45 Xerxes is moved to tears, Ὡς δὲ ὥρα πάντα μὲν τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀποκεκρυμμένον, πάσας δὲ τὰς ἀκτὰς καὶ τὰ Ἀβυδηνῶν πεδία ἐπίπλεα ἀνθρώπων, ἐνθαῦτα Ξέρξης ἑωυτὸν ἐμακάρισε· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐδάκρυσε.

46 and Artabanus takes Μαθὼν δέ μιν Ἀρτάβανος[154] ὁ πάτρως, ὃς τὸ πρῶτον γνώμην ἀπεδέξατο

which Lysimachus afterwards made the acropolis of the celebrated city of the same name.

150 τοῖσι ἥρωσι. The barrows with which this locality abounds were all regarded as the burial place of some of the worthies of the Trojan war, and chapels were erected to these, either on them or on the elevations in the neighbourhood. At Rhæteum was a chapel of Ajax, at Ophrynium a grave of Hector, at Sigeum the tomb of Achilles. The tomb of Hecuba (called κυνὸς σῆμα) was between Dardanus and Abydos; and near Sigeum was that of Protesilaus. (STRABO, xiii. p. 102, *seqq.*) Larcher attempts to account for the discrepancy between the conduct of Xerxes here and the habits ascribed to the Persians in i. 132, by supposing that it arose from a desire to conciliate the gods of the land through which the army was passing. There is no doubt something in this; but the true explanation is (I believe) to be found in the view put forth in the *Excursus* on iii. 74, pp. 434—5.

151 Γέργιθας Τευκρούς. These Gergithians had been subdued by the Persian general Hymeas in the course of putting down the Ionian rebellion (v. 122, above).

152 προεξέδρη λίθου λευκοῦ. Massive marble chairs were set up in many places in Greece, sometimes in honour of distinguished individuals, sometimes consecrated to certain deities. Such a one, existing at Rhamnus, is described by MR. RAIKES. (*Walpole's Turkey*, i. p. 310.) The custom appears in the Homeric poems (*Il.* xviii. 504). *Job* too says of himself, ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις ἐτίθετό μου ὁ δίφρος (xxix. 7), when enumerating the particulars of the prosperity of his former days.

153 ἅμιλλαν, "a contest of speed," not "a sea-fight."

154 Ἀρτάβανος. HERMOGENES the rhetorician, in quoting a part of the dialogue which follows, makes not *Artabanus*, but *Artabazus* to be the party with whom the Persian king discourses. This is doubtless owing to a slip of the memory, the attention of the writer being taken up by the substance of the discussion, and the name of the interlocutor being comparatively a matter of indifference. But this very circumstance should operate as a caution to those who attempt to identify the individuals mentioned here and there in the stories related by Herodotus with one another; for exactly the same causes which influenced Hermogenes would also

ἐλευθέρως οὐ συμβουλεύων Ξέρξῃ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, οὗτος ὡνὴρ φρασθεὶς Ξέρξεα δακρύσαντα εἴρετο τάδε· "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὡς πολὺ ἀλλήλων κεχωρισμένα ἐργάσαο νῦν τε καὶ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον; μακαρίσας γὰρ σεωυτὸν δακρύεις·" ὁ δὲ εἶπε· "ἐσῆλθε γάρ με[155] λογισάμενον κατοικτεῖραι ὡς βραχὺς εἴη ὁ πᾶς ἀνθρώπινος βίος, εἰ τούτων γε ἐόντων τοσούτων οὐδεὶς ἐς ἑκατοστὸν ἔτος περιέσται·" ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων· "ἕτερα τούτου παρὰ τὴν ζόην πεπόνθαμεν οἰκτρότερα· ἐν γὰρ οὕτω βραχέϊ βίῳ οὐδεὶς οὕτω ἄνθρωπος ἐὼν εὐδαίμων πέφυκε, οὔτε τούτων οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων, τῷ οὐ παραστήσεται πολλάκις καὶ οὐκὶ ἅπαξ τεθνάναι βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ζόειν· αἵ τε γὰρ συμφοραὶ προσπίπτουσαι[156] καὶ αἱ νοῦσοι συνταράσσουσαι καὶ βραχὺν ἐόντα μακρὸν δοκέειν εἶναι ποιεῦσι τὸν βίον· οὕτω ὁ μὲν θάνατος, μοχθηρῆς ἐούσης τῆς ζόης, καταφυγὴ αἱρετωτάτη τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ γέγονε· ὁ δὲ θεὸς γλυκὺν γεύσας τὸν
αἰῶνα, φθονερὸς ἐν αὐτῷ εὑρίσκεται ἐών[157]." Ξέρξης δὲ ἀμείβετο 47
λέγων· "Ἀρτάβανε, βιοτῆς μέν νυν ἀνθρωπηΐης πέρι, ἐούσης τοιαύτης οἵηνπερ σὺ διαιρέαι[158] εἶναι, παυσώμεθα, μηδὲ κακῶν μεμνεώμεθα χρηστὰ ἔχοντες πρήγματα ἐν χερσί· φράσον δέ μοι τόδε· εἴ τοι ἡ ὄψις τοῦ ἐνυπνίου μὴ ἐναργὴς οὕτω ἐφάνη, εἶχες ἂν τὴν ἀρχαίην γνώμην οὐκ ἐῶν με στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἢ μετέστης ἄν; φέρε μοι τοῦτο ἀτρεκέως εἰπέ·" ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων· "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὄψις μὲν ἡ ἐπιφανεῖσα τοῦ ὀνείρου ὡς βουλόμεθα ἀμφότεροι τελευτήσειε· ἐγὼ δ' ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε δείματός εἰμι ὑπόπλεος, οὐδ' ἐντὸς ἐμεωυτοῦ, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐπιλεγόμενος καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁρέων τοι δύο τὰ μέγιστα πάντων ἐόντα πολεμιώτατα."

advantage of the mood to impress him with the uncertainty of human affairs.

operate upon the authorities through which the accounts came to Herodotus. See note 116 on i. 32, note 494 on ii. 160, and note 368 on iv. 144.

155 *ἐσῆλθε γάρ με.* A similar expression is used above, iii. 42: *τὸν δὲ ὡς ἐσῆλθε θεῖον εἶναι τὸ πρῆγμα*, vi. 125: *ἰδόντα τὸν Κροῖσον γέλως ἐσῆλθε*, and in other passages.

156 *προσπίπτουσαι.* Stobæus, in quoting this passage, has the variation *συμπίπτουσαι*, which is used by Herodotus above, i. 139: *καὶ τόδε ἄλλο σφι ὧδε συμπέπτωκε γίνεσθαι*, and by Thucydides, iii. 59: *κατανοοῦντες . . . ὡς ἀστάθμητον τὸ τῆς ξυμφορᾶς ᾧ τινί ποτ' ἂν καὶ ἀναξίῳ ξυμπέσοι.*

157 *ὁ δὲ θεὸς . . εὑρίσκεται ἐών.* Translate: "the deity, after giving us a taste of sweetness in our life, is found to mean spite in so doing." The vender of wine would "give a taste" (*γεύειν*) in order to allure a purchaser. Hence Silenus, in the *Cyclops* of Euripides, says: *γεῦμα τὴν ὠνὴν καλεῖ* (v. 150). The meaning of Artabanus is, that the happiness of life is bestowed merely to arouse desire, in order that the greater pain may be inflicted by thwarting it. "Ut casu graviore ruant, tolluntur in altum." Upon the *θεῶν φθόνος* see note 119 on iii. 40.

158 *διαιρέαι.* See note 604 on i. 180.

48 Ξέρξης δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε· "δαιμόνιε ἀνδρῶν, κοῖα ταῦτα λέγεις εἶναι δύο μοι πολεμιώτατα; κότερά τοι ὁ πεζὸς μεμπτὸς κατὰ τὸ πλῆθός ἐστι, καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν στράτευμα φαίνεται πολλαπλήσιον ἔσεσθαι τοῦ ἡμετέρου; ἢ τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ ἡμέτερον λείψεσθαι τοῦ ἐκείνων; ἢ καὶ συναμφότερα ταῦτα; εἰ γάρ τοι ταύτῃ ἐνδεέστερα φαίνεται εἶναι τὰ ἡμέτερα πρήγματα,
49 στρατοῦ ἂν ἄλλου τις τὴν ταχίστην ἄγερσιν ποιοῖτο." Ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο λέγων· "ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὔτε στρατὸν[159] τοῦτον ὅστις γε σύνεσιν ἔχει μέμφοιτ' ἄν, οὔτε τῶν νεῶν τὸ πλῆθος· ἤν τε πλεῦνας συλλέξῃς, τὰ δύο τοι τὰ λέγω πολλῷ ἔτι πολεμιώτερα γίνεται· τὰ δὲ δύο ταῦτα ἔστι γῆ τε καὶ θάλασσα· οὔτε γὰρ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐστὶ λιμὴν τοσοῦτος οὐδαμόθι, ὡς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω, ὅστις ἐγειρομένου χειμῶνος δεξάμενός σευ τοῦτο τὸ ναυτικὸν, φερέγγυος ἔσται διασῶσαι τὰς νέας· καί τοι οὐκὶ ἕνα αὐτὸν δεῖ εἶναι τὸν λιμένα, ἀλλὰ παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ἤπειρον, παρ' ἣν δὴ κομίεαι· οὐκ ὦν δὴ ἐόντων τοι λιμένων ὑποδεξίων[160], μάθε ὅτι αἱ συμφοραὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄρχουσι καὶ οὐκὶ ὤνθρωποι τῶν συμφορέων· καὶ δὴ τῶν δύο τοι τοῦ ἑτέρου εἰρημένου, τὸ ἕτερον ἔρχομαι ἐρέων· γῆ δὴ[161] πολεμίη τῇδέ τοι κατίσταται· εἰ ἐθέλοι τοι μηδὲν ἀντίξοον καταστῆναι, τοσούτῳ τοι γίνεται πολεμιωτέρη ὅσῳ ἂν προβαίνῃς ἑκαστέρω, τὸ πρόσω αἰεὶ κλεπτόμενος[162]· εὐπρηξίης γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι ἀνθρώποισι οὐδεμία πληθώρη[163]. καὶ δή τοι, ὡς οὐδενὸς ἐναντιευμένου, λέγω

159 *οὔτε στρατὸν, κ.τ.λ.* Valcknaer calls attention to the circumstance of the following sentiments of Artabanus being by SENECA (*de Benef.* vi. 31) put into the mouth of Demaratus, while, on the other hand, the argument relative to the succession (§ 3, above), which Herodotus ascribes to Demaratus, is by PLUTARCH and others who followed him attributed to Artabanus. See note 154, above.

160 *ὑποδεξίων*, i.e. *ἱκανῶν ὥστε ὑποδέχεσθαι.* The analogy of *ἁλώσιμος, ναυπηγήσιμος*, &c., would lead one to expect the form *ὑποδέξιμος.* The fear of not finding sufficient accommodation for their ships induced a tripartite division of the fleet which sailed from Athens on the fatal Sicilian expedition, although that consisted only of one hundred and thirty-seven ships. (THUCYDIDES, vi. 42.)

161 *γῆ δή.* So S. The other MSS have *γῆ δὲ*, which Gaisford follows.

162 *τὸ πρόσω αἰεὶ κλεπτόμενος*, "being cheated as you go of [real] advance." The meaning seems to be, that success not being complete is no success at all. Whatever is achieved, more will seem to remain behind.

163 *εὐπρηξίης γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι ἀνθρώποισι οὐδεμία πληθώρη*, "with men there is no such thing as a plethory of success." This is exactly parallel to the sentiment of the Chorus in the *Agamemnon* of ÆSCHYLUS, where the thought is very beautifully followed up:

τὸ μὲν εὖ πράσσειν ἀκόρεστον ἔφυ
πᾶσι βροτοῖσιν· δακτυλοδεικτῶν δ'
οὔτις ἀπειπὼν εἴργει μελάθρων,
ΜΗΚΕΤ' ΕΣΕΛΘΗΙΣ ΤΑΔΕ, *φωνῶν.*
(*vv.* 1331—4.)

τὴν χώρην πλεῦνα ἐν πλεῦνι χρόνῳ γινομένην λιμὸν τέξεσθαι. ἀνὴρ δὲ οὕτω ἂν εἴη ἄριστος, εἰ βουλευόμενος μὲν ἀρρωδέοι, πᾶν ἐπιλεγόμενος πείσεσθαι χρῆμα, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ θρασὺς εἴη." Ἀμεί- 50
βεται Ξέρξης τοῖσδε· "Ἀρτάβανε, οἰκότως μὲν σύ γε τούτων ἕκαστα διαιρέαι· ἀτὰρ μήτε πάντα φοβέο, μήτε πᾶν ὁμοίως ἐπιλέγεο· εἰ γὰρ δὴ βούλοιο ἐπὶ τῷ αἰεὶ ἐπεσφερομένῳ πρήγματι τὸ πᾶν ὁμοίως ἐπιλέγεσθαι, ποιήσειας ἂν οὐδαμὰ οὐδέν· κρέσσον δὲ πάντα θαρσέοντα ἥμισυ τῶν δεινῶν πάσχειν μᾶλλον, ἢ πᾶν χρῆμα προδειμαίνοντα μηδαμὰ μηδὲν παθεῖν· εἰ δὲ ἐρίζων πρὸς πᾶν τὸ λεγόμενον, μὴ τὸ βέβαιον[164] ἀποδέξεις, σφάλλεσθαι ὀφείλεις ἐν αὐτοῖσι ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ ὑπεναντία τούτοισι λέξας. τοῦτο μέν νυν ἐπίσης ἔχει· εἰδέναι δὲ ἄνθρωπον ἐόντα κῶς χρὴ τὸ βέβαιον; δοκέω μὲν οὐδαμῶς. τοῖσι τοίνυν βουλομένοισι ποιέειν, ὡς τὸ ἐπίπαν φιλέει γίνεσθαι τὰ κέρδεα· τοῖσι δὲ ἐπιλεγομένοισί τε πάντα καὶ ὀκνεῦσι, οὐ μάλα ἐθέλει. ὁρᾷς τὰ Περσέων πρήγματα ἐς ὃ δυνάμιος προκεχώρηκε· εἰ τοίνυν ἐκεῖνοι οἱ πρὸ ἐμεῦ γενόμενοι βασιλέες γνώμῃσι ἐχρέοντο[165] ὁμοίῃσι καὶ σύ, ἢ μὴ χρεόμενοι γνώμῃσι τοιαύτῃσι ἄλλους συμβούλους εἶχον τοιούτους, οὐκ ἄν κοτε εἶδες αὐτὰ ἐς τοῦτο προελθόντα· νῦν δὲ κινδύνους ἀναρριπτέοντες[166] ἐς τοῦτό σφεα προηγάγοντο· μεγάλα γὰρ πρήγματα μεγάλοισι κινδύνοισι ἐθέλει καταιρέεσθαι· ἡμεῖς τοίνυν, ὁμοιεύμενοι κείνοισι, ὥρην τε τοῦ ἔτεος καλλίστην. πορευόμεθα, καὶ καταστρεψάμενοι πᾶσαν τὴν Εὐρώπην νοστήσομεν ὀπίσω, οὔτε λιμῷ ἐντυχόντες οὐδαμόθι οὔτε ἄλλο ἄχαρι παθόντες οὐδέν· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὶ πολλὴν φορβὴν φερόμενοι πορευόμεθα· τοῦτο δὲ, τῶν

[164] *μὴ τὸ βέβαιον.* This is the reading of S, V, A, B. But M, P, K, F, *b* have *μή τε βέβαιον.* Gaisford's reading, which I have followed, seems to furnish a satisfactory meaning. Translate: "and if, while taking exceptions to every thing which is proposed, you fail to point out the secure course, you are open to failure in them (*i.e.* the perilous conjunctures, τοῖς δεινοῖς) no less than those who have given opposite advice. And as for the secure course, how should mortal man know it? I hold it to be impossible!"

[165] *ἐχρέοντο.* So Gaisford prints, but the MSS have *ἐχρέωντο*, and in the next line *χρεώμενοι*. Some of the MSS have *τῇσι* for *ὁμοίῃσι*, a change which seems to arise from a gloss.

[166] *κινδύνους ἀναρριπτέοντες.* EURIPIDES (*Ino, fr.* 14) uses the simple verb:

νῦν δ' εἰς μίαν βλέπουσι, κίνδυνον μέγαν
ῥίπτοντες.

So too the author of the *Rhesus* (154):

ἐγὼ πρὸ γαίας τόνδε κίνδυνον θέλω
ῥίψας κατόπτης ναῦς ἐπ' Ἀργείων μολεῖν.

The metaphor is taken from the throwing of dice. Translate: "playing the dangerous game." In the expression *κίνδυνον αἴρεσθαι* (*Heracl.* 504), the metaphor is from lifting a burden.

ἄν κου ἐπιβέωμεν γῆν καὶ ἔθνος, τούτων τὸν σῖτον ἕξομεν· ἐπ'
51 *ἀροτῆρας δὲ καὶ οὐ νομάδας στρατευόμεθα ἄνδρας." Λέγει Ἀρτάβανος μετὰ ταῦτα· "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπεί τε ἀρρωδέειν οὐδὲν ἐᾷς πρῆγμα, σὺ δέ μευ συμβουλίην ἔνδεξαι· ἀναγκαίως γὰρ ἔχει περὶ πολλῶν πρηγμάτων πλεῦνα λόγον ἐκτεῖναι. Κῦρος ὁ Καμβύσεω Ἰωνίην πᾶσαν, πλὴν Ἀθηναίων, κατεστρέψατο δασμοφόρον εἶναι Πέρσῃσι· τούτους ὦν τοὺς ἄνδρας συμβουλεύω τοι μηδεμιῇ μηχανῇ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας*[167]*· καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων οἷοί τε εἰμὲν τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατυπέρτεροι γίνεσθαι· ἢ γάρ σφεας, ἢν ἕπωνται, δεῖ ἀδικωτάτους γίνεσθαι καταδουλουμένους τὴν μητρόπολιν, ἢ δικαιοτάτους συνελευθεροῦντας. ἀδικώτατοι μέν νυν γινόμενοι, οὐδὲν κέρδος μέγα ἡμῖν προσβάλλουσι· δικαιότατοι δὲ γινόμενοι, οἷοί τε δηλήσασθαι*[168] *μεγάλως τὴν σὴν στρατιὴν γίνονται. ἐς θυμὸν ὦν βαλεῦ καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἔπος*[169] *ὡς εὖ εἴρηται, τὸ μὴ ἅμα ἀρχῇ πᾶν*
52 *τέλος καταφαίνεσθαι." Ἀμείβεται πρὸς ταῦτα Ξέρξης· "Ἀρτάβανε, τῶν ἀπεφήναο γνωμέων σφάλλεαι κατὰ ταύτην δὴ μάλιστα, ὃς Ἴωνας φοβέαι*[170] *μὴ μεταβάλωσι· τῶν ἔχομεν γνῶμα*[171] *μέγιστον, τῶν σύ τε μάρτυς γίνεαι καὶ οἱ συστρατευσάμενοι Δαρείῳ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ὅτι ἐπὶ τούτοισι ἡ πᾶσα Περσικὴ στρατιὴ ἐγένετο, διαφθεῖραι καὶ περιποιῆσαι· οἱ δὲ δικαιοσύνην καὶ πιστότητα ἐνέδωκαν, ἄχαρι δὲ οὐδέν· πάρεξ δὲ τούτου, ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ καταλιπόντας τέκνα τε καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ χρήματα, οὐδ' ἐπιλέγεσθαι χρὴ νεώτερόν τι ποιήσειν· οὕτω μηδὲ τοῦτο φοβέο, ἀλλὰ θυμὸν ἔχων ἀγαθὸν, σῶζε οἶκόν τε τὸν ἐμὸν καὶ τυραννίδα τὴν ἐμήν· σοὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ μούνῳ ἐκ πάντων σκῆπτρα τὰ ἐμὰ ἐπιτράπω."*

53 *Ταῦτα εἴπας καὶ Ἀρτάβανον ἀποστείλας*[172] *ἐς Σοῦσα, δεύτερα μετεπέμψατο Ξέρξης Περσέων τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους· ἐπεὶ δέ οἱ παρῆσαν, ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε· "ὦ Πέρσαι, τῶνδ' ἐγὼ ὑμέων χρήζων*

Xerxes holds a second council of notables.

[167] *ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας.* This is the argument which in the sequel Themistocles used to induce the Ionians to take part against their Persian masters: *ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, οὐ ποιέετε δίκαια ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας στρατευόμενοι* (viii. 22).

[168] *δηλήσασθαι.* S and V have the active form *δηλῆσαι.*

[169] *ἐς θυμὸν ὦν βαλεῦ καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἔπος.* The same expression is used below (viii. 68): *ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ τόδε ἐς θυμὸν βαλεῦ.*

[170] *φοβέαι.* See note 604 on i. 180.

[171] *γνῶμα,* "ground for knowing." The word is not a common one, but is used by Sophocles (*Trachin.* 593):

ἀλλ' εἰδέναι χρὴ δρῶσαν· ὡς οὐδ' εἰ δοκεῖς
ἔχειν, ἔχοις ἂν γνῶμα μὴ πειρωμένη.

[172] *ἀποστείλας.* S and V have *ἀπολύσας*, which seems to be an original reading, though Wesseling regards it as derived from a gloss.

συνέλεξα, ἄνδρας τε γίνεσθαι ἀγαθοὺς, καὶ μὴ καταισχύνειν τὰ πρόσθεν ἐργασμένα Πέρσῃσι, ἐόντα μεγάλα τε καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξια· ἀλλ' εἷς τε ἕκαστος καὶ οἱ σύμπαντες προθυμίην ἔχωμεν· ξυνὸν γὰρ τοῦτο πᾶσι ἀγαθὸν σπεύδεται. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα προαγορεύω ἀντέχεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου ἐντεταμένως· ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἐπ' ἄνδρας στρατευόμεθα ἀγαθούς· τῶν ἢν κρατήσωμεν, οὐ μή τις ἡμῖν ἄλλος στρατὸς ἀντιστῇ κοτε ἀνθρώπων. νῦν δὲ διαβαίνωμεν ἐπευξάμενοι τοῖσι θεοῖσι, τοὶ Περσίδα γῆν λελόγχασι[173]."

54 Ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην παρασκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν διάβασιν· τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ ἀνέμενον τὸν ἥλιον, ἐθέλοντες ἰδέσθαι ἀνίσχοντα, θυμιήματά τε παντοῖα ἐπὶ τῶν γεφυρέων καταγίζοντες καὶ μυρσίνῃσι στορνύντες τὴν ὁδόν· ὡς δ' ἐπανέτελλε ὁ ἥλιος, σπένδων ἐκ χρυσέης φιάλης Ξέρξης ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, εὔχετο πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον[174], μηδεμίαν οἱ συντυχίην τοιαύτην γενέσθαι ἥ μιν παύσει καταστρέψασθαι τὴν Εὐρώπην πρότερον ἢ ἐπὶ τέρμασι τοῖσι ἐκείνης γένηται· εὐξάμενος δὲ, ἐσέβαλε τὴν φιάλην ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ χρύσεον κρητῆρα καὶ Περσικὸν ξίφος τὸν ἀκινάκην καλέουσι. ταῦτα οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως διακρῖναι, οὔτε εἰ τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνατιθεὶς κατῆκε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, οὔτε εἰ μετεμέλησέ οἱ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον μαστιγώσαντι καὶ ἀντὶ τούτων τὴν θάλασσαν ἐδωρέετο.

The passage of the strait is auspicated by offerings to the rising sun.

55 Ὡς δὲ ταῦτά οἱ ἐπεποίητο, διέβαινον κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἑτέρην τῶν γεφυρέων τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου ὁ πεζός τε καὶ ἡ ἵππος ἅπασα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς

Order of the passage.

[173] τοὶ Περσίδα γῆν λελόγχασι. The manuscripts P, K, F, *a*, *b*, *c* have οἱ Πέρσας λελόγχασι.

[174] εὔχετο πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον, "prayed, turned to the sun." This practice, which prevailed in all the religions of antiquity into which sun-worship entered, was transferred to the early Christians, probably to avoid shocking the habits of new converts, and the Fathers of the Church took considerable trouble to give explanations of the practice conformable to the principles of Christianity. But, nevertheless, the habit drew upon them the calumny that the sun was an object of their adoration, and, in the case of many individuals, probably with justice. LEO (quoted by *Voss*, *De Origine Idololatriæ*) complains that some persons after mounting the steps to the altar of St. Peter's Basilica, which, contrary to the usual practice, stands at the *west end*, "converso corpore ad nascentem se solem reflectant, et curvatis cervicibus in honorem se splendidi orbis inclinent;" and in a Latin sermon of the seventh century by St. Eligius (quoted by GRIMM, *Anhang zur Deutschen Mythologie*, p. XXX) appears the caution, "Nullus *dominos* Solem aut Lunam vocet." The same idolatry of which Leo complained had aroused the indignation of the prophet EZEKIEL at Jerusalem (see viii. 16); and the direction in which DANIEL turned (vi. 10) was doubtless a portion of his disobedience to the royal decree which especially excited the wrath of his accusers. The position of the temple at Jerusalem was, according to the notion of some, expressly determined on as a protest against sun worship (ἵνα οἱ προσευχόμενοι μὴ τὸν ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα προσκυνῶσιν ἀλλὰ τὸν ἡλίου δεσπότην. ANASTASIUS, *Quæst.* xviii.). This position is enjoined for Christian Churches in the *Pseud-Apostolic Constitutions* (ii. 57).

τὸ Αἰγαῖον[175] τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ ἡ θεραπηΐη· ἡγέοντο δὲ πρῶτα μὲν οἱ μύριοι Πέρσαι ἐστεφανωμένοι πάντες, μετὰ δὲ τούτους ὁ σύμμικτος στρατὸς παντοίων ἐθνέων. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην οὗτοι· τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ, πρῶτοι μὲν οἵ τε ἱππόται καὶ οἱ τὰς λόγχας κάτω τρέποντες· ἐστεφάνωντο δὲ καὶ οὗτοι· μετὰ δὲ, οἵ τε ἵπποι οἱ ἱροὶ καὶ τὸ ἅρμα τὸ ἱρόν· ἐπὶ δὲ, αὐτός τε Ξέρξης καὶ οἱ αἰχμοφόροι, καὶ οἱ ἱππόται οἱ χίλιοι· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοισι ὁ ἄλλος στρατός· καὶ αἱ νῆες ἅμα ἀνήγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀπεναντίον[176]. ἤδη δὴ ἤκουσα καὶ ὕστατον διαβῆναι βασιλέα πάντων[177].

56 Ξέρξης δὲ ἐπεί τε διέβη ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐθηεῖτο τὸν στρατὸν ὑπὸ μαστίγων διαβαίνοντα[178]. διέβη δὲ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν ἑπτὰ ἡμέρῃσι καὶ ἐν ἑπτὰ εὐφρόνῃσι, ἐλινύσας οὐδένα χρόνον. ἐνθαῦτα λέγεται, Ξέρξεω ἤδη διαβεβηκότος τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἄνδρα εἰπεῖν Ἑλλησπόντιον· "ὦ Ζεῦ, τί δὴ ἀνδρὶ εἰδόμενος Πέρσῃ καὶ οὔνομα ἀντὶ Διὸς Ξέρξεα θέμενος, ἀνάστατον τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐθέλεις ποιῆσαι ἄγων πάντας ἀνθρώπους; καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων ἐξῆν τοι ποιέειν ταῦτα."

Anecdote of a Hellespontine on the occasion.

57 Ὡς δὲ διέβησαν πάντες, ἐς ὁδὸν ὡρμημένοισι τέρας σφι ἐφάνη μέγα, τὸ Ξέρξης ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐποιήσατο καί περ εὐσύμβλητον ἐόν· ἵππος γὰρ ἔτεκε λαγόν. (εὐσύμβλητον ὦν τῇδε τοῦτο ἐγένετο, ὅτι ἔμελλε μὲν ἐλᾶν στρατιὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ξέρξης ἀγαυρότατα καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατα, ὀπίσω δὲ περὶ ἑωυτοῦ τρέχων[179] ἥξειν ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χῶρον.) ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἕτερον αὐτῷ τέρας ἐόντι ἐν Σάρδισι· ἡμίονος γὰρ ἔτεκε ἡμίονον διξὰ ἔχουσαν αἰδοῖα, τὰ μὲν

Portents which occurred at the time of the passage.

58 ἔρσενος, τὰ δὲ θηλέης· κατύπερθε δὲ ἦν τὰ τοῦ ἔρσενος. Τῶν ἀμφοτέρων λόγον οὐδένα ποιησάμενος, τὸ πρόσω ἐπορεύετο· σὺν δέ οἱ ὁ πεζὸς στρατός· ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς ἔξω τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πλέων[180], παρὰ γῆν ἐκομίζετο, τὰ ἔμπαλιν πρήσσων τοῦ πεζοῦ·

Line of the march through Europe.

175 τὸ Αἰγαῖον. F has τὸν Αἰγαῖον.

176 ἀνήγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀπεναντίον, "got under way for the opposite shore."

177 ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα . . . βασιλέα πάντων. The diversity of these two accounts indicates the uncertain character of the sources of the narrative; for the difference between them is not the difference between two witnesses who contradict one another in details entirely unimportant to the main gist of a story, but it is a contradiction in the very particular which could not have failed to impress itself upon a spectator,—the place of the monarch.

178 ὑπὸ μαστίγων διαβαίνοντα. See note 92 on § 22, above.

179 περὶ ἑωυτοῦ τρέχων. One manuscript (S) has περὶ ἑωυτῷ τρέχων. But the genitive is warranted by the majority of MSS, and by the whole in viii. 140: θέειν περὶ ὑμέων αὐτῶν.

180 ἔξω τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πλέων. One MS only has τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, which would be the usual form. Perhaps ἔξω

ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς ἑσπέρην ἔπλεε ἐπὶ Σαρπηδονίης ἄκρης ποιεύμενος τὴν ἄπιξιν[181], ἐς τὴν αὐτῷ προείρητο ἀπικομένῳ περιμένειν· ὁ δὲ κατ' ἤπειρον στρατὸς πρὸς ἠῶ τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς ἐποιέετο τὴν ὁδὸν διὰ τῆς Χερσονήσου, ἐν δεξιῇ μὲν ἔχων τὸν Ἕλλης τάφον τῆς Ἀθάμαντος, ἐν ἀριστερῇ δὲ Καρδίην πόλιν[182], διὰ μέσης δὲ πορευόμενος πόλιος τῇ οὔνομα τυγχάνει ἐὸν Ἀγορή· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ κάμπτων τὸν κόλπον τὸν Μέλανα καλεόμενον, καὶ Μέλανα ποταμὸν, οὐκ ἀντισχόντα τότε τῇ στρατιῇ τὸ ῥέεθρον ἀλλ' ἐπιλιπόντα, τοῦτον τὸν ποταμὸν διαβὰς (ἐπ' οὗ καὶ ὁ κόλπος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει) ἤιε πρὸς ἑσπέρην, Αἶνόν[183] τε πόλιν Αἰολίδα καὶ Στεντορίδα λίμνην παρεξιὼν, ἐς ὃ ἀπίκετο ἐς Δορίσκον[184].

59

A halt is made at *Doriscus*, and a review takes

Ὁ δὲ Δορίσκος ἔστι τῆς Θρηΐκης αἰγιαλός τε καὶ πεδίον μέγα· (διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ῥέει ποταμὸς μέγας Ἕβρος·) ἐν τῷ τεῖχός τε ἐδέδμητο βασιλήϊον—τοῦτο τὸ δὴ Δορίσκος κέκληται—καὶ Περσέων φρουρὴ ἐν αὐτῷ

πλέων is to be regarded as a single verb governing the accusative τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, in the sense "evacuating." Above (v. 103) the expression ἐκπλώσαντες ἔξω τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον is used.

181 ἐπὶ Σαρπηδονίης ἄκρης ποιεύμενος τὴν ἄπιξιν. This phrase is not a very easy one to translate, except by a periphrasis, although the meaning of the author is plain enough if the form of the coast be considered. The fleet would not really sail in a western direction on leaving Sestos, but first of all in a S.W. course till it came off Elæus. When that point was rounded they would hug the shore of the Chersonese for four or five leagues, and then would stretch across for the Sarpedonian head in a direction only two or three points to the westward of due north. The ships were laid "*for* the cape" (ἐπὶ ἄκρης) in the process of "making the land" (ποιεύμενος τὴν ἄπιξιν). After that had been effected, they would proceed westward along the shore to the beach adjacent to Doriscus (§ 59). Looking on the one hand to the point of rendezvous for the ships, and on the other to the direction of the mountain range in which the Chersonese is continued, and to the south of which the land forces must have marched for a considerable time, a native of Sestos might not unreasonably describe the courses of the fleet and the army as being respectively to the west and the east. Speaking in general terms they were this; and strictly they were in opposite directions to each other.

182 Καρδίην πόλιν. See note 80 on vi. 33.

183 Αἶνον. This place was a very strong one, as appears from the circumstance that in the war with the Romans carried on by Philip, king of Macedonia, in the year 200 B.C., it gave great trouble to the besieger, and at last only fell by the treachery of the governor. (LIVY, XXX. 16.) It probably was occupied by a Persian garrison as an important post, and perhaps on this account is mentioned by the author in iv. 90. The Thracian name of Ænus was *Poltyobria*, which was equivalent to "the town of Poltys," for the termination βρία, that appears in *Selybria*, and *Menebria* (the ancient name of *Mesembria*) is, according to STRABO (vi. c. 6, p. 111), the equivalent of πόλις. Another name of the city was *Apsynthus*. (STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS, *v.* Αἶνος.) Hence it is possible that the *Apsynthian Thracians* of whom Herodotus speaks (vi. 34 and ix. 119) are the periœcians of this town, although in the text there is no hint of any connexion between them. The population was certainly Æolian. (THUCYDIDES, vii. 57.) Ænus is however mentioned in the *Iliad* (iv. 520) as the town from which the *Thracian* leader *Pirous* came.

184 ἐς Δορίσκον. See note 289 on v. 98.

place of all arms. κατεστήκεε ὑπὸ Δαρείου ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἐπεί τε ἐπὶ Σκύθας ἐστρατεύετο. ἔδοξε ὦν τῷ Ξέρξῃ ὁ χῶρος εἶναι ἐπιτήδεος ἐνδιατάξαι τε καὶ ἐξαριθμῆσαι τὸν στρατόν· καὶ ἐποίεε ταῦτα. τὰς μὲν δὴ νέας τὰς πάσας ἀπικομένας ἐς Δορίσκον οἱ ναύαρχοι, κελεύσαντος Ξέρξεω, ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν προσεχέα Δορίσκῳ ἐκόμισαν· ἐν τῷ Σάλη τε Σαμοθρηΐκίη πεπόλισται πόλις καὶ Ζώνη, τελευταία δὲ αὐτοῦ Σέρρειον, ἄκρη ὀνομαστή[185]· ὁ δὲ χῶρος οὗτος τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν Κικόνων. ἐς τοῦτον τὸν αἰγιαλὸν κατασχόντες, τὰς νέας ἀνέψυχον ἀνελκύσαντες· ὁ δὲ ἐν τῷ Δορίσκῳ τοῦτον τὸν

60 The land force amounted to 1,700,000. χρόνον τῆς στρατιῆς ἀριθμὸν ἐποιέετο. Ὅσον μέν νυν ἕκαστοι παρεῖχον πλῆθος ἐς ἀριθμὸν[186], οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι τὸ ἀτρεκές· οὐ γὰρ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων· σύμπαντος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ πλῆθος ἐφάνη ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδες. ἐξηρίθμησαν δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον· συναγαγόντες ἐς ἕνα χῶρον μυριάδα ἀνθρώπων, καὶ συνάξαντες[187] ταύτην ὡς μάλιστα εἶχον, περιέγραψαν ἔξωθεν κύκλον· περιγράψαντες δὲ, καὶ ἀπέντες τοὺς μυρίους, αἱμασιὴν περιέβαλον κατὰ τὸν κύκλον ὕψος ἀνήκουσαν ἀνδρὶ ἐς τὸν ὀμφαλὸν, ταύτην δὲ ποιήσαντες, ἄλλους ἐσεβίβαζον ἐς τὸ περιοικοδομημένον· μέχρις οὗ πάντας τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐξηρίθμησαν· ἀριθμήσαντες δὲ κατὰ ἔθνεα διέτασσον.

61 Enumeration of the several nations serving in the grand army. *Persians* Οἱ δὲ στρατευόμενοι οἵδε ἦσαν· Πέρσαι μὲν ὧδε ἐσκευασμένοι· περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον τιάρας καλεομένους, πίλους ἀπαγέας[188]· περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα κιθῶνας χειριδωτοὺς[189] ποικίλους, λεπίδος σιδηρέης ὄψιν ἰχθυοειδέος· περὶ δὲ τὰ σκέλεα ἀναξυρίδας, ἀντὶ δὲ ἀσπίδων γέρρα· ὑπὸ δὲ, φαρετρεῶνες ἐκρέμαντο[190]· αἰχμὰς

185 ἄκρη ὀνομαστή. Perhaps from its importance as a landmark to the mariner, it forming with Sarpedon's Head the bay within which there was so good a beach for ships to be hauled up high and dry.

186 πλῆθος ἐς ἀριθμόν. The manuscripts S, V, *a*, *c* have πλήθεος ἀριθμὸν, and *d*, πλῆθος ἀριθμόν.

187 συνάξαντες. The true reading is probably συννάξαντες, which is adopted by Bekker. The meaning of συννάσσω would be "to compress." See above, κατανάξαντες (§ 36).

188 πίλους ἀπαγέας. See HESYCHIUS, quoted in note 449 on i. 132.

189 χειριδωτούς, "sleeved." The whole of the *upper* part of the body of these Persians was protected by a coat of mail, of such a kind as still not to prevent them from drawing the bow. For the manner in which they acted see ix. 61, and the note thereon. The *lower* part of the body was not necessarily defended by armour, for this was protected by the huge shield fixed in the ground. A figure of the kind is given by LAYARD from the sculptures of Kouyunjik. (*Nineveh*, ii. p. 348.)

190 ὑπὸ δὲ, φαρετρεῶνες ἐκρέμαντο, "and under these were hung quivers of arrows." This does not (I conceive) mean that the shield was carried on the back, and thus covered a quiver suspended from the archer's shoulders; but that the quivers were hung to the interior of the

δὲ βραχέας εἶχον, τόξα δὲ μεγάλα, ὀϊστοὺς δὲ καλαμίνους· πρὸς δὲ, ἐγχειρίδια παρὰ τὸν δεξιὸν μηρὸν[191] παραιωρεύμενα ἐκ τῆς ζώνης. καὶ ἄρχοντα παρείχοντο Ὀτάνεα, τὸν Ἀμήστριος πατέρα, τῆς Ξέρξεω γυναικός[192]. (ἐκαλέοντο δὲ πάλαι ὑπὸ μὲν Ἑλλήνων Κηφῆνες, ὑπὸ μέντοι σφέων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν περιοίκων Ἀρταῖοι[193]. ἐπεὶ δὲ Περσεὺς ὁ Δανάης τε καὶ Διὸς ἀπίκετο παρὰ Κηφέα τὸν Βήλου, καὶ ἔσχε αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀνδρομέδην, γίνεται αὐτῷ πάϊς τῷ οὔνομα ἔθετο Πέρσην· τοῦτον δὲ αὐτοῦ καταλείπει, ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἄπαις ἐὼν ὁ Κηφεὺς ἔρσενος γόνου, ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔσχον[194].) Μῆδοι δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην ἐσταλμένοι ἐστρατεύοντο· Μηδικὴ γὰρ αὕτη ἡ σκευή ἐστι, καὶ οὐ Περσική[195]. οἱ δὲ Μῆδοι ἄρχοντα μὲν παρείχοντο Τιγράνην, ἄνδρα Ἀχαιμενίδην. (ἐκαλέοντο δὲ πάλαι πρὸς πάντων Ἄριοι[196]· ἀπικομένης δὲ Μηδείης

commanded by *Otanes;*

62 *Medians* commanded by *Tigranes;*

shield itself, which when used fixed in the ground formed a kind of breastwork. (See note on ix. 61.)

191 παρὰ τὸν δεξιὸν μηρόν. See note 176 on iii. 64.

192 τὸν Ἀμήστριος πατέρα, τῆς Ξέρξεω γυναικός. RAWLINSON (*Note on the Persian Inscriptions at Behistun*, p. xiii.) believes that Otanes is here confounded with his son Anaphes or Onophas. (See note on i. 19.) Having been old enough to have a daughter married to Cambyses (iii. 68), and to take a command against Samos (iii. 141), Otanes (in his judgment) could not by any possibility have led the *Persians*, the flower of the army of Xerxes, in the expedition against Greece, still less could he have had a daughter young enough to marry Xerxes. It is possible that there is a confusion; but Rawlinson's reasons do not appear to me satisfactory. Considering the early puberty of women in the east, Otanes may very well have been no more than thirty-five or forty when he conspired against the Magian. This would make him little more than eighty at the time of Xerxes's expedition; and the examples of Suwarrow, Radetzky, and Wellington are enough to prove that warfare is not a thing impossible at that age. Besides this, the command of the Persians (like the colonelcy of our regiments) may not have implied active service with them, but rather have been the index of the rank of the commander. Xerxes offered the highest military command either to Artynte or her nominee (ix. 109). The age of Amestris too would not be a conclusive argument. She need not have been more than twenty-five or thirty. No doubt one great cause of her occupying the position she did was the power of her family, whether she was the daughter of Otanes or of Anaphes. (See note 192 on iii. 68, and also iii. 83, 84.) And the bitter jealousy exhibited by her against the wife of Masistes is rather in keeping with a woman whose personal attractions have gone off, and who feels her power over a sensual husband diminishing (ix. 111, 112). Compare the anecdote of her told in vii. 114.

193 Ἀρταῖοι. This word would seem to be equivalent to *magnates*. See the interpretation of *Artaxerxes* given in vi. 98. The etymology would indicate that they were a ruling class living among a servile population; and if so the term περιοίκων does not mean merely "neighbours," but implies (as in Hellas) an inferior condition.

194 ἐπεὶ δὲ Περσεὺς, κ.τ.λ. This genealogy shows that the author is here drawing from *Hellenic*, not *Oriental*, sources; for "the Persians" made Perseus an Assyrian by birth, and in no way connected with the family of Acrisius. See vi. 53, above.

195 Μηδικὴ γὰρ, κ.τ.λ. See i. 135.

196 ἐκαλέοντο δὲ πάλαι πρὸς πάντων Ἄριοι. The MSS all have the form Ἄριοι both here and in § 66; but Ἄρειοι in iii. 93. HELLANICUS called *Aria*, which he used both in the feminine and neuter gender, a region of Persia. (*Steph. Byz.* sub v.)

τῆς Κολχίδος ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ἐς τοὺς Ἀρίους τούτους, μετέβαλον καὶ οὗτοι τὸ οὔνομα· αὐτοὶ δὲ περὶ σφέων ὧδε λέγουσι Μῆδοι[197].)

Cissians by *Anaphes*, son of *Otanes*; *Hyrcanians* by *Megapanus*;

Κίσσιοι δὲ στρατευόμενοι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατάπερ Πέρσαι ἐσκευάδατο· ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν πίλων, μιτρηφόροι ἦσαν. Κισσίων δὲ ἦρχε Ἀνάφης[198] ὁ Ὀτάνεω. Ὑρκάνιοι δὲ κατάπερ Πέρσαι ἐσεσάχατο, ἡγεμόνα παρεχόμενοι Μεγάπανον τὸν Βαβυλῶνος ὕστερον τούτων

63 ἐπιτροπεύσαντα. Ἀσσύριοι δὲ στρατευόμενοι περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον χάλκεά τε κράνεα καὶ πεπλεγμένα τρόπον τινὰ βάρβαρον οὐκ εὐαπήγητον[199]· ἀσπίδας δὲ καὶ αἰχμὰς καὶ ἐγχειρίδια παραπλήσια τῇσι Αἰγυπτίῃσι εἶχον· πρὸς δὲ, ῥόπαλα ξύλων τετυλωμένα σιδήρῳ καὶ λινέους θώρηκας[200]· οὗτοι δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἐκαλέοντο Σύριοι[201], ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων Ἀσσύριοι ἐκλήθησαν· τούτων δὲ μεταξὺ, Χαλδαῖοι[202]· ἦρχε δέ σφεων Ὀτάσπης ὁ Ἀρταχαίου.

Assyrians, with *Chaldæans* among them, by *Otaspes*;

64 Βάκτριοι δὲ περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἀγχότατα τῶν Μηδικῶν ἔχοντες ἐστρατεύοντο, τόξα δὲ καλάμινα ἐπιχώρια καὶ αἰχμὰς

Bactrians and *Sacans*

197 αὐτοὶ δὲ περὶ σφέων ὧδε λέγουσι Μῆδοι. The most determined sticklers for the authority of Herodotus will hardly contend that genuine Median traditions brought the author of their name from Athens. *Tigranes* is in fact an Armenian name; and in the Armenian history of Moses of Chorene, a Tigranes takes the part in the overthrow of the Median empire which Herodotus ascribes to Cyrus. (See note 441 on i. 130.) Perhaps "the Medians" here are the inhabitants of that region which is spoken of elsewhere as so very near to Colchis (i. 104, where see note 363).

198 Ἀνάφης. The manuscripts S and V have Ἀναφάνης. Rawlinson considers this name identical with Ὀνόφας, the name by which Ctesias designates one of the seven conspirators against the Magian pretender, and whose daughter he makes Amestris, the sultana of Xerxes, to have been. See Diodorus, cited in note 228 on iii. 84.

199 χάλκεά τε κράνεα καὶ πεπλεγμένα τρόπον τινὰ βάρβαρον οὐκ εὐαπήγητον. I take these words to mean two different kinds of casque, the former being the helmet familiar to the Greeks with a curved crest, and the latter a scull cap surrounded by a turban. Both of these (as well as others) were found by Layard at Nimroud represented in the sculptures. See the figures given by him, *Nineveh*, vol. ii. p. 338. He also found helmets, but they were of iron, sometimes inlaid with stripes of copper.

200 λινέους θώρηκας. These were very probably of Egyptian manufacture, or at least produced by Egyptian artisans. The Egyptian flax and byblus manufactures are well known; and the offering of Amasis to the Lindian Athene, and that which he intended to send to Lacedæmon (ii. 182 and iii. 47), seem to have been a *chef d'œuvre* of the particular article which his subjects were famous for producing. A quilted thorax made from the coarse byblus thread of which sailcloth was manufactured (ii. 96) would be a considerable protection. See i. 135, and the note 461.

201 οὗτοι δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἐκαλέοντο Σύριοι. The name Syrians seems to have been anciently applied by the Hellenic race so as to include Assyrians, Syrians proper, and Cappadocians. Specially however it was applied to the last, who in speaking exactly were termed White Syrians (Λευκόσυροι). Strabo, xvi. *init.*

202 τούτων δὲ μεταξὺ, Χαλδαῖοι. It seems not impossible that these Chaldæans who were mixed up with the Assyrians were the armourers to the heavy-armed troops. They can scarcely be the Chaldæans of i. 181.

βραχέας. Σάκαι δὲ [οἱ Σκύθαι[203]] περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κυρ-
βασίας ἐς ὀξὺ ἀπιγμένας[204] ὀρθὰς εἶχον πεπηγυίας, ἀναξυρίδας δὲ
ἐνδεδύκεσαν· τόξα δὲ ἐπιχώρια, καὶ ἐγχειρίδια, πρὸς δὲ καὶ
ἀξίνας[205] σαγάρις[206] εἶχον· (τούτους δὲ ἐόντας Σκύθας Ἀμυργί-
ους[207] Σάκας ἐκάλεον· οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαι πάντας τοὺς Σκύθας καλέ-
ουσι Σάκας·) Βακτρίων δὲ καὶ Σακέων ἦρχε Ὑστάσπης, ὁ Δαρείου
τε καὶ Ἀτόσσης τῆς Κύρου. Ἰνδοὶ δὲ εἵματα μὲν ἐνδεδυκότες ἀπὸ 65
ξύλων πεποιημένα[208], τόξα δὲ καλάμινα εἶχον καὶ ὀϊστοὺς καλα-
μίνους· ἐπὶ δὲ, σίδηρον ἦν. ἐσταλμένοι μὲν δὴ ἦσαν οὕτω Ἰνδοί·
προσετετάχατο δὲ συστρατευόμενοι Φαρναζάθρῃ τῷ Ἀρταβάτεω.
Ἄριοι[209] δὲ τόξοισι μὲν ἐσκευασμένοι ἦσαν Μηδικοῖσι, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα 66
κατά περ Βάκτριοι· Ἀρίων δὲ ἦρχε Σισάμνης ὁ Ὑδάρνεος[210].
Πάρθοι δὲ καὶ Χοράσμιοι[211] καὶ Σογδοί τε καὶ Γανδάριοι καὶ
Δαδίκαι[212], τὴν αὐτὴν σκευὴν ἔχοντες τὴν καὶ Βάκτριοι, ἐστρα-
τεύοντο· τούτων δὲ ἦρχον οἵδε· Πάρθων μὲν καὶ Χορασμίων
Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ Φαρνάκεω· Σογδῶν δὲ Ἀζάνης[213] ὁ Ἀρταίου· Γαν-

by *Hystaspes*, son of Darius and Atossa; *Indians* by *Pharnazathres*; *Arians* by *Sisamnes*; *Parthians*, *Chorasmians*, *Sogdians*, *Gandarians*, and *Dadicæ* by *Artabazus*, *Azanes*, and *Artyphius*; *Caspians* by

203 [οἱ Σκύθαι.] These words appear to me a gloss.

204 ἀπιγμένας. The manuscripts P, F have ἀπηγμένας, which Schæfer adopts. The word πεπηγυίας, "stiffened," makes it likely that the caps were of felt.

205 ἀξίνας. Aldus prints ἀξίνας καὶ σαγάρις, but all the MSS have ἀξίνας σαγάρις without the copula. The case seems a parallel one to that of πίλους τιάρας (iii. 12), where see the note.

206 σαγάρις. This word, which is etymologically identical with the Latin 'securis' and the Armenian 'sacr,' denotes the double-headed Amazonian axe which appears on the works of art. It was also the ensign of Zeus Labrandeus in Caria (see note 327 on v. 119), and an hereditary weapon of the Vindelici in the time of Horace. (*Od.* iv. 4. 17.)

207 Σκύθας Ἀμυργίους. No clue seems to exist for determining the site of these Scythians. The MSS vary between Ἀμύργίους, Αἰμυργίους, and Εὐμυργίους. Cooley from the etymology supposes them to be the inhabitants of the valley of the Moorg. They served as marines on board the ships (§ 96), and their weapon, the sagaris, must have been very effective in boarding. A somewhat similar one is used in the British navy for the same duty.

208 ἀπὸ ξύλων πεποιημένα. This has been understood to mean "made of tree-wool" (εἶρια ἀπὸ ξύλου), i.e. *cotton*. See the note 219, *b*, on iii. 86.

209 Ἄριοι. All the MSS have this form here, but in iii. 93 they are equally unanimous in favour of Ἄρειοι.

210 ὁ Ὑδάρνεος. See note 254 on § 83, below.

211 Πάρθοι δὲ καὶ Χοράσμιοι καὶ Σογδοί. These three nations, together with the Arii, form one *nome* in the cadastral system (iii. 93).

212 Γανδάριοι καὶ Δαδίκαι. See note 258 on iii. 91. The name Γανδάριοι is probably connected with *Candahar*. In the Behistun Inscription *Gadara* comes next to *Suguda* (Sogdiana) in the list of tributary countries. The Persians seem to have found a difficulty in pronouncing the letters M and N when followed by a mute, and thus Gandaria became with them Gadara, just as Intaphernes did *Vidafrana*, and Cambyses *Kabujiya*. Cooley identifies the Dadicæ with the *Tadjek*, "a people of ancient Persian race, now widely scattered through the countries east of Persia;" and says that Von Hammer traces the word in *Tadschik* (Tedesci), the ancestors of the *Deutschen*, or Germans.

213 Ἀζάνης. S and V have Ἀρτάνης. See note on § 224, below.

67 δαρίων δὲ καὶ Δαδικέων Ἀρτύφιος[214] ὁ Ἀρταβάνου. Κάσπιοι δὲ σισύρνας τε ἐνδεδυκότες[215], καὶ τόξα ἐπιχώρια καλάμινα ἔχοντες καὶ ἀκινάκεας, ἐστρατεύοντο· οὗτοι μὲν οὕτω ἐσκευάδατο, ἡγεμόνα παρεχόμενοι Ἀριόμαρδον τὸν Ἀρτυφίου ἀδελφεόν[216]. Σαράγγαι[217] δὲ εἵματα μὲν βεβαμμένα ἐνέπρεπον ἔχοντες· πέδιλα δὲ ἐς γόνυ ἀνατείνοντα εἶχον, τόξα δὲ καὶ αἰχμὰς Μηδικάς· Σαραγγέων δὲ ἦρχε Φερενδάτης ὁ Μεγαβάζου. Πάκτυες δὲ σισυρνοφόροι[218] τε ἦσαν καὶ τόξα ἐπιχώρια εἶχον καὶ ἐγχειρίδια. Πάκτυες δὲ

Ariomardus; Sarangians by Pherendates; Pactyes by Artyntes;

68 ἄρχοντα παρείχοντο Ἀρτύντην[219] τὸν Ἰθαμάτρεω. Οὔτιοι δὲ καὶ Μύκοι τε καὶ Παρικάνιοι ἐσκευασμένοι ἦσαν κατάπερ Πάκτυες. τούτων δὲ ἦρχον οἵδε· Οὐτίων μὲν καὶ Μύκων Ἀρσαμένης ὁ

Utians and Mycans by Arsamenes, son of Darius, and Paricanians by Siromitres;

69 Δαρείου· Παρικανίων δὲ Σιρομίτρης ὁ Οἰοβάζου. Ἀράβιοι δὲ ζειρὰς[220] ὑπεζωσμένοι ἦσαν· τόξα δὲ παλίντονα[221] εἶχον πρὸς δεξιά, μακρά. Αἰθίοπες δὲ παρδαλέας τε καὶ λεοντέας ἐναμμένοι, τόξα δὲ εἶχον ἐκ φοίνικος σπάθης πεποιημένα μακρά, τετραπήχεων οὐκ ἐλάσσω· ἐπὶ δὲ, καλαμίνους ὀϊστοὺς μακρούς[222]. (ἀντὶ δὲ σιδήρου ἐπῆν λίθος ὀξὺς πεποιημένος, τῷ καὶ τὰς σφρηγῖδας γλύφουσι) πρὸς δὲ, αἰχμὰς εἶχον· ἐπὶ δὲ, κέρας δορκάδος ἐπῆν

Arabians and Ethiopians, some African, some Asiatic, by Arsames, son of Darius

214 Ἀρτύφιος. Both here and in the next section S, V, and *d* have Ἀρτύβιος, a name which was borne by a Persian of distinction killed in Cyprus (v. 108).

215 σισύρνας τε ἐνδεδυκότες. This (which was no doubt the ordinary garb of the country) suggests that these Caspians were more probably inhabitants of a cold than a warm region,—rather therefore to be sought in the *mountains* than on the *plains*. That they should have had some cavalry is no objection to this view. That it was insignificant is clear from the description of its armament (below, § 86). See, with reference to the word *Caspian*, the note 269 on iii. 93.

216 τὸν Ἀρτυφίου ἀδελφεόν. The circumstance of *two* brothers having such high commands suggests the probability that their father Artabanus was Darius's brother.

217 Σαράγγαι. *Zarangia* is one of the twenty-two countries enumerated in the Behistun Inscription as making up the empire of Darius. (See note 278 on iii. 94.)

218 σισυρνοφόροι. This description of their garb would lead one to suppose that the Pactyes were mountaineers living at a high level, which produced severe cold. Their site is most difficult to fix. See note 294 on iii. 102, the view in which is corroborated by the circumstance that 'pasht' is said in the Affghan language to mean 'a hill.' (POTT, *Etymologische Forschungen*, quoted by Cooley, *ad loc.*)

219 Ἀρτύντην. The majority of the MSS have this form, but some have Ἀρταύντην and Ἀτραύντην. See note 353 on iii. 128.

220 ζειράς. This word is explained by the grammarians as χιτῶνας ἀνακεκολαμμένας, a phrase which appears to be corrupt.

221 τόξα δὲ παλίντονα. These are bows which when unstrung assumed a curved form, sometimes approaching nearly to circularity, with the convex side in the opposite side to that on which it shows itself when the bow is strung.

222 μακρούς. This is the reading of the manuscripts F, *a*, *b*. The majority (which Gaisford follows) have μικρούς. But it would be impossible to use very short arrows with bows of six feet.

ὀξὺ πεποιημένον, τρόπον λόγχης· εἶχον δὲ καὶ ῥόπαλα τυλωτά· τοῦ δὲ σώματος τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ ἐξηλείφοντο γύψῳ ἰόντες ἐς μάχην, τὸ δ' ἕτερον ἥμισυ μίλτῳ. Ἀραβίων δὲ καὶ Αἰθιόπων τῶν ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου οἰκημένων ἦρχε Ἀρσάμης[223], ὁ Δαρείου καὶ Ἀρτυστώνης τῆς Κύρου θυγατρός· τὴν μάλιστα στέρξας τῶν γυναικῶν Δαρεῖος, εἰκὼ χρυσέην σφυρήλατον ἐποιήσατο[224]. τῶν μὲν δὴ ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου Αἰθιόπων καὶ Ἀραβίων ἦρχε Ἀρσάμης. Οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ ἡλίου 70 ἀνατολέων Αἰθίοπες, (διξοὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐστρατεύοντο,) προσετετάχατο τοῖσι Ἰνδοῖσι, διαλλάσσοντες εἶδος μὲν οὐδὲν τοῖσι ἑτέροισι, φωνὴν δὲ καὶ τρίχωμα μοῦνον· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπ' ἡλίου Αἰθίοπες ἰθύτριχές εἰσι· οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης οὐλότατον τρίχωμα ἔχουσι πάντων ἀνθρώπων. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης Αἰθίοπες, τὰ μὲν πλέω κατάπερ Ἰνδοὶ ἐσεσάχατο, προμετωπίδια δὲ ἵππων εἶχον[225] ἐπὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι σύν τε τοῖσι ὠσὶ ἐκδεδαρμένα καὶ τῇ λοφιῇ· καὶ ἀντὶ μὲν λόφου ἡ λοφιὴ κατέχρα· τὰ δὲ ὦτα τῶν ἵππων ὀρθὰ πεπηγότα εἶχον· προβλήματα δὲ ἀντ' ἀσπίδων ἐποιεῦντο γεράνων δοράς. Λίβυες δὲ σκευὴν μὲν σκυτίνην ἤϊσαν ἔχοντες, ἀκοντίοισι 71 δὲ ἐπικαύτοισι χρεώμενοι· ἄρχοντα δὲ παρείχοντο Μασσάγην τὸν Ὀαρίζου. Παφλαγόνες δὲ ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι 72 ἔχοντες κράνεα πεπλεγμένα[226], ἀσπίδας δὲ σμικράς, αἰχμὰς δὲ οὐ μεγάλας· πρὸς δὲ, ἀκόντια καὶ ἐγχειρίδια· περὶ δὲ τοὺς πόδας, πέδιλα ἐπιχώρια ἐς μέσην κνήμην ἀνατείνοντα. Λίγυες[227] δὲ καὶ

and Artystone his favourite wife.

Difference between the African and Oriental Ethiopians.

Libyans commanded by *Massages*; *Paphlagonians* and *Matieni* by *Dotus*;

[223] Ἀρσάμης. ÆSCHYLUS mentions this chief as the governor of Memphis:

> ὅ τε τῆς ἱερᾶς Μέμφιδος ἄρχων
> μέγας Ἀρσάμης (*Persians*, 37),

a position quite in accordance with his holding the command which Herodotus ascribes to him. He makes him slain in the action of Salamis (308).

[224] εἰκὼ χρυσέην σφυρήλατον ἐποιήσατο. Perhaps this was an effigy after her death. Just before the death of Darius himself Atossa possessed the whole influence with him (vii. 3), which would scarcely have been had Artystone been alive. According to the canons of the grammarians the Ionic form of the accusative εἰκὼ is εἰκοῦν. But although Herodotus uses the accusatives Ἰοῦν and Βουτοῦν, he adheres to εἰκὼ and αἰδώ.

[225] προμετωπίδια δὲ ἵππων εἶχον. These are helmets made of a portion of the skin of the horse's crest, perhaps a part of the bone being also left in to protect the forehead of the wearer. The helmet of Hercules is in a similar way made of the head of the Nemean lion in VALERIUS FLACCUS:

> "Cleonæo jam tempora clusus hiatu
> *Alcides*" (*Argonaut*. i. 34),

a representation which often appears on ancient works of art. Another hero is made by VIRGIL to use the skin of the wolf's head in the same way:

> —— "caput ingens oris hiatus
> Et malæ texere lupi cum dentibus albis."
> (*Æneid*, xi. 680.)

[226] κράνεα πεπλεγμένα. See above, note 199 on § 63.

[227] Λίγυες. One manuscript (S) has Λίγνες, and the same, together with V, has Λίγδων instead of Αἰγλῶν in iii. 92.

Mariandynians, Ligyes, and Cappadocians, by Gobryas, son of Darius

Ματιηνοὶ καὶ Μαριανδυνοί τε καὶ Σύροι[228] τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες Παφλαγόσι ἐστρατεύοντο· οἱ δὲ Σύροι οὗτοι ὑπὸ Περσέων Καππαδόκαι καλέονται· Παφλαγόνων μέν νυν καὶ Ματιηνῶν Δῶτος[229] ὁ Μεγασίδρου ἦρχε· Μαριανδυνῶν δὲ καὶ Λιγύων καὶ Σύρων

and Artystone; Phrygians and Armenians by Artochmes, a son-in-law of Darius;

73 Γωβρύης[230] ὁ Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἀρτυστώνης. Φρύγες δὲ ἀγχοτάτω τῆς Παφλαγονικῆς σκευὴν εἶχον, ὀλίγον παραλλάσσοντες· οἱ δὲ Φρύγες, ὡς Μακεδόνες λέγουσι, ἐκαλέοντο Βρίγες[231] χρόνον ὅσον Εὐρωπήϊοι ἐόντες σύνοικοι ἦσαν Μακεδόσι· μεταβάντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, ἅμα τῇ χώρῃ καὶ τὸ οὔνομα μετέβαλον ἐς Φρύγας. Ἀρμένιοι δὲ κατάπερ Φρύγες ἐσεσάχατο, ἐόντες Φρυγῶν ἄποικοι. τούτων συναμφοτέρων ἦρχε Ἀρτόχμης, Δαρείου ἔχων θυγατέρα. Λυδοὶ δὲ ἀγχο-

Lydians and Mysians by Artaphernes, the colleague of Datis at Marathon;

74 τάτω τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν εἶχον ὅπλα· (οἱ δὲ Λυδοὶ Μηΐονες ἐκαλεῦντο τὸ πάλαι[232]. ἐπὶ δὲ Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἄτυος ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην, μεταβαλόντες τὸ οὔνομα·) Μυσοὶ δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον κράνεα ἐπιχώρια, ἀσπίδας δὲ σμικράς· ἀκοντίοισι δὲ ἐχρέωντο ἐπικαύτοισι[233]. (οὗτοι δέ εἰσι Λυδῶν ἄποικοι· ἀπ' Οὐλύμπου δὲ οὔρεος

228 Σύροι. See note 242 on i. 72.

229 Δῶτος. One MS has Δάτος.

230 Γωβρύης. This is the reading of S alone. The majority of the MSS have Βρύης, and *a* and *c* Γοβρύης.

231 ἐκαλέοντο Βρίγες. This account of the matter by the Macedonians is very instructive as a type of the manner in which historical facts were both preserved and modified by the early traditions. The ethnical affinity of the tribes thrown off in successive waves of the great stream of migration which set from central Asia westward was manifest, partly by the similarity of their ritual, partly by that of their garb and military equipments, partly by that of their language. (Thus Eudoxus, *ap. Steph. Byzant. sub v.* Ἀρμενία, remarks of the Armenians, that they τῇ φωνῇ πολλὰ φρυγίζουσι.) But the westernmost were the first to benefit by contact with Hellenic civilization, and after this was the case, and commercial intercourse had again renewed their intercourse with their kinsmen, all recollection of the original connexion having died away, the first mode of explaining the phenomena which forced themselves upon their notice would be to consider the inferior race as the degenerate descendants of the superior. Hence, as in the text, the Asiatic Phrygians are represented as colonists from Macedonia, and the Armenians as colonists from Phrygia. Hence, too, the phenomenon which so continually recurs in mythical times, of pairs of legends, the one of which represents a given tribe (A) as the ancestors of another (B), while the corresponding legend exactly reverses the relation.

The form Βρίγες, or Βρύγες (which one MS has), for Φρύγες, is due to the dialect of Macedonia, which substituted β for φ, or for the digamma Ϝ, of which βαλακρὸς for φαλακρὸς, κεβαλὴ for κεφαλὴ, Βερενίκη for Φερενίκη, and βρῖγος for Ϝρῖγος (Lat. *frigus*), are familiar instances. It may be remarked that this provincialism was not confined to the lower orders; for although the father of Alexander the Great is always called, and probably wished always to be called, Φίλιππος, yet when his generals succeeded to thrones, the vulgarism was elevated to a court fashion, and neither *Ph*erenice nor *P*olemy ever make their appearance in Greek literature. The Βρύγοι of vi. 45 are no doubt the same as the European Βρίγες of the text.

232 Μηΐονες ἐκαλεῦντο τὸ πάλαι. See i. 7, above.

233 ἀκοντίοισι . . . . ἐπικαύτοισι. It is not easy to imagine such weapons as these formidable, yet Æschylus distinguishes the bearers of them as ἀκοντισταὶ Μυσοί. (*Pers.* 52.)

καλέονται Οὐλυμπιηνοί[234].) Λυδῶν δὲ καὶ Μυσῶν ἦρχε Ἀρταφέρνης ὁ Ἀρταφέρνεος, ὃς ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἐσέβαλε ἅμα Δάτι.

75 Θρήϊκες δὲ, ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἀλωπεκέας ἔχοντες ἐστρατεύοντο, περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα κιθῶνας· ἐπὶ δὲ, ζειρὰς περιβεβλημένοι ποικίλας, περὶ δὲ τοὺς πόδας τε καὶ τὰς κνήμας πέδιλα νεβρῶν[235]. πρὸς δὲ, ἀκόντιά τε καὶ πέλτας καὶ ἐγχειρίδια σμικρά: (οὗτοι δὲ διαβάντες μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, ἐκλήθησαν Βιθυνοί[236]. τὸ δὲ πρότερον ἐκαλέοντο, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, Στρυμόνιοι, οἰκέοντες ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι· ἐξαναστῆναι δέ φασι ἐξ ἠθέων ὑπὸ Τευκρῶν τε καὶ Μυσῶν[237].) Θρηΐκων δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ ἦρχε Βασσάκης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου. . . .

Thracians (Bithynians) by Bassaces;

76 . . ἀσπίδας δὲ ὠμοβοΐνας εἶχον σμικρὰς, καὶ προβόλους δύο λυκοεργέας[238] ἕκαστος εἶχε· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα χάλκεα·

Asiatic Thracians, who have an oracle of Ares;

234 καλέονται Οὐλυμπιηνοί. For the site of the Mysian Olympus see note 124 on i. 36. It is the scene of the death of Crœsus's favourite son.

235 πέδιλα νεβρῶν, "deerskin buskins." See note 27 on ii. 9.

236 Βιθυνοί. The *Thyni* are not mentioned (as in i. 28) by the side of the *Bithyni*, which is certainly remarkable, if, in accordance with the general view, we suppose both to be Asiatic Thracians. STRABO (xi. c. 3, p. 15) mentions a place called *Thynias Acte*, on the European side of the Euxine, between Apollonia and Salmydessus, as an evidence (like the Thracian tribe called Bithyni) of the European origin of the Asiatic Thyni and Bithyni. It is clear therefore that he and the authorities whom he followed conceived of the Thyni of i. 28 as Asiatics. But it is observable that wherever these last are mentioned on the Asiatic shore, it is always in connexion with the *Bithyni;* whereas the European Thyni were a notoriously warlike Thracian tribe in the time of XENOPHON (*Anab.* vii. 2. 22). Under these circumstances I am inclined to suspect that the *Asiatic* Thyni owe their existence only to the misunderstanding of the passage in Herodotus (i. 28), it being wrongly assumed that the catalogue of Crœsus's subjects there given related only to the continent of *Asia*. But it is far from impossible that through the agency of the elder Miltiades a feudal submission may have been rendered to Crœsus by the chiefs of the *European* Thyni. (See note 88 on vi. 37.) And if these are meant in i. 28, their absence from the roll of the Persian army here is at once explained,—which on the generally received hypothesis of their being Asiatics would be very difficult to account for. This view of the case illustrates the antipathy of the younger Miltiades to the Persian power (see note 354 on iv. 137), and the difference of feeling between him and Histiæus, who stood to Darius in very much the same feudal relation that the elder Miltiades had done to Crœsus. It also serves to show the steps by which Crœsus came to entertain the project of building a navy of his own (i. 27). His success abroad *through Miltiades* might give plausibility to a scheme which would be obviously insane in a purely continental potentate. But it would be very natural for a sanguine and successful prince to think that if great results could be achieved by a small fleet of (so to say) privateers, yet more might be effected by a pitched battle with a regular navy. The intense desire exhibited a few years ago in Germany to get up a confederate fleet for the purpose of protecting the foreign trade of the Zoll-verein is an exaggerated parallel of the delusion of the Lydian monarch.

237 ἐξαναστῆναι . . . ὑπὸ Τευκρῶν τε καὶ Μυσῶν. This event would have taken place in the course of the expedition spoken of in § 20, above. But with regard to that expedition see the note on the passage, and 332 on ii. 118.

238 προβόλους δύο λυκοεργέας, "wolf-spears." The commentators from the time of De Pauw seem agreed that a *lacuna* must exist after the word Ἀρταβάνου, the name of some tribe or nation to whom the armament described belonged having fallen out from the text.

πρὸς δὲ τοῖσι κράνεσι, ὦτά τε καὶ κέρεα προσῆν βοὸς χάλκεα· ἐπῆσαν δὲ καὶ λόφοι· τὰς δὲ κνήμας ῥάκεσι φοινικέοισι κατειλίχατο. (ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι ἀνδράσι Ἄρεός ἐστι χρηστήριον.)

77 Καβηλέες[239] δὲ, οἱ Μηΐονες, Λασόνιοι δὲ καλεύμενοι, τὴν αὐτὴν Κίλιξι εἶχον σκευήν· τὴν ἐγὼ, ἐπεὰν κατὰ τὴν Κιλίκων τάξιν διεξιὼν γένωμαι, τότε σημανέω. Μιλύαι[240] δὲ αἰχμάς τε βραχέας εἶχον, καὶ εἵματα ἐνεπεπορπέατο. εἶχον δὲ αὐτῶν τόξα μετεξέτεροι Λύκια· περὶ δὲ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἐκ διφθερέων πεποιημένας κυνέας. τούτων πάντων ἦρχε Βάδρης[241] ὁ Ὑστάνεος.

Cabelees (Lasonians) and Milyæ by Badres;

78 Μόσχοι δὲ περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κυνέας ξυλίνας εἶχον, ἀσπίδας δὲ καὶ αἰχμὰς σμικράς· λόγχαι δὲ ἐπῆσαν μεγάλαι. Τιβαρηνοὶ δὲ καὶ Μάκρωνες καὶ Μοσύνοικοι[242] κατάπερ Μόσχοι[243] ἐσκευασμένοι ἐστρατεύοντο· τούτους δὲ συνέτασσον ἄρχοντες οἵδε· Μόσχους μὲν καὶ Τιβαρηνοὺς, Ἀριόμαρδος ὁ Δαρείου τε παῖς καὶ Πάρμυος τῆς Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου, Μάκρωνας δὲ καὶ Μοσυνοίκους Ἀρταΰκτης ὁ Χεράσμιος[244], ὃς Σηστὸν τὴν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ

Moschi, Tibareni, Macrones, and Mosynœci, by Ariomardus, son of Darius and Parmys, and Artayctes;

[239] Καβηλέες. These, it cannot be doubted, are the same as the Καβάλιοι of iii. 90, although the difference in the form of the name suggests that there will have been a different source for the two lists. In that passage the Lasonii are represented as not identical with the Cabalii, but the text is certainly corrupt; the Hygennees are never mentioned elsewhere; and the conjecture of Valcknaer that ΚΑΙΥΓΕΝΝΕΩΝ is a corruption from ΚΑΛΕΥΜΕΝΩΝ is, to say the least, a very plausible one, and completely reconciles the two accounts.

[240] Μιλύαι. See i. 173, and the notes upon it.

[241] Βάδρης. Respecting this name see note 83 on iii. 30.

[242] Μάκρωνες καὶ Μοσύνοικοι. See notes 274, 275 on iii. 94. Hecatæus mentioned both these tribes by name. The latter he made conterminous to the *Tibari*, and mentioned a city in their territory named Χοιράδες (*ap. Steph. Byz. v.* Χοιράδες).

[243] Μόσχοι. In the cadastral system of Darius, the Moschi, Tibareni, Macrones, Mosynœci, and Mares constitute the nineteenth satrapy, and their tribute is fixed at 300 talents (iii. 94). Strabo (xi. c. 2, p. 406) makes the Moschi to be the inhabitants of the *roots* of the s.w. side of the Caucasus on the coast of the Euxine, immediately *north* of the Colchians. But it seems quite clear from the armament which is here attributed to them that they were mountaineers; and Hecatæus (*ap. Steph. Byzant. sub v.*) made them conterminous with the Matieni. So too Hellanicus (*ap. Steph. Byz. v.* Χαριμάται) says: Κερκεταίων δ' ἄνω οἰκοῦσι Μόσχοι καὶ Χαριμάται, κάτω δὲ Ἡνίοχοι, ἄνω δὲ Κοραξοί. The Coraxi are described by Hecatæus (*ap. Steph. Byz. sub v.*) as a Colchian tribe. We shall probably be right in considering them as ethnically identical with the Achæi, Zygi, Heniochi, and Cercetæ, whom Strabo places on the mountainous shore of the eastern coast of the Euxine. Still *Moschice* is further on said by Strabo to be the name of the region drained by the upper part of the Phasis, and its feeders Glaucus and Hippus, which run from the Armenian mountains, *i. e.* the northern side of the range of Taurus. In this country the legend of Jason was indigenous, and he, as also Phrixus before him, was said to have gone as far as Media,—an indication of the early existence of the commercial route described in the note 363 on i. 104 (xi. c. 2, p. 410).

[244] Χεράσμιος. S has Χοράσμιος, and Valla *Chorasmis filius. Chorasmia* is one of the twenty-two countries forming the empire of Darius in the Behistun Inscription. (See note 278 on iii. 94.) But Artayctes is specified elsewhere to be a

ἐπετρόπευε. Μᾶρες δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα ἐπιχώρια πλεκτὰ εἶχον, ἀσπίδας δὲ δερματίνας σμικρὰς καὶ ἀκόντια. Κόλχοι δὲ περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα ξύλινα, ἀσπίδας δὲ ὠμοβοΐνας σμικρὰς αἰχμάς τε βραχέας· πρὸς δὲ, καὶ μαχαίρας εἶχον. Μαρῶν[245] δὲ καὶ Κόλχων ἦρχε Φαρανδάτης ὁ Τεάσπιος. Ἀλαρόδιοι δὲ καὶ Σάσπειρες[246] κατάπερ Κόλχοι ὁπλισμένοι ἐστρατεύοντο· τούτων δὲ Μασίστιος ὁ Σιρομίτρεω ἦρχε. 79

Mares and Colchians by Pharandates; Alarodians and Saspires by Masistius;

Τὰ δὲ νησιωτικὰ ἔθνεα τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς θαλάσσης ἑπόμενα, νήσων δὲ ἐν τῇσι τοὺς ἀνασπάστους καλεομένους[247] κατοικίζει βασιλεὺς, ἀγχοτάτω τῶν Μηδικῶν εἶχον ἐσθῆτά τε καὶ ὅπλα· τούτων δὲ τῶν νησιωτέων ἦρχε Μαρδόντης ὁ Βαγαίου, ὃς ἐν Μυκάλῃ στρατηγέων δευτέρῳ ἔτεϊ τούτων[248] ἐτελεύτησε ἐν τῇ μάχῃ. 80

Islanders from the Erythræan sea by Mardontes, who was afterwards killed at Mycale.

Ταῦτα ἦν τὰ κατ' ἤπειρον στρατευόμενά τε ἔθνεα, καὶ τεταγμένα ἐς τὸ πεζόν. τούτου ὦν τοῦ στρατοῦ ἦρχον οὗτοι οἵπερ εἰρέαται· καὶ οἱ διατάξαντες καὶ ἐξαριθμήσαντες οὗτοι ἦσαν, καὶ χιλιάρχας τε καὶ μυριάρχας ἀποδέξαντες· ἑκατοντάρχας δὲ καὶ δεκάρχας οἱ μυριάρχαι. τελέων δὲ καὶ ἐθνέων ἦσαν ἄλλοι σημάντορες[249]· ἦσαν μὲν δὴ οὗτοι, οἵπερ εἰρέαται, ἄρχοντες. 81

Ἐστρατήγεον δὲ τούτων τε καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος στρατοῦ τοῦ πεζοῦ Μαρδόνιός τε ὁ Γωβρύεω[250], καὶ Τριτανταίχμης[251] ὁ Ἀρταβάνου τοῦ γνώμην θεμένου 82

The generals of division were *Mardonius,*

Persian (ix. 115), so that the interpretation of Valla is apparently correct.

245 Μαρῶν. See note 276 on iii. 94. HECATÆUS made the *Mares* conterminous with the Mosynœci (*ap. Steph. Byz. sub v.*).

246 Σάσπειρες. See note 272 on iii. 94.

247 τοὺς ἀνασπάστους καλεομένους. See iii. 93.

248 δευτέρῳ ἔτεϊ τούτων, "in the second year after these things." See note 96 on vi. 40.

249 τελέων δὲ καὶ ἐθνέων ἦσαν ἄλλοι σημάντορες, "and of entire nations also there were other officers having the command." A distinction is taken between the ἄρχοντες, whom Herodotus has mentioned as high officers directly appointed by the king, and these persons, probably the chiefs of their several tribes, who brought their followers *en masse* on their own authority.

250 Μαρδόνιός τε ὁ Γωβρύεω, κ.τ.λ. These six generals are united in pairs below (§ 121). Mardonius and Masistes are in command of one division, which keeps up the communication with the fleet; Tritantæchmes and Gergis of a second, which seems to be a light division, as it would have to act against mountaineers; and Smerdomenes and Megabyzus of a third, which was accompanied by Xerxes in person. Mardonius being named first, in spite of the rank which Masistes's birth must have given him, induces one to suppose that the command in chief was practically given to him. Hence he commanded the most important of the *corps* which had to act with the fleet; and hence, when Xerxes retreated, he was formally recognized as chief.

251 Τριτανταίχμης. This is the name of a satrap of Babylonia (i. 192), but *his* father's name is Artabazus. It may be observed that the richness of the Babylonian province rendered it an appropriate government for a near relative of the sovereign; and in the uncial MSS ν might

Tritantæchmes, Smerdomenes, Masistes, Gergis, and Megabyzus.

μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ Σμερδομένης ὁ Ὀτάνεω—Δαρείου ἀμφότεροι οὗτοι ἀδελφεῶν παῖδες, Ξέρξῃ δὲ ἐγίνοντο ἀνεψιοὶ—καὶ Μασίστης ὁ Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἀτόσσης παῖς, καὶ Γέργις ὁ Ἀρίζου[252], καὶ Μεγάβυζος ὁ Ζωπύρου[253].
83 Οὗτοι ἦσαν στρατηγοὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος στρατοῦ πεζοῦ, χωρὶς τῶν μυρίων· τῶν δὲ μυρίων τούτων Περσέων τῶν ἀπολελεγμένων ἐστρατήγεε μὲν Ὑδάρνης ὁ Ὑδάρνεος[254]· ἐκαλέοντο δὲ Ἀθάνατοι οἱ Πέρσαι οὗτοι ἐπὶ τοῦδε· εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἐξέλιπε τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἢ θανάτῳ βιηθεὶς ἢ νούσῳ, ἄλλος ἀνὴρ ἀραίρητο· καὶ ἐγίνοντο οὐδαμὰ οὔτε πλεῦνες μυρίων οὔτε ἐλάσσονες. κόσμον δὲ πλεῖστον παρείχοντο διὰ πάντων Πέρσαι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄριστοι ἦσαν· σκευὴν μὲν τοιαύτην εἶχον ἥπερ εἴρηται· χωρὶς δὲ, χρυσόν τε πολλὸν καὶ ἄφθονον ἔχοντες ἐνέπρεπον, ἁρμαμάξας τε ἅμα ἤγοντο ἐν δὲ παλλακὰς, καὶ θεραπηΐην πολλήν τε καὶ εὖ ἐσκευασμένην· σῖτα δέ σφι, χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτέων, κάμηλοί τε καὶ ὑποζύγια ἦγον.

The corps of "the Immortals" commanded by Hydarnes.

84 Ἱππεύει δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα· πλὴν οὐ πάντα παρείχετο ἵππον, ἀλλὰ τοσάδε μοῦνα· Πέρσαι μὲν, τὴν αὐτὴν ἐσκευασμένοι καὶ ὁ πεζὸς αὐτῶν· πλὴν ἐπὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον μετεξέτεροι αὐτῶν καὶ χάλκεα καὶ σιδήρεα ἐξεληλαμένα ποιήματα.

The cavalry contingent.

85 Εἰσὶ δέ τινες νομάδες ἄνθρωποι Σαγάρτιοι καλεόμενοι, ἔθνος μὲν Περσικὸν καὶ φωνῇ, σκευὴν δὲ μεταξὺ ἔχουσι πεποιημένην τῆς τε Περσικῆς καὶ τῆς Πακτυϊκῆς[255]· οἳ παρείχοντο μὲν ἵππον ὀκτακισχιλίην, ὅπλα

Sagartians,

easily be mistaken for ζ. The Tritantæchmes of this passage seems to have inherited his father's prudence, if the reading of S in viii. 26 be the true one.

252 Ἀρίζου. The manuscripts S, *a*, *c*, *d* have Ἀριάζου.

253 Μεγάβυζος ὁ Ζωπύρου. It has been assumed that this Zopyrus is the same as the individual whom Herodotus represents to have played so important a part at the siege of Babylon. But if he was so regarded, it seems strange that no allusion should be made to that remarkable story. See the note 440 on iii. ult.

254 Ὑδάρνης ὁ Ὑδάρνεος. RAWLINSON (*Note on the Persian Inscription of Behistun*, p. xv) calls this person the *elder* of the *two* sons (the other being *Sisamnes*, § 66, above) of *Hydarnes the conspirator*. He also tacitly identifies the conspirator with the great officer mentioned below, § 135. But all this connexion of circumstances is pure assumption. There is nothing to *prove* that the Hydarnes of iii. 70 is the same with all or any of the parties of the same name mentioned in vi. 133; vii. 66. 211, and 135; and there are some reasons against it. See note 298 on vi. 133.

255 σκευὴν δὲ μεταξὺ ἔχουσι πεποιημένην τῆς τε Περσικῆς καὶ τῆς Πακτυϊκῆς. Perhaps the covering of their heads as well as their dirks resembled the Persian. Being nomads, they would doubtless be shepherds, and the rough sheepskins would be the point of similarity between them and the Pactyes, who wore capotes of goatskin with the hair on. (See § 67, above.) The description of their armament reminds one of the *lasso* of the Pampas; and in the late war in Hungary very formidable irregular cavalry were furnished by the mounted shepherds, who

δὲ οὐ νομίζουσι ἔχειν οὔτε χάλκεα οὔτε σιδήρεα, ἔξω ἐγχειριδίων· χρέωνται δὲ σειρῇσι πεπλεγμένῃσι ἐξ ἱμάντων· ταύτῃσι πίσυνοι ἔρχονται ἐς πόλεμον. ἡ δὲ μάχη τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἥδε· ἐπεὰν συμμίσγωσι τοῖσι πολεμίοισι, βάλλουσι τὰς σειρὰς ἐπ' ἄκρῳ βρόχους ἐχούσας· ὅτευ δ' ἂν τύχῃ, ἤν τε ἵππου ἤν τε ἀνθρώπου, ἐπ' ἑωυτὸν ἕλκει· οἱ δὲ ἐν ἕρκεσι ἐμπαλασσόμενοι διαφθείρονται· τούτων μὲν αὕτη ἡ μάχη· καὶ ἐπετετάχατο ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας.

86 Μῆδοι δὲ τήνπερ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ εἶχον σκευήν· καὶ Κίσσιοι ὡσαύτως. Ἰνδοὶ δὲ σκευῇ μὲν ἐσεσάχατο τῇ αὐτῇ καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ, ἤλαυνον δὲ κέλητας καὶ ἅρματα· ὑπὸ δὲ τοῖσι ἅρμασι ὑπῆσαν ἵπποι καὶ ὄνοι ἄγριοι[256]. Βάκτριοι δὲ ἐσκευάδατο ὡσαύτως καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ, καὶ Κάσπιοι ὁμοίως. Λίβυες δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ κατάπερ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ· ἤλαυνον δὲ καὶ οὗτοι πάντες ἅρματα. ὡς δ' αὔτως Κάσπειροι[257] καὶ Παρικάνιοι[258] ἐσεσάχατο ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ. Ἀράβιοι δὲ σκευὴν μὲν εἶχον τὴν αὐτὴν ἣν καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ· ἤλαυνον δὲ πάντες καμήλους, ταχυτῆτα οὐ λειπομένας ἵππων.

Medes, Cissians, Indians, Bactrians, Caspians, Libyans, Caspiri, Paricanii, Arabs.

87 Ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα μοῦνα ἵππευεν[259]· ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῆς ἵππου ἐγένετο ὀκτὼ μυριάδες, πάρεξ τῶν καμήλων καὶ τῶν ἁρμάτων. οἱ μέν νυν ἄλλοι ἱππέες ἐτετάχατο κατὰ τέλεα, Ἀράβιοι δὲ ἔσχατοι ἐπετετάχατο· ἅτε γὰρ τῶν ἵππων οὔτι ἀνεχομένων τὰς καμήλους ὕστεροι ἐτετάχατο, ἵνα μὴ φοβέοιτο τὸ ἱππικόν[260].

88 Ἵππαρχοι δὲ ἦσαν Ἀρμαμίθρης τε καὶ Τίθαιος, Δάτιος παῖδες· ὁ δὲ τρίτος σφι συνίππαρχος Φαρνούχης κατελέλειπτο ἐν Σάρδισι νοσέων· ὡς γὰρ ὁρμέωντο ἐκ Σαρδίων, ἐπὶ συμφορὴν ἐνέπεσε ἀνεθέλητον[261]· ἐλαύνοντι γάρ οἱ, ὑπὸ τοὺς

likewise carried a lasso loaded with a heavy ball of lead at each end. They however are described as using this in the manner of a hand-sling, whereas the Sagartians employed their weapon like the South American horsemen. With regard to the site of the Sagartians see note 433 on i. 125.

256 ὄνοι ἄγριοι. This feature in the narrative is very suspicious. The *zebra* has never been tamed, although many trials have been made.

257 Κάσπειροι. S has Κάσπιοι. The *Caspians* have been mentioned above (§ 63), but the *Caspirians* are unknown except from this passage.

258 Παρικάνιοι. HECATÆUS (*ap. Steph. Byzant. sub v.*) gave Παρικάνη as the name of *a city* in Persia. But the site is entirely unknown. The Paricanians are mentioned above (iii. 92), where see note 260.

259 ἵππευεν. So Gaisford prints on the authority of S and V. The majority of the MSS have the present ἱππεύει.

260 ἵνα μὴ φοβέοιτο τὸ ἱππικόν. See i. 80.

261 ἐπὶ συμφορὴν . . . . ἀνεθέλητον. A similar expression is used below (§ 133): ὅ τι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ταῦτα ποιήσασι τοὺς κήρυκας συνήνεικε ἀνεθέλητον γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπαι. The extreme aversion to using words in themselves importing misfortune may be observed. Similarly Solon says, τὰ μή τις ἐθέλει, meaning δυστυχήματα all the time (i. 32); and the phrases

πόδας τοῦ ἵππου ὑπέδραμε κύων· καὶ ὁ ἵππος οὐ προϊδὼν, ἐφοβήθη τε καὶ στὰς ὀρθὸς ἀπεσείσατο τὸν Φαρνούχεα· πεσὼν δὲ, αἷμά τε ἤμεε, καὶ ἐς φθίσιν περιῆλθε ἡ νοῦσος· τὸν δὲ ἵππον αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐποίησαν οἱ οἰκέται ὡς ἐκέλευε· ἐς τὸν χῶρον ἐν τῷπερ κατέβαλε τὸν δεσπότεα ἀπαγαγόντες, ἐν τοῖσι γούνασι ἀπέταμον τὰ σκέλεα. Φαρνούχης μὲν οὕτω παρελύθη τῆς ἡγεμονίης.

89 Τῶν δὲ τριήρεων ἀριθμὸς μὲν ἐγένετο ἑπτὰ καὶ διηκόσιαι καὶ χίλιαι[262]· παρείχοντο δὲ αὐτὰς οἵδε· Φοίνικες μὲν σὺν Συρίοισι τοῖσι ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ τριηκοσίας, ὧδε ἐσκευασμένοι· περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κυνέας εἶχον ἀγχοτάτω πεποιημένας τρόπον τὸν Ἑλληνικόν· ἐνδεδυκότες δὲ θώρηκας λινέους[263], ἀσπίδας δὲ ἴτυς οὐκ ἐχούσας[264] εἶχον, καὶ ἀκόντια· οὗτοι δὲ οἱ Φοίνικες τὸ παλαιὸν

οὐκ ὡς ἤθελε, and the like, are common in Herodotus, where a very strong expression would really be appropriate.

262 ἑπτὰ καὶ διηκόσιαι καὶ χίλιαι. The same number is given below (§ 184), where the author sums up the whole of the Persian force. Æschylus states the amount of the force in terms which may be differently interpreted, according as we suppose him to agree with Herodotus or not:

Ξέρξῃ δὲ (καὶ γὰρ οἶδα) χιλιὰς μὲν ἦν
ὧν ἦγε πλῆθος· αἱ δ' ὑπέρκοποι τάχει
ἑκατὸν δὶς ἦσαν ἑπτά θ'· ὧδ' ἔχει λόγος.
(*Persæ*, 341.)

If the 207 swift sailers be taken exclusive of the 1000 before mentioned, the two accounts exactly coincide. But that this was the intention of Æschylus seems very improbable, if we look back to the two preceding lines, where he says:

Ἕλλησιν μὲν ἦν
ὁ πᾶς ἀριθμὸς ἐς τριακάδας δέκα
ναῶν· δεκὰς δ' ἦν τῶνδε χωρὶς ἔκκριτος.

It is quite certain that the ten select ships here are not exclusive of the 300, and it is almost so, that the 207 of the Persian armament is intended to stand in the same relation to the whole as the ten of the allies to their fleet. And both Plato (*Legg.* iii. 14) and Ctesias (*ap. Photium*, p. 39) make the numbers of the Persian ships something above a thousand. This circumstance proves decisively that a definite tradition, which confined the numbers to a thousand or a little more, existed in the early part of the fourth century B.C., even among those persons who would be most tempted to exaggerate the enemy's force. The statements of the orators—(such as Isocrates, who gives in one place 1200 and in another 1300),—and of the later compilers of history, are not worth taking into account. I am inclined to the opinion not only that the interpretation of Æschylus, in accordance with Plato, is the more authentic one, but that the discrepancy between the resulting numbers and those which appear in the text arises from the other interpretation of that very passage, viz. the addition of the squadron of 207 to the whole fleet, of which it was really a part. Herodotus's informant had fallen into this mistake (as I conceive), and perhaps into another also,—the reckoning the Egyptian squadron as an independent one of 200 ships. See note 288 on § 98, below.

263 θώρηκας λινέους. Probably of Egyptian manufacture. See note 461 on i. 135, and above, note 199 on § 63. The similarity of the Phœnician, Carian, Egyptian, and Greek helmet of the time of Herodotus was so great as to suggest the probability of the common origin of them. See note 467 on iv. 180. But I do not believe with Layard (*Nineveh*, ii. p. 338) that it came from Assyria, but rather that it was imported thither from Phœnicia or Egypt, after the expeditions of the Assyrian monarchs to those countries. It seems to me to be originally Carian, and to have been invented before the era of Minos. (See note 487 on iv. 189.)

264 ἴτυς οὐκ ἐχούσας. The grammarians explain ἴτυς as the bosses of the shields; but they are the rims surrounding them.

οἴκεον, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσσῃ· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὑπερ-
βάντες[265], τῆς Συρίης οἰκέουσι τὰ παρὰ θάλασσαν· τῆς δὲ Συρίης
τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον, καὶ τὸ μέχρι Αἰγύπτου πᾶν, Παλαιστίνη καλέ-
εται[266]. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ νέας παρείχοντο διηκοσίας· οὗτοι δὲ εἶχον περὶ
μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα χηλευτὰ[267], ἀσπίδας δὲ κοίλας τὰς ἴτυς
μεγάλας ἐχούσας, καὶ δόρατά τε ναύμαχα, καὶ τύκους[268] μεγάλους·
τὸ δὲ πλῆθος αὐτῶν θωρηκοφόροι ἦσαν, μαχαίρας δὲ μεγάλας
εἶχον. οὗτοι μὲν οὕτω ἐσταλάδατο. Κύπριοι δὲ παρείχοντο νέας 90
πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν, ἐσκευασμένοι ὧδε· τὰς μὲν κεφαλὰς
εἱλίχατο μίτρῃσι οἱ βασιλέες αὐτῶν· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι εἶχον κιθῶνας[269]·
τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κατάπερ Ἕλληνες. τούτων δὲ τοσάδε ἔθνεά ἐστι· οἱ
μὲν ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος καὶ Ἀθηνέων· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀρκαδίης· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ
Κύθνου[270]· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φοινίκης· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Αἰθιοπίης[271], ὡς αὐτοὶ Κύ-
πριοι λέγουσι. Κίλικες δὲ ἑκατὸν παρείχοντο νέας· οὗτοι δ' αὖ περὶ
μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα ἐπιχώρια, λαισήϊά τε εἶχον ἀντ' ἀσπίδων 91
ὠμοβοέης πεποιημένα, καὶ κιθῶνας εἰρινέους ἐνδεδυκότες· δύο δὲ
ἀκόντια ἕκαστος καὶ ξίφος εἶχον, ἀγχοτάτω τῇσι Αἰγυπτίῃσι μαχαί-

265 *ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὑπερβάντες.* This is a similar account to that given in i. 1. But there were traditions which exactly reversed the matter. See STRABO quoted in note 314 on iii. 111.

266 *τῆς δὲ Συρίης . . . Παλαιστίνη καλέεται.* A distinction between Phœnicia and Palestine seems to be made in iii. 5, although the passage is certainly in confusion. But the two were united in the same nome by Darius (see iii. 91), and it is probably with reference to this division that the term Palestine is applied to the whole sea-board. In the genuine Persian account of the satrapies the two appear massed together as *Arabia* (see the BEHISTUN INSCRIPTION in note 278 on iii. 94), although Arabia, according to Herodotus, was excluded from the satrapy.

267 *χηλευτά.* HESYCHIUS explains this word as *πλεκτὰ ἐκ σχοίνου.*

268 *τύκους,* "poll-axes." See LIDDELL and SCOTT's Lexicon, *sub v.*

269 *οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι εἶχον κιθῶνας.* POLLUX (x. 162) quotes the word *κίδαρις* as used by Herodotus, which has induced the conjecture that *κιδάριας* is the true reading in this passage instead of *κιθῶνας,*—which certainly does not give an adequate sense.

270 *οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀρκαδίης· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Κύθνου.* These would be respectively Pelasgians and Dryopes, both of which appear among the elements of the mixed population in Ionia (i. 146). Hermione, on the coast of Argolis, and the two towns (each called Asine) in that region and on the coast of Messenia were likewise Dryopian, the founders being apparently hierodules of the Delphic Apollo antecedently to the revolution, which is mythically described as a conquest by Heracles. (See PAUSANIAS, iv. 34. 9, *seqq.*) *Asine* was the name of a town in Cyprus (STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS, *sub v.*), and probably therefore a Dryopian and Cythnian settlement. That the 'Arcadians' in Cyprus should really have *come from* Arcadia seems as little likely as that the Pelasgi mentioned in the *Iliad,* as one of the races in Crete, should have come from Pelasgiotis in Thessaly. In both cases the existence of diverse fragments of the same race is accounted for by the hypothesis of a colony.

271 *οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Αἰθιοπίης.* It seems not impossible that these were the descendants of negroes brought as slaves from Africa; or perhaps they may have been a swarm of the pirates who haunted the Bucolic branch of the Nile in Egypt. See note 293 on ii. 104.

ρησι πεποιημένα. οὗτοι μὲν τὸ παλαιὸν Ὑπαχαιοὶ ἐκαλέοντο· ἐπὶ
δὲ Κίλικος τοῦ Ἀγήνορος, ἀνδρὸς Φοίνικος, ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην.
Πάμφυλοι δὲ τριήκοντα παρείχοντο νέας Ἑλληνικοῖσι ὅπλοισι
ἐσκευασμένοι· οἱ δὲ Πάμφυλοι οὗτοι εἰσὶ τῶν ἐκ Τροίης ἀποσκεδα-
92 σθέντων ἅμα Ἀμφιλόχῳ[272] καὶ Κάλχαντι. Λύκιοι δὲ παρείχοντο
νέας πεντήκοντα, θωρηκοφόροι τε ἐόντες καὶ κνημιδοφόροι· εἶχον δὲ
τόξα κρανέϊνα, καὶ ὀϊστοὺς καλαμίνους ἀπτέρους καὶ ἀκόντια· ἐπὶ
δὲ, αἰγὸς δέρματα περὶ τοὺς ὤμους αἰωρεύμενα[273]· περὶ δὲ τῇσι
κεφαλῇσι πίλους πτεροῖσι περιεστεφανωμένους· ἐγχειρίδια δὲ καὶ
δρέπανα εἶχον. Λύκιοι δὲ Τερμίλαι ἐκαλέοντο[274], ἐκ Κρήτης
γεγονότες· ἐπὶ δὲ Λύκου τοῦ Πανδίονος, ἀνδρὸς Ἀθηναίου, ἔσχον
93 τὴν ἐπωνυμίην. Δωριέες δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης τριήκοντα παρείχοντο
νέας, ἔχοντές τε Ἑλληνικὰ ὅπλα καὶ γεγονότες ἀπὸ Πελοπον-
νήσου. Κᾶρες δὲ ἑβδομήκοντα παρείχοντο νέας, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα
κατάπερ Ἕλληνες ἐσταλμένοι· εἶχον δὲ καὶ δρέπανα καὶ ἐγχειρί-
δια. οὗτοι δὲ οἵτινες πρότερον ἐκαλέοντο, ἐν τοῖσι πρώτοισι τῶν
λόγων[275] εἴρηται. Ἴωνες δὲ ἑκατὸν νέας παρείχοντο, ἐσκευασμένοι
94 ὡς Ἕλληνες. Ἴωνες δὲ, ὅσον μὲν χρόνον ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ
οἴκεον τὴν νῦν καλεομένην Ἀχαιΐην, καὶ πρὶν ἢ Δαναόν τε
καὶ Ξοῦθον ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Πελοπόννησον, ὡς Ἕλληνες λέγουσι,
ἐκαλέοντο Πελασγοὶ Αἰγιαλέες· ἐπὶ δὲ Ἴωνος τοῦ Ξούθου
95 Ἴωνες[276]. Νησιῶται[277] δὲ ἑπτακαίδεκα παρείχοντο νέας, ὡπλισ-

272 ἅμα Ἀμφιλόχῳ. See STRABO, quoted in note 254 on iii. 91.

273 αἰγὸς δέρματα περὶ τοὺς ὤμους αἰωρεύμενα. This seems almost the same thing as the ægis, and only differing from it in its original form (see iv. 189) by not being fringed. And the ægis was the common garb of the Libyan women. (See note 487 on iv. 189.)

274 Τερμίλαι ἐκαλέοντο. See note 585 on i. 173.

275 ἐν τοῖσι πρώτοισι τῶν λόγων. The reference is to i. 171; but it must not be supposed from this that the present nonary division is recognized. See note 93 on vi. 39. On the relation of the Carians to the Leleges see note 571 on i. 171.

276 ἐπὶ δὲ Ἴωνος τοῦ Ξούθου Ἴωνες. This expression seems to intimate a belief in the purity of descent of the Asiatic Ionians, very alien from the opinions maintained in the kind of *excursus* found in i. 143—146. It would almost seem that the present passage belongs to the original draft of the work, and that the other is an addition of a later period. This seems a more natural solution of the contradiction than to substitute ὅσοι ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων for οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων, three lines below, as Valcknaer conjectures.

277 Νησιῶται. These islanders might be taken for the contingent from the Cyclades; but this does not seem to have joined the fleet of Xerxes until it arrived at Phalerum. (See viii. 66.) LEAKE conjectures with some plausibility, that Lemnos and Imbros are the places from which these ships came. (*Appendix* ii. *to Athens and the Demi of Attica*, p. 237.) The Samothracians in the fleet of Xerxes, who are of the same race as the natives of these islands, are spoken of as *Ionians*, although probably in contradistinction to Phœnicians, in viii. 90. See the note there.

μένοι ὡς Ἕλληνες· καὶ τοῦτο Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος, ὕστερον δὲ Ἰωνικὸν ἐκλήθη κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον καὶ οἱ δυωδεκαπόλιες Ἴωνες οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων. Αἰολέες δὲ ἑξήκοντα νέας παρείχοντο, ἐσκευασμένοι τε ὡς Ἕλληνες καὶ τὸ πάλαι καλεόμενοι Πελασγοὶ, ὡς Ἑλλήνων λόγος. Ἑλλησπόντιοι δὲ, πλὴν Ἀβυδηνῶν· (Ἀβυδηνοῖσι γὰρ προσετέτακτο ἐκ βασιλέος, κατὰ χώρην μένουσι, φύλακας εἶναι τῶν γεφυρέων·) οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου[278] στρατευόμενοι, παρείχοντο μὲν ἑκατὸν νέας, ἐσκευασμένοι δὲ ἦσαν ὡς Ἕλληνες. οὗτοι δὲ Ἰώνων καὶ Δωριέων ἄποικοι.

Ἐπεβάτευον δὲ ἐπὶ πασέων τῶν νεῶν Πέρσαι καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ 96
Σάκαι[279]. τούτων δὲ ἄριστα πλεούσας παρείχοντο νέας Φοίνικες, καὶ Φοινίκων Σιδώνιοι. τούτοισι πᾶσι, καὶ τοῖσι ἐς τὸν πεζὸν τεταγμένοισι αὐτῶν, ἐπῆσαν ἑκάστοισι ἐπιχώριοι ἡγεμόνες· τῶν ἐγὼ, οὐ γὰρ ἀναγκαίῃ ἐξέργομαι[280] ἐς ἱστορίης λόγον, οὐ παραμέμνημαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἔθνεος ἑκάστου ἐπάξιοι ἦσαν οἱ ἡγεμόνες, ἔν τε ἔθνεϊ ἑκάστῳ ὅσαιπερ πόλιες, τοσοῦτοι καὶ ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν[281]. εἵποντο δὲ ὡς οὐ στρατηγοὶ, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατευόμενοι δοῦλοι· ἐπεὶ στρατηγοί τε οἱ τὸ πᾶν ἔχοντες κράτος καὶ ἄρχοντες τῶν ἐθνέων ἑκάστων, ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἦσαν Πέρσαι, εἰρέαταί μοι. Τοῦ 97
δὲ ναυτικοῦ ἐστρατήγεον οἵδε· Ἀριαβίγνης[282] τε ὁ Δαρείου, καὶ Πρηξάσπης ὁ Ἀσπαθίνεω[283], καὶ Μεγάβαζος ὁ Μεγαβάτεω[284],

278 ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου. Among these one may expect the Cyzicenes, from their wealth, to have furnished a considerable contingent. The Hellespontines, after the destruction described in vi. 33, could have supplied little or nothing.

279 Ἐπεβάτευον . . . Σάκαι. The marines in all the vessels being supplied from the hereditary dominions of the Persian king indicates some distrust of their naval allies. They could perhaps depend upon these for working the ships, but not for much more.

280 ἐξέργομαι. See note 106 on i. 31.

281 οὔτε γὰρ . . . ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν. See above, note 249.

282 Ἀριαβίγνης. Possibly this is the same individual whom PLUTARCH (*Themist.* § 14) describes under the name of Ariamenes, as the admiral of the Persian naval force, and as πολὺ κράτιστός τε καὶ δικαιότατος of all Xerxes's brothers. He was killed at Salamis. The Hellenic *m* is sometimes represented in Persian by *b*; for instance, *Megabyzus* is in the Behistun tablets *Bagabuksha*.

283 Πρηξάσπης ὁ Ἀσπαθίνεω. An Aspathines is mentioned by Herodotus, although not so by the Behistun Inscription, as one of the seven conspirators wounded severely in the attempt to slay the Magian (iii. 70. 78). But if the same person had been meant here, some allusion to the circumstance might have been looked for. Possibly he may have been a son of the Prexaspes who by his confession and voluntary death did such good service to the cause of Darius (iii. 75), as in several instances the Hellenic practice of naming a grandson after the grandfather appears as existing among the Persian nobles.

284 Μεγάβαζος ὁ Μεγαβάτεω. Perhaps this Megabazus is the chief of whom Herodotus tells two anecdotes (iv. 143); and from the practice which evidently prevailed of putting members of the royal family in high command, it seems likely that his father Megabates was the first

καὶ Ἀχαιμένης ὁ Δαρείου· τῆς μὲν Ἰάδος τε καὶ Καρικῆς στρα-
τιῆς Ἀριαβίγνης, ὁ Δαρείου τε παῖς καὶ τῆς Γωβρύεω θυγατρός·
Αἰγυπτίων δὲ ἐστρατήγεε Ἀχαιμένης[285], Ξέρξεω ἐὼν ἀπ' ἀμφο-
τέρων ἀδελφεός· τῆς δὲ ἄλλης στρατιῆς ἐστρατήγεον οἱ δύο.
τριηκόντεροι δὲ, καὶ πεντηκόντεροι, καὶ κέρκουροι[286], καὶ ἱπ-
παγωγὰ πλοῖα μακρὰ συνελθόντα ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐφάνη τρισ-
98 χίλια. Τῶν δὲ ἐπιπλεόντων μετά γε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς οἵδε
ἦσαν οἱ ὀνομαστότατοι· Σιδώνιος Τετράμνηστος Ἀνύσου, καὶ
Τύριος Μάπην[287] Σιρώμου, καὶ Ἀράδιος Μέρβαλος[288] Ἀγβάλου,
καὶ Κίλιξ Συέννεσις Ὠρομέδοντος, καὶ Λύκιος Κυβερνίσκος Σίκα·
καὶ Κύπριοι, Γόργος τε ὁ Χέρσιος[289], καὶ Τιμῶναξ ὁ Τιμαγόρεω·
καὶ Καρῶν Ἱστιαῖος τε ὁ Τύμνεω[290] καὶ Πίγρης ὁ Σελδώμου καὶ

cousin of Darius (mentioned in v. 32). Some have also identified Megabazus with the Megabyzus of iii. 70. But great caution is requisite in such proceedings. (See note 367 on iv. 143.)

285 Αἰγυπτίων δὲ ἐστρατήγεε Ἀχαιμένης. After the revolt of Egypt, which took place in the last year of Darius's life, and which was quelled by Xerxes, Achæmenes was sent to that country as viceroy. He seems therefore to have left his government in command of the naval contingent furnished from thence. A question arises, how was this enormous force (200 triremes, § 89, above) raised? There is no reason to suppose that the Egyptians themselves were ever any thing but river boatmen. The naval conquests of Amasis and of Apries were probably effected by Hellenic auxiliaries. (See note 554 on ii. 182.) The refusal of the Phœnician squadron prevented Cambyses from attempting the conquest of Carthage after he had subdued Egypt, although he had the Ionian and Æolian naval contingent with him (iii. 19). Therefore at that time there could hardly have been an Egyptian fleet. Nevertheless Aryandes possessed a fleet either native or foreign (iv. 167), which was commanded by a Persian. If we suppose the fleet in question to have been created by Achæmenes subsequently to his going to his government, we shall see the force of the expression: Αἴγυπτον πολλὸν δουλοτέρην ποιήσας (§ 7, above), for the most stringent measures must have been required to produce such results. And after all, it seems not possible that although the Egyptians probably supplied rowers, the navigation of the ships may have been performed by Phœnicians or Philistines, the funds for the payment of these, and probably also for the building of the fleet, being furnished by Egypt.

286 κέρκουροι. Accounts vary as to whether this description of vessel was Cyprian or Corcyrean. Its mention here by Herodotus goes to corroborate the former view.

287 Μάπην. The MSS vary between this form, Μάττην, and Μάρτην. Of Σιρώμου, see note 301 on v. 104.

288 Μέρβαλος. Some MSS have Νέρβαλος. Sidon, Tyre, and Aradus were the three cities which constituted the Phœnician Tripolis. It will be observed that no Philistine or Egyptian commander is named among the subordinate chiefs. The Philistine contingent too is reckoned together with the Phœnician one above, § 89; and possibly the real solution of the difference between the numbers of Æschylus and those of Herodotus is to be found in the view that the Egyptian contingent really formed *two thirds* of the *three hundred* galleys, of which Tetramnestus, Maper, and Merbal were the subordinate commanders. See note on viii. 17.

289 Γόργος τε ὁ Χέρσιος. This individual had been replaced in his position as king of Salamis in Cyprus (v. 104) on the reconquest of the island by the Persians (v. 115).

290 Ἱστιαῖος τε ὁ Τύμνεω. This individual was one of the commanders in the

Δαμασίθυμος[291] *ὁ Κανδαύλεω. Τῶν μέν νυν ἄλλων οὐ παρα-* 99
μέμνημαι ταξιαρχέων, ὡς οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενος· Ἀρτεμισίης δὲ, τῆς μάλιστα θῶμα ποιεῦμαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευσαμένης, γυναικός· ἥτις, ἀποθανόντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, αὐτή τε ἔχουσα τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ παιδὸς ὑπάρχοντος νεηνίεω, ὑπὸ λήματός τε καὶ ἀνδρηΐης ἐστρατεύετο, οὐδεμιῆς ἐούσης οἱ ἀναγκαίης. οὔνομα μὲν δὴ ἦν αὐτῇ Ἀρτεμισίη, θυγάτηρ δὲ ἦν Λυγδάμιος· γένος δὲ ἐξ Ἁλικαρνησσοῦ[292] *τὰ πρὸς πατρὸς, τὰ μητρόθεν δὲ Κρῆσσα· ἡγεμόνευε δὲ Ἁλικαρνησσέων τε καὶ Κῴων καὶ Νισυρίων τε καὶ Καλυμνίων*[293]*, πέντε νέας παρεχομένη· καὶ συναπάσης τῆς στρατιῆς, μετά γε τὰς Σιδωνίων, νέας εὐδοξοτάτας παρείχετο, πάντων τε τῶν συμμάχων γνώμας ἀρίστας βασιλέϊ ἀπεδέξατο· τῶν δὲ κατέλεξα πολίων ἡγεμονεύειν αὐτὴν, τὸ ἔθνος ἀποφαίνω πᾶν ἐὸν Δωρικόν· Ἁλικαρνησσῆας μὲν Τροιζηνίους, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Ἐπιδαυρίους. ἐς μὲν τοσόνδε ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς εἴρηται.*

Ξέρξης δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἠρίθμησέ τε καὶ διετάχθη ὁ στρατὸς, ἐπεθύμησε 100
αὐτός σφεας διεξελάσας θεήσασθαι· μετὰ δὲ ἐποίεέ ταῦτα, καὶ διεξελαύνων ἐπὶ ἅρματος παρὰ ἔθνος ἓν ἕκαστον, ἐπυνθάνετο· καὶ ἀπέγραφον οἱ γραμματισταί[294]*· ἕως ἐξ ἐσχάτων ἐς ἔσχατα ἀπίκετο καὶ τῆς ἵππου καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ. ὡς δὲ ταῦτά οἱ ἐπεποίητο, τῶν νεῶν κατελκυσθεισέων ἐς θάλασσαν, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Ξέρξης μετεκβὰς ἐκ τοῦ ἅρματος ἐς νέα Σιδωνίην, ἵζετο ὑπὸ σκηνῇ χρυσέῃ· καὶ παρέπλεε*

fleet which attempted the *coup de main* on Naxos, whom Aristagoras secured at the outbreak of the Ionian revolt (v. 37).

[291] *Δαμασίθυμος.* This individual is probably the commander of the ship sunk by Artemisia in order to save herself (viii. 87). Perhaps his notoriety was mainly owing to this circumstance.

[292] *Ἁλικαρνησσοῦ.* This is the reading of all the MSS. Below F has *Ἁλικαρνησσέων* and *Ἁλικαρνησσέας.* See note 1 on i. 1.

[293] *Καλυμνίων.* Gaisford, with the MSS, has *Καλυδνίων.* But it seems certain that the inhabitants of some island near Halicarnassus are here meant; and such an island existed, of the name *Κάλυμνα* (called *Calimno* by Saewulf, A.D. 1102), in the immediate vicinity of Cos and Nisyrus. Calydna was a name given to some very small islands just off the shore of Tenedos, and at one time to Tenedos itself. And it seems not improbable that the island Calymna was sometimes called Calydna (for the *Iliad*, ii. 677, couples *νήσους τε Καλύδνας* with Cos). But the form *Κάλυμνα* appears in inscriptions (Hoffmann, *Griechenland*, p. 1441, note 26), and therefore seems to be the authentic form for the times when the orthography was settled. But see note on viii. 87.

[294] *ἀπέγραφον οἱ γραμματισταί.* It is a conjecture of Heeren's, which is approved of by Bishop Thirlwall, that the muster rolls thus formed fell into the hands of the Greeks after the defeat of the Persians, and formed the authority for the account which Herodotus has been giving of the troops.

παρὰ τὰς πρώρας τῶν νεῶν, ἐπειρωτῶν τε ἑκάστας ὁμοίως καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ ἀπογραφόμενος· τὰς δὲ νέας οἱ ναύαρχοι ἀναγαγόντες ὅσον τε τέσσερα πλέθρα ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἀνεκώχευον, τὰς πρώρας ἐς γῆν τρέψαντες πάντες μετωπηδὸν, καὶ ἐξοπλίσαντες τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ὡς ἐς πόλεμον· ὁ δ' ἐντὸς τῶν πρωρέων πλέων ἐθηεῖτο καὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ.

101 Ὡς δὲ καὶ ταύτας διεξέπλωσε, καὶ ἐξέβη ἐκ τῆς νεὸς, μετεπέμψατο Δημάρητον τὸν Ἀρίστωνος, συστρατευόμενον αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· καλέσας δ' αὐτὸν εἴρετο τάδε· "Δημάρητε, νῦν μοί σε ἡδύ τι ἐστὶ ἐπείρεσθαι τὰ θέλω· σὺ εἶς Ἕλλην τε, καὶ ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι σεῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἐς λόγους ἀπικνεομένων, πόλιος οὔτ' ἐλαχίστης οὔτ' ἀσθενεστάτης· νῦν ὦν μοι τόδε φράσον, εἰ Ἕλληνες ὑπομενέουσι χεῖρας ἐμοὶ ἀνταειρόμενοι· οὐ γὰρ, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐδ' εἰ πάντες Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ πρὸς ἑσπέρης οἰκέοντες ἄνθρωποι συλλεχθείησαν, οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοί εἰσι ἐμὲ ἐπιόντα ὑπομεῖναι, μὴ ἐόντες ἄρθμιοι[295]· ἐθέλω μέντοι καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ σεῦ, ὁκοῖόν τι λέγεις περὶ αὐτῶν, πυθέσθαι." ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἰρώτα· ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη· "βασιλεῦ, κότερα ἀληθηΐῃ χρήσομαι πρὸς σὲ ἢ ἡδονῇ;" ὁ δέ μιν ἀληθηΐῃ χρήσασθαι ἐκέλευε, φὰς οὐδέν οἱ ἀηδέστερον ἔσεσθαι

102 ἢ πρότερον ἦν· ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἤκουσε Δημάρητος, ἔλεγε τάδε· "βασιλεῦ, ἐπειδὴ ἀληθηΐῃ διαχρήσασθαι[296] πάντως με κελεύεις, ταῦτα λέγοντα τὰ μὴ ψευδόμενός τις ὕστερον ὑπὸ σεῦ ἁλώσεται, τῇ Ἑλλάδι πενίη μὲν αἰεί κοτε σύντροφος σύνεστι, ἀρετὴ δὲ ἔπακτός ἐστι, ἀπό τε σοφίης κατεργασμένη καὶ νόμου ἰσχυροῦ· τῇ διαχρεωμένη ἡ Ἑλλὰς, τήν τε πενίην ἀπαμύνεται καὶ τὴν δεσποσύνην. αἰνέω μέν νυν πάντας Ἕλληνας τοὺς περὶ κείνους τοὺς Δωρικοὺς χώρους οἰκημένους· ἔρχομαι δὲ λέξων οὐ περὶ πάντων τούσδε τοὺς λόγους, ἀλλὰ περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων μούνων· πρῶτα μὲν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι ὅκως κοτὲ σοὺς δέξονται λόγους δουλοσύνην φέροντας τῇ Ἑλλάδι· αὖτις δὲ, ὡς ἀντιώσονταί τοι ἐς μάχην, καὶ ἢν οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες πάντες τὰ σὰ φρονέωσι· ἀριθμοῦ δὲ πέρι, μὴ πύθῃ ὅσοι τινὲς ἐόντες ταῦτα ποιέειν οἷοί τέ εἰσι· ἢν

[295] μὴ ἐόντες ἄρθμιοι. These words appear to me to have dropped out of their proper place, which seems to be after the word ἀνταειρόμενοι.

[296] διαχρήσασθαι. The manuscripts S and V have the simple form χρήσασθαι, Stobæus; δὴ χρήσασθαι.

τε γὰρ τύχωσι ἐξεστρατευμένοι χίλιοι, οὗτοι μαχήσονταί τοι, ἤν τε ἐλάσσονες τούτων, ἤν τε καὶ πλεῦνες." Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ξέρξης, 103
γελάσας ἔφη· "Δημάρητε, οἷον ἐφθέγξαο ἔπος, ἄνδρας χιλίους στρατιῇ τοσῇδε μαχήσασθαι. ἄγε, εἰπέ μοι, σὺ φῄς τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς γενέσθαι; σὺ ὦν ἐθελήσεις αὐτίκα μάλα πρὸς ἄνδρας δέκα μάχεσθαι[297]; καίτοι εἰ τὸ πολιτικὸν[298] ὑμῖν πᾶν ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον οἷον σὺ διαιρέεις, σέ γε τὸν κείνων βασιλέα πρέπει πρὸς τὸ διπλήσιον ἀντιτάσσεσθαι κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ὑμετέρους[299]. εἰ γὰρ κείνων ἕκαστος δέκα ἀνδρῶν τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς ἐμῆς ἀντάξιός ἐστι, σὲ δέ γε δίζημαι εἴκοσι εἶναι ἀντάξιον· καὶ οὕτω μὲν ὀρθοῖτ' ἂν ὁ λόγος ὁ παρὰ σεῦ εἰρημένος. εἰ δέ, τοιοῦτοί τε ἐόντες καὶ μεγάθεα τοσοῦτοι οἷος σύ τε καὶ οἳ παρ' ἐμὲ φοιτῶσι Ἑλλήνων ἐς λόγους, αὐχεῖτε τοσοῦτον, ὅρα μὴ μάτην κόμπος ὁ λόγος οὗτος εἰρημένος εἴη. ἐπεὶ φέρε ἴδω παντὶ τῷ οἰκότι· κῶς ἂν δυναίατο χίλιοι, ἢ καὶ μύριοι, ἢ καὶ πεντακισμύριοι, ἐόντες γε ἐλεύθεροι πάντες ὁμοίως καὶ μὴ ὑπ' ἑνὸς ἀρχόμενοι, στρατῷ τοσῷδε ἀντιστῆναι; ἐπεί τοι πλεῦνες περὶ ἕνα ἕκαστον γινόμεθα ἢ χίλιοι, ἐόντων ἐκείνων πέντε χιλιαδέων. ὑπὸ μὲν γὰρ ἑνὸς ἀρχόμενοι κατὰ τρόπον τὸν ἡμέτερον, γενοίατ' ἂν δειμαίνοντες τοῦτον καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἑωυτῶν φύσιν ἀμείνονες, καὶ ἴοιεν ἀναγκαζόμενοι μάστιγι ἐς πλεῦνας ἐλάσσονες ἐόντες· ἀνειμένοι δὲ ἐς τὸ ἐλεύθερον, οὐκ ἂν ποιέοιεν τούτων οὐδέτερα. δοκέω δὲ ἔγωγε καὶ ἀνισωθέντας πλήθεϊ χαλεπῶς ἂν Ἕλληνας Πέρσῃσι μούνοισι μάχεσθαι. ἀλλὰ παρ' ἡμῖν τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σὺ λέγεις· ἔστι γε μέντοι οὐ πολλόν, ἀλλὰ σπάνιον· εἰσὶ γὰρ Περσέων τῶν ἐμῶν αἰχμοφόρων οἳ ἐθελήσουσι Ἑλλήνων ἀνδράσι τρισὶ ὁμοῦ μάχεσθαι· τῶν σὺ ἐὼν ἄπειρος, πολλὰ φλυηρέεις." Πρὸς ταῦτα 104

297 *πρὸς ἄνδρας δέκα μάχεσθαι;* By the selection of this number it would seem as if Xerxes had here in his mind merely his guardsmen, the band of the Immortals, who were 10,000 in number, although, as Herodotus tells the story, the conversation with Demaratus takes place when he is elated at seeing the numbers and efficiency of his whole force, fleet as well as army. And it is with reference to the *whole* force that he pursues the argument below: *ἐπεί τοι πλεῦνες . . . πέντε χιλιαδέων.*

298 *τὸ πολιτικόν.* This term is used to denote the aggregate of the *πολῖται* in contradistinction to *ὁ ἄρχων*. ARISTOTLE (*Nicomach. Ethic.* iii. p. 1116, l. 19) calls the civilians employed in an army as militia men *τὰ πολιτικὰ*, in contradistinction to the regular soldiers.

299 *κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ὑμετέρους.* There is perhaps here an allusion to the custom at Sparta of setting before the kings a *double* share of the victim whenever they were invited to a private sacrifice (vi. 57). The practice was a sort of symbol of their being held equal to two other men.

Δημάρητος λέγει· "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀρχῆθεν ἠπιστάμην ὅτι ἀληθηΐῃ χρεώμενος οὐ φίλα τοι ἐρέω· σὺ δὲ ἐπεὶ ἠνάγκασας λέγειν τῶν λόγων τοὺς ἀληθεστάτους, ἔλεγον τὰ κατήκοντα Σπαρτιήτῃσι· καίτοι ὡς ἐγὼ τυγχάνω τὰ νῦν τάδε ἐστοργὼς ἐκείνους αὐτὸς μάλιστα ἐξεπίστεαι[300], οἵ με τιμήν τε καὶ γέρεα ἀπελόμενοι πατρώϊα ἄπολίν τε καὶ φυγάδα πεποιήκασι, πατὴρ δὲ σὸς ὑποδεξάμενος βίον τέ μοι καὶ οἶκον δέδωκε· οὔκων οἰκός ἐστι ἄνδρα τὸν σώφρονα εὐνοίην φαινομένην διωθέεσθαι, ἀλλὰ στέργειν μάλιστα. ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε δέκα ἀνδράσι ὑπίσχομαι οἷός τε εἶναι μάχεσθαι, οὔτε δυοῖσι· ἑκών τε εἶναι οὐδ' ἂν μουνομαχέοιμι· εἰ δὲ ἀναγκαίη εἴη ἢ μέγας τις ὁ ἐποτρύνων ἀγών, μαχοίμην ἂν πάντων ἥδιστα ἑνὶ τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἳ Ἑλλήνων ἕκαστός φησι τριῶν ἄξιος εἶναι· ὣς δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, κατὰ μὲν ἕνα μαχεόμενοι οὐδαμῶν εἰσι κακίονες ἀνδρῶν, ἁλέες δὲ ἄριστοι ἀνδρῶν ἁπάντων· ἐλεύθεροι γὰρ ἐόντες οὐ πάντα ἐλεύθεροί εἰσι· ἔπεστι γάρ σφι δεσπότης νόμος, τὸν ὑποδειμαίνουσι πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ σοὶ σέ· ποιεῦσι γῶν τὰ ἂν ἐκεῖνος ἀνώγῃ· ἀνώγει δὲ τὠυτὸ αἰεί, οὐκ ἐῶν φεύγειν οὐδὲν πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ μένοντας ἐν τῇ τάξει ἐπικρατέειν ἢ ἀπόλλυσθαι[301]. σοὶ δὲ εἰ φαίνομαι ταῦτα λέγων φλυηρέειν, τἆλλα[302] σιγᾶν ἐθέλω τὸ λοιπόν, νῦν δὲ ἀναγκασθεὶς ἔλεξα· γένοιτο μέντοι κατὰ νόον τοι, βασιλεῦ."

105 Ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀμείψατο· Ξέρξης δὲ ἐς γέλωτά τε ἔτρεψε, καὶ οὐκ ἐποιήσατο ὀργὴν οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλ' ἠπίως αὐτὸν ἀπεπέμψατο. τούτῳ δὲ ἐς λόγους ἐλθὼν Ξέρξης, καὶ ὕπαρχον ἐν τῷ Δορίσκῳ τούτῳ[303] καταστήσας Μασκάμην τὸν Μεγαδόστεω, τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ Δαρείου σταθέντα καταπαύσας, ἐξήλαυνε τὸν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς

Xerxes proceeds, after making *Mascames* governor of *Doriscus.*

[300] καίτοι ὡς ἐγὼ . . . . αὐτὸς μάλιστα ἐξεπίστεαι, "although no one knows so well as you how little, as things now are with me, I am disposed to feel kindly towards them on this subject."

[301] ἐπικρατέειν ἢ ἀπόλλυσθαι. These infinitives are governed by some such word as κελεύων, gathered by inference from οὐκ ἐῶν. Valcknaer compares ALEXIS (*ap. Stobæum*, p. 454):

οὐκ ἠξίωσα καταλιπεῖν τὴν μητέρα,
πρώτην δὲ σώζειν,

and the description given by ST. PAUL of the perverters of Christian simplicity: κωλυόντων γαμεῖν, ἀπέχεσθαι βρωμάτων. (1 *Timothy* iv. 3.) Compare note 218 on vi. 97.

[302] τἆλλα. Several MSS have ἅμα, from which Wesseling conjectured that ἀλλὰ was the true reading. But the text as it stands appears quite sound, and the words τὸ λοιπὸν are something more than τἆλλα. They are in opposition to νῦν, which follows. "If this my language appears vapouring, I will keep silence on other matters for the future, and as it is (νῦν δὲ) I spoke by compulsion."

[303] ἐν τῷ Δορίσκῳ τούτῳ. See § 59, above.

Θρηΐκης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Κατέλιπε δὲ ἄνδρα τοιόνδε Μασκάμην γενόμενον, τῷ μούνῳ Ξέρξης δῶρα πέμπεσκε[304], ὡς ἀριστεύοντι πάντων ὅσους κατέστησε αὐτὸς ἢ Δαρεῖος ὑπάρχους· πέμπεσκε δὲ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος· ὡς δὲ καὶ Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ Ξέρξεω[305] τοῖσι Μασκαμείοισι ἐκγόνοισι. κατέστασαν γὰρ ἔτι πρότερον ταύτης τῆς ἐλάσιος ὕπαρχοι ἐν τῇ Θρηΐκῃ καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου πανταχῇ[306]. οὗτοι ὦν πάντες, οἵ τε ἐκ Θρηΐκης καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου[307], πλὴν τοῦ ἐν Δορίσκῳ, ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ὕστερον ταύτης τῆς στρατηλασίης ἐξῃρέθησαν· τὸν δὲ ἐν Δορίσκῳ Μασκάμην οὐδαμοί κω ἐδυνάσθησαν[308] ἐξελεῖν, πολλῶν πειρησαμένων· διὰ τοῦτο δέ οἱ τὰ δῶρα πέμπεται παρὰ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος αἰεὶ ἐν Πέρσῃσι. 106 Anecdote of the gallantry of Mascames.

Τῶν δὲ ἐξαιρεθέντων ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων οὐδένα βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης ἐνόμισε εἶναι ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν, εἰ μὴ Βόγην μοῦνον, τὸν ἐξ Ἠϊόνος· τοῦτον δὲ αἰνέων οὐκ ἐπαύετο, καὶ τοὺς περιεόντας αὐτοῦ ἐν Πέρσῃσι παῖδας ἐτίμα μάλιστα· ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄξιος αἴνου μεγάλου ἐγένετο Βόγης· ὃς ἐπειδὴ ἐπολιορκέετο ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδεω, παρεὸν αὐτῷ ὑπόσπονδον ἐξελθεῖν καὶ νοστῆσαι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, οὐκ ἐθέλησε, μὴ δειλίῃ δόξειε περιεῖναι βασιλέϊ, ἀλλὰ διεκαρτέρεε ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον· ὡς δ' οὐδὲν ἔτι φορβῆς ἐνῆν ἐν τῷ τείχεϊ, συννήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην, ἔσφαξε τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας· καὶ ἔπειτα ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὸ πῦρ· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, τὸν χρυσὸν ἅπαντα τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον ἔσπειρε ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος ἐς τὸν Στρυμόνα, ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα, ἑωυτὸν ἐπέβαλε ἐς τὸ πῦρ. οὕτω μὲν οὗτος δικαίως αἰνέεται ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε ὑπὸ Περσέων[309]. 107 Anecdote of *Boges*, the governor of *Eion*.

[304] τῷ μούνῳ Ξέρξης δῶρα πέμπεσκε. Mascames was perhaps the only Persian chief to whom the Greeks *in these parts* were cognizant of gifts of honour being sent. By i. 135 and iii. 160 it appears that there were certainly some others who received them yearly.

[305] Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ Ξέρξεω. This prince succeeded to the throne in the latter part of the year 465 B.C. CLINTON explains a slight diversity which is found in the different statements of the date of his accession.

[306] κατέστασαν γὰρ . . . πανταχῇ. See note 111 on vi. 44.

[307] πανταχῇ . . . . τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου. These words are omitted from the two manuscripts S and F. The mistake apparently arises in the latter from the eye of the transcriber being deceived. But in S this is not the real cause; for that MS has immediately afterwards: πλὴν δὲ τοῦ ἐν Δορίσκῳ.

[308] ἐδυνάσθησαν. This form, which is of very rare occurrence, is found in ii. 19: οὐδενὸς παραλαβεῖν ἐδυνάσθην, and ii. 43: οὐδαμῇ Αἰγύπτου ἐδυνάσθην ἀκοῦσαι.

[309] ὑπὸ Περσέων. THUCYDIDES, who mentions the capture of Eion as the first success of the allies after the transfer of the hegemony from the Lacedæmonians to the Athenians, gives no hint of the heroic conduct of Boges, but simply states that the town was taken by blockade, and

108 March of Xerxes from Doriscus. He passes the *Samothracian castles*, the westernmost of which is *Mesembria*, in the immediate vicinity of *Stryme*, a Thracian town.

Ξέρξης δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Δορίσκου ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· τοὺς δὲ αἰεὶ γινομένους ἐμποδὼν συστρατεύεσθαι ἠνάγκαζε· ἐδεδούλωτο γάρ, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται, ἡ μέχρι Θεσσαλίης πᾶσα, καὶ ἦν ὑπὸ βασιλέα δασμοφόρος[310], Μεγαβάζου τε καταστρεψαμένου καὶ ὕστερον Μαρδονίου[311]. παραμείβετο δὲ πορευόμενος ἐκ Δορίσκου, πρῶτα μὲν τὰ Σαμοθρηΐκια τείχεα, τῶν ἐσχάτη πεπόλισται πρὸς ἑσπέρην πόλις τῇ οὔνομά ἐστι Μεσαμβρίη· ἔχεται δὲ ταύτης Θασίων πόλις, Στρύμη· διὰ δέ σφεων τοῦ μέσου Λίσσος ποταμὸς διαρρέει· ὃς τότε οὐκ ἀντέσχε τὸ ὕδωρ παρέχων τῷ Ξέρξεω στρατῷ, ἀλλ' ἐπέλιπε. ἡ δὲ χώρη αὕτη πάλαι μὲν ἐκαλέετο Γαλλαϊκὴ νῦν δὲ Βριαντική· ἔστι μέντοι τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ τῶν λόγων καὶ αὕτη Κικόνων.

109 He crosses the *Lissus*, and passes *Maronea*, *Dicæa*, and *Abdera*, and the lakes

Διαβὰς δὲ τοῦ Λίσσου ποταμοῦ τὸ ῥέεθρον ἀποξηρασμένον, πόλις Ἑλληνίδας τάσδε παραμείβετο· Μαρώνειαν, Δίκαιαν, Ἄβδηρα· ταύτας τε δὴ παρεξήϊε, καὶ κατὰ ταύτας δέ, λίμνας ὀνομαστὰς τάσδε· Μαρωνείης μὲν μεταξὺ καὶ Στρύμης κειμένην Ἰσμαρίδα[312]· κατὰ δὲ Δίκαιαν, Βιστονίδα, ἐς

the inhabitants sold as slaves (i. 98). He must have been quite familiar with the *local* accounts from his connexion with the neighbourhood; and his complete silence goes to confirm the inference from Herodotus's expression, that the authority of the latter was an Asiatic one. DIODORUS SICULUS (xi. 60) places the capture of Eion by the Athenians in the year 470 B.C.; but, as is remarked by Wesseling, he in that passage puts together transactions which took place at a considerable distance of time from each other. That the circumstance mentioned by Herodotus: ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι φορβῆς ἐνῆν, was a striking feature in the siege, seems likely from the fact of its appearing in the epigram cited by ÆSCHINES (*c. Ctesiph.* § 184):

ἦν ἄρα κἀκεῖνοι ταλακάρδιοι, οἵ ποτε Μήδων
παισὶν, ἐπ' Ἠϊόνι Στρυμόνος ἀμφὶ ῥοὰς,
λιμόν τ' αἴθωνα κρατερόν τ' ἐπάγοντες Ἄρηα,
πρῶτοι δυσμενέων εὗρον ἀμηχανίην.

The starvation was no doubt effected by closing the straits, and thus stopping the transit of corn from the Euxine. In later times it was said that the city was taken by Cimon turning the course of the Strymon, so as to set the current against the walls, which, being of unbaked bricks, gave way. (PAUSANIAS, viii. 8, 9.) But if this was the discovery of Cimon, as Pausanias states, it would hardly have been unnoticed by the epigram or by Herodotus. Agesipolis adopted the same stratagem at Mantinea; but the mountain streams of Arcadia would be much more efficient agents in undermining than an estuary.

310 ἦν ὑπὸ βασιλέα δασμοφόρος. There is no trace of this in the Behistun Inscription, although *Sparta* and Ionia are there mentioned among the subject countries. (See note 278 on iii. 94.) It seems very unlikely that the Persian occupation of the country from the Hellespont to the Strymon was more than that effected by a line of strong military posts. If the country had been δασμοφόρος, they would hardly have made Elæus the base of operations when cutting the canal through the isthmus of Athos. See above, § 22, and the note 91.

311 Μεγαβάζου τε καταστρεψαμένου καὶ ὕστερον Μαρδονίου. See v. 1, 2, and vi. 43, 44, with the note 111 on the last passage.

312 Ἰσμαρίδα. In the view of the historian it would seem that the course of Xerxes was in a great degree determined by the opportunity which these lakes

τὴν ποταμοὶ δύο ἐσιεῖσι τὸ ὕδωρ, Τραῦός[313] τε καὶ Κόμψατος· κατὰ δὲ Ἄβδηρα, λίμνην μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἐοῦσαν οὐνομαστὴν παραμείψατο Ξέρξης, ποταμὸν δὲ Νέστον ῥέοντα ἐς θάλασσαν. μετὰ δὲ ταύτας τὰς χώρας ἰὼν τὰς ἠπειρώτιδας πόλις παρήϊε· τῶν ἐν μιῇ λίμνη ἐοῦσα τυγχάνει ὡσεὶ τριήκοντα σταδίων μάλιστά κη τὴν περίοδον, ἰχθυώδης τε καὶ κάρτα ἁλμυρή· ταύτην τὰ ὑποζύγια μοῦνα ἀρδόμενα ἀνεξήρηνε· τῇ δὲ πόλι ταύτῃ οὔνομά ἐστι Πίστυρος· ταύτας μὲν δὴ τὰς πόλις, τὰς παραθαλασσίας τε καὶ Ἑλληνίδας, ἐξ εὐωνύμου χειρὸς ἀπέργων παρεξήϊε.

Ismaris and Bistonis.

The salt lake near the town *Pistyrus.*

110 Ἔθνεα δὲ Θρηΐκων, δι' ὧν τῆς χώρης ὁδὸν ἐποιέετο, τοσάδε· Παῖτοι, Κίκονες, Βίστονες, Σαπαῖοι, Δερσαῖοι, Ἠδωνοί, Σάτραι· τούτων οἱ μὲν παρὰ θάλασσαν κατοικημένοι ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ εἵποντο· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν μεσόγαιαν οἰκέοντες, καταλεχθέντες τε ὑπ' ἐμεῦ, πλὴν Σατρέων οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες πεζῇ ἀναγκαζόμενοι εἵποντο.

111 Σάτραι δὲ οὐδενός κω ἀνθρώπων ὑπήκοοι ἐγένοντο, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· ἀλλὰ διατελεῦσι τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ αἰεὶ ἐόντες ἐλεύθεροι, μοῦνοι Θρηΐκων· οἰκέουσί τε γὰρ οὔρεα ὑψηλά, ἴδῃσί τε παντοίῃσι καὶ χιόνι συνηρεφέα, καὶ εἰσὶ τὰ πολέμια ἄκροι. οὗτοι οἱ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ μαντήϊόν εἰσι ἐκτημένοι[314]· τὸ δὲ μαντήϊον τοῦτό ἐστι μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν οὐρέων τῶν

The Thracian tribes through which the army passed were all compelled to join in force, except the *Satræ*, among whom is the oracle of *Dionysus*, and the *Bessians.*

afforded of watering his army. Stores would probably be supplied by sea, and magazines of grain formed at the towns on the coast which are mentioned. Abdera seems to have been a principal port of the Persians,—apparently a naval arsenal. (See vi. 46, 47.)

313 Τραῦος. There is no doubt some connexion between this river and the tribe (*Trausi*) mentioned above, v. 4.

314 οἱ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ μαντήϊόν εἰσι ἐκτημένοι, "these are the possessors of the *celebrated* temple of Dionysus." The use of the article, as in many similar cases, indicates that the author is speaking of a thing well known by common report,—doubtless derived originally from the traders on the coast. This is the *Dionysus* mentioned by Euripides: ὁ Θρῃξὶ μάντις εἶπε Διόνυσος τάδε. (*Hecuba*, 1267.) For the nature of this Dionysus, not the rustic deity, but the conquering leader, see note 15 on v. 7. His worship had in early times extended as far as Delphi, where he is invoked by the priestess in Æschylus (*Eumenides*, 24) under the name of Bromius, a word significant of orgiastic rites. From the time of Euripides a syncretism of this deity with the wine-god seems to have been generally accepted, the connecting link being the physical excitement caused either by intoxication or by other means. Thus Tiresias says:

μάντις δ' ὁ δαίμων ὅδε· τὸ γὰρ βακχεύσιμον
καὶ τὸ μανιῶδες μαντικὴν πολλὴν ἔχει·
ὅταν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸ σῶμ' ἔλθῃ πολύς,
λέγειν τὸ μέλλον τοὺς μεμηνότας ποιεῖ.
(*Bacch.* 298.)

On this principle Hecuba (*Hecub.* 123) calls Cassandra μαντίπολος Βάκχα, although her inspiration proceeds from Apollo. In later times legends were coined to connect the Delphic Apollo with Dionysus mythically. One in the latest form is given by Clemens Alexandrinus. (*Protrept.* i. § 18.) When the Titans had destroyed Dionysus, and put his mangled fragments into a cauldron, Zeus appeared, scattered them with his thunderbolts, and gave the mutilated members to Apollo to bury. Apollo car-

ὑψηλοτάτων· Βησσοὶ[315] δὲ τῶν Σατρέων εἰσὶ οἱ προφητεύοντες τοῦ ἱροῦ, πρόμαντις δὲ ἡ χρέουσα[316], κατάπερ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, καὶ οὐδὲν ποικιλώτερον.

He then passes by the Pierian castles, leaving Mount Pangæum on his left, and from thence through the territory of the Pæonians, Doberes, and Pæoplæ, to Eion on the Strymon, where the Magi offer a sacrifice of white

112 Παραμειψάμενος δὲ ὁ Ξέρξης τὴν εἰρημένην, δεύτερα τούτων παραμείβετο τείχεα τὰ Πιέρων· τῶν καὶ ἑνὶ Φάγρης ἐστὶ οὔνομα, καὶ ἑτέρῳ Πέργαμος· ταύτῃ μὲν δὴ παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ τείχεα τὴν ὁδὸν ἐποιέετο, ἐκ δεξιῆς χερὸς τὸ Πάγγαιον οὖρος ἀπέργων, ἐὸν μέγα τε καὶ ὑψηλόν· ἐν τῷ χρύσεά τε καὶ ἀργύρεα ἔνι μέταλλα[317], τὰ
113 νέμονται Πίερές τε καὶ Ὀδόμαντοι, καὶ μάλιστα Σάτραι. Ὑπεροικέοντας δὲ τὸ Πάγγαιον πρὸς βορέω ἀνέμου Παίονας[318] Δόβηράς τε καὶ Παιόπλας παρεξιὼν, ἤϊε πρὸς ἑσπέρην· ἐς ὃ ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ ποταμόν τε Στρυμόνα καὶ πόλιν Ἠϊόνα, τῆς ἔτι ζωὸς ἐὼν ἦρχε Βόγης, τοῦ περ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τούτων λόγον ἐποιεύμην· ἡ δὲ γῆ αὕτη ἡ περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος καλέεται Φυλλίς· κατατείνουσα, τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἑσπέρην, ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἀγγίτην ἐκδιδόντα ἐς τὸν Στρυμόνα· τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην, τείνουσα ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν Στρυμόνα, ἐς
114 τὸν οἱ Μάγοι ἐκαλλιρέοντο σφάζοντες ἵππους λευκούς[319]. Φαρμα-

ried them to Parnassus, and there interred them. Compare PLUTARCH (*de Deo Delph.* § 9) and TZETZES (*on Lycoph.* 207). It is plain from the terms of this account that it implies a previous identification of Dionysus with Osiris, and perhaps also of each of these with the vitalizing power of nature symbolized by the sun,—all of which notions are (I believe) later than the time of Alexander.

315 Βησσοί. The female votaries were called Βασσαρίδες, and *Bassareus* is the name under which the deity was invoked. (HORACE, *Od.* i. 18. 11.) This tribe appears to have stood in somewhat the same relation to the temple of Dionysus as the Selli to that of the Dodonæan Zeus, and the Delphi to that of Apollo. Strictly speaking, Apollo (Loxias) was the προφήτης of Zeus at Pytho, but still the term was, as in the case of the Bessi, applied to the Delphians themselves. See EURIPIDES (*Ion*, 413. 416):

ΞΟΥΘ. τίς προφητεύει θεοῦ;
ΙΩΝ. Δελφῶν ἀριστῆς οὓς ἐκλήρωσεν πάλος.

See also note 158 on ii. 55. It is probable that this oracle was founded by settlers coming in remote times from the east. (See v. 9, and the notes thereon.) The word *Bessus* is the name of the satrap of Bactria, who murdered Darius after the battle of Arbela.

316 χρέουσα. The manuscripts S, V, P, K, F, *b* have χρέωσα, which (from the form χράω) is defensible by the analogy of ὁρέωντες, ὁρέωσι, from ὁράω.

317 ἐν τῷ χρύσεά τε καὶ ἀργύρεα ἔνι μέταλλα. From here perhaps was derived that revenue which Herodotus mentions Pisistratus to have obtained 'from the Strymon' (i. 64). Hence his connexion with the king of Macedonia (v. 94).

318 Παίονας. These and the *Pæoplæ* are represented (v. 15) as having been subjugated by the Persian forces and transported into Asia; but in the same place it is stated that the *Doberes* were not at that time conquered, although subsequently their subjection may have followed.

319 ἐς τὸν οἱ Μάγοι ἐκαλλιρέοντο σφάζοντες ἵππους λευκούς. The victims were so placed that the jet of blood from the stab fell into the stream. See notes 35 and 37 on iii. 11. STRABO mentions that the Persians were very careful when they sacrificed a victim to a river, *not* to let the blood fall into *it*, but into a trench dug for the purpose (xv. c. 3, p. 326). The account in the text, therefore, if true, can

κεύσαντες δὲ ταῦτα ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοισι, ἐν Ἐννέα Ὁδοῖσι[320] τῇσι Ἠδωνῶν ἐπορεύοντο κατὰ τὰς γεφύρας, τὸν Στρυμόνα εὑρόντες ἐζευγμένον. Ἐννέα δὲ Ὁδοὺς πυνθανόμενοι τὸν χῶρον τοῦτον καλέεσθαι, τοσούτους ἐν αὐτῷ παῖδάς τε καὶ παρθένους ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ζώοντας κατώρυσσον. (Περσικὸν δὲ τὸ ζώοντας κατορύσσειν[321]· ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἄμηστριν τὴν Ξέρξεω γυναῖκα πυνθάνομαι γηράσασαν δὶς ἑπτὰ[322] Περσέων παῖδας ἐόντων ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν ὑπὲρ ἑωυτῆς τῷ ὑπὸ γῆν λεγομένῳ εἶναι θεῷ ἀντιχαρίζεσθαι κατορύσσουσαν.)

horses to the river. He then crosses the Strymon by the bridge which he finds laid across at "the Nine Ways." Vivisepulture of eighteen of the natives.

115 Ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Στρυμόνος ἐπορεύετο ὁ στρατὸς, ἐνθαῦτα πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμέων ἐστὶ αἰγιαλὸς, ἐν τῷ οἰκημένην Ἄργιλον πόλιν Ἑλλάδα παρεξήιε· αὕτη δὲ καὶ ἡ κατύπερθε ταύτης καλέεται Βισαλτίη· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ, κόλπον τὸν ἐπὶ Ποσειδηΐου[323] ἐξ ἀριστερῆς

Another instance of the same practice.

hardly be of a pure Persian ritual. See note 322, below. Tiridates in after times sacrificed a horse to the Euphrates (TACITUS, *Annal.* vi. 37) when intending to pass that river; and the proceeding of Julius Cæsar (see SUETONIUS, quoted in note 174 on ii. 65) was perhaps intended to be in honour of the Rubicon. But originally among the Persians the horse seems to have been a victim appropriated to the *sun-god*. See XENOPHON, *Anab.* iv. 5; *Cyrop.* viii. 3, compared with note 713 on Herodotus, i. 216. STRABO too says of the Persians: ὅτῳ ἂν θύσωσι θεῷ, πρώτῳ τῷ πυρὶ εὔχονται. (*l. c.*)

320 ἐν Ἐννέα Ὁδοῖσι. This is the same place which was afterwards so celebrated under the name of *Amphipolis*. That Herodotus should not mention it, has been accounted for by the hypothesis that he was at Thurii when he wrote this part of his work, and had gone there before the new foundation, which took place B.C. 437.

321 Περσικὸν δὲ τὸ ζώοντας κατορύσσειν. This assertion is very suspicious, if it be intended to represent the practice as a part of the religious ritual of the genuine Ormuzd-worshippers. But it is very probable that under the reign of Xerxes, and possibly the latter part of that of Darius also, foreign religious ideas may have gained ground in the Persian court. See *Excursus* on iii. 74, p. 435. The proceeding of Amestris may perhaps be accounted for on this principle. She, and (through her) her husband, may have become addicted to the mysteries imported by foreigners into Susa, just as the Roman ladies under the empire were devoted to the ritual of Isis or of Serapis; and if the Persians acted as described at 'the Nine Ways,' this may have arisen either from the desire to gratify the individual superstition of Xerxes, or may have been the act of a portion only of the multifarious army accompanying him, in accordance with *their* national ceremonies. It is to be observed that these words do not exist in the manuscripts M, P, K, F, although the following clause does. (See note 103 on iii. 35.)

322 δὶς ἑπτά. Probably there were seven of each sex, and the same in the case of the sacrifice which Cyrus is said to have designed to offer (i. 86), for no where does *fourteen* ever appear to have been a sacred number. But if victims of both sexes were taken, the deity to which they were offered was most likely an union of two, a male and female. In this instance it would probably be a pair analogous to Hades and Persephone, in the other to Hecatus and Hecate, or Helios and Selene. See notes 308 and 506 on Book I., and also 219 on vi. 97.

323 κόλπον τὸν ἐπὶ Ποσειδηΐου. The MSS have Ποσιδηΐου, but I have not hesitated to insert ε. The gulf is not named, but described by a landmark such as would be familiar to a navigator, and as such doubtless named after the sea-god.

Next he passes by *Argilus* and *Stagirus*, and halts at *Acanthus*, where the whole force is assembled.

χερὸς ἔχων, ἤιε διὰ Συλέος πεδίου καλεομένου, Στάγειρον πόλιν Ἑλλάδα[324] παραμειβόμενος, καὶ ἀπίκετο ἐς Ἄκανθον ἅμα ἀγόμενος τούτων ἕκαστον τῶν ἐθνέων, καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος οἰκεόντων ὁμοίως καὶ τῶν πρότερον κατέλεξα, τοὺς μὲν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἔχων οἰκημένους ἐν νηυσὶ στρατευομένους, τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης πεζῇ ἑπομένους· τὴν δὲ ὁδὸν ταύτην, τῇ βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τὸν στρατὸν ἤλασε, οὔτε συγχέουσι Θρήϊκες οὔτ' ἐπισπείρουσι, σέβονταί τε μεγάλως τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ.

116 Favour shown to the Acanthians.

Ὡς δὲ ἄρα ἐς τὴν Ἄκανθον ἀπίκετο, ξεινίην τε ὁ Πέρσης[325] τοῖσι Ἀκανθίοισι προεῖπε καὶ ἐδωρήσατό σφεας ἐσθῆτι Μηδικῇ[326], ἐπαίνεέ τε ὁρέων αὐτοὺς προθύμους ἐόντας[327] ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα ἀκούων.

117 Death of *Artachæas*, to whom the Acanthians pay the honours of a hero.

Ἐν Ἀκάνθῳ δὲ ἐόντος Ξέρξεω, συνήνεικε ὑπὸ νούσου ἀποθανεῖν τὸν ἐπεστεῶτα τῆς διώρυχος Ἀρταχαίην[328], δόκιμον ἐόντα παρὰ Ξέρξῃ καὶ γένος Ἀχαιμενίδην, μεγάθεΐ τε μέγιστον ἐόντα Περσέων —ἀπὸ γὰρ πέντε πηχέων βασιληΐων[329] ἀπέλιπε τέσσερας δακτύλους—φωνέοντά τε μέγιστον ἀνθρώπων· ὥστε Ξέρξεα, συμφορὴν ποιησάμενον μεγάλην, ἐξενεῖκαί τε αὐτὸν κάλλιστα καὶ θάψαι· ἐτυμβοχόεε δὲ πᾶσα ἡ στρατιή· τούτῳ δὲ τῷ Ἀρταχαίῃ θύουσι Ἀκάνθιοι ἐκ θεοπροπίου ὡς ἥρωϊ, ἐπονομάζοντες τὸ οὔνομα. βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Ξέρξης, ἀπολομένου Ἀρταχαίεω, ἐποιέετο συμφορήν.

118 Ruinous cost of entertaining Xerxes.

Οἱ δὲ ὑποδεκόμενοι Ἑλλήνων τὴν στρατιὴν καὶ δειπνίζοντες Ξέρξεα ἐς πᾶν κακοῦ ἀπικέατο, οὕτω ὥστε ἀνάστατοι ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων ἐγίνοντο· ὅκου γε Θασίοισι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ πολίων τῶν σφετέρων δεξαμένοισι τὴν Ξέρξεω στρατιὴν καὶ δειπνίσασι Ἀντίπατρος ὁ Ὀργέος ἀραιρημένος, τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος

[324] Στάγειρον πόλιν Ἑλλάδα. Both this town and Acanthus were colonized from Andros. (THUCYDIDES, iv. 84, 88.)

[325] ὁ Πέρσης. The manuscripts S, V, P, F, *a* have Ξέρξης. See note on § 133, below. The phrase ξεινίην προεῖπε does not mean "ordered a banquet," but "offered alliance." See viii. 120: ξεινίην σφι συνθέμενος. Doubtless the honour entailed the cost of entertainment.

[326] ἐσθῆτι Μηδικῇ. See iii. 84.

[327] ὁρέων αὐτοὺς προθύμους ἐόντας. The commercial advantages resulting from the expenditure of the people employed in cutting the canal would no doubt make their employer popular in any neighbouring town. It would be of great importance to Xerxes to conciliate the Acanthians, who by destroying the canal would have done him incalculable mischief; and they, for their parts, doubtless viewed the construction of such a work near their own town with the greatest satisfaction, knowing the impulse which would by it be given to their trade.

[328] Ἀρταχαίην. He had a colleague. See above, § 22.

[329] πηχέων βασιληΐων. See note 597 on i. 178.

ὁμοῖα τῷ μάλιστα, ἀπέδεξε ἐς τὸ δεῖπνον τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τετελεσμένα. Ὡς δὲ παραπλησίως καὶ ἐν τῇσι ἄλλῃσι 119
πόλισι οἱ ἐπεστεῶτες ἀπεδείκνυσαν τὸν λόγον· τὸ γὰρ δεῖπνον τοιόνδε τι ἐγίνετο, οἷα ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου προειρημένον καὶ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεύμενον· τοῦτο μὲν, ὡς ἐπύθοντο τάχιστα τῶν κηρύκων τῶν περιαγγελλόντων[330], δασάμενοι σῖτον ἐν τῇσι πόλισι οἱ ἀστοὶ ἄλευρά τε καὶ ἄλφιτα ἐποίευν πάντες ἐπὶ μῆνας συχνούς· τοῦτο δὲ, κτήνεα σιτεύεσκον ἐξευρίσκοντες τιμῆς τὰ κάλλιστα, ἔτρεφόν τε ὄρνιθας χερσαίους καὶ λιμναίους ἔν τε οἰκήμασι καὶ λάκκοισι, ἐς ὑποδοχὰς τοῦ στρατοῦ· τοῦτο δὲ, χρύσεά τε καὶ ἀργύρεα ποτήριά τε καὶ κρητῆρας ἐποιεῦντο, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα ἐπὶ τράπεζαν τιθέαται πάντα. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ αὐτῷ τε βασιλέϊ καὶ τοῖσι ὁμοσίτοισι μετ' ἐκείνου ἐπεποίητο, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ στρατιῇ τὰ ἐς φορβὴν μοῦνα τασσόμενα. ὅκως δὲ ἀπίκοιτο ἡ στρατιὴ, σκηνὴ μὲν ἔσκε πεπηγυῖα ἑτοίμη ἐς τὴν αὐτὸς σταθμὸν ποιεέσκετο Ξέρξης· ἡ δὲ ἄλλη στρατιὴ ἔσκε ὑπαίθριος· ὡς δὲ δείπνου γίνοιτο ὥρη, οἱ μὲν δεκόμενοι ἔχεσκον πόνον· οἱ δὲ, ὅκως πλησθέντες νύκτα αὐτοῦ ἀγάγοιεν, τῇ ὑστεραίῃ τήν τε σκηνὴν ἀνασπάσαντες καὶ τὰ ἔπιπλα πάντα λαβόντες, οὕτω ἀπελαύνεσκον, λείποντες οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ φερόμενοι· Ἔνθα δὴ Μεγακρέοντος ἀνδρὸς Ἀβδηρί- 120
τεω ἔπος εὖ εἰρημένον ἐγένετο, ὃς συνεβούλευσε Ἀβδηρίτῃσι, πανδημεὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας ἐλθόντας ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἱρὰ, ἵζεσθαι ἱκέτας τῶν θεῶν, παραιτεομένους καὶ τὸ λοιπόν σφι ἀπαμύνειν τῶν ἐπιόντων κακῶν τὰ ἡμίσεα[331]· τῶν τε παροιχομένων ἔχειν σφι μεγάλην χάριν, ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης οὐ δὶς ἑκάστης ἡμέρης ἐνόμισε σῖτον αἱρέεσθαι· παρέχειν γὰρ ἂν Ἀβδηρίτῃσι, εἰ καὶ ἄριστον προείρητο ὁμοῖα τῷ δείπνῳ παρασκευάζειν, ἢ μὴ ὑπομένειν Ξέρξεα ἐπιόντα, ἢ καταμείναντας κάκιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων διατριβῆναι[332]. οἱ μὲν δὴ πιεζόμενοι ὁμοίως τὸ ἐπιτασσόμενον ἐπετέλεον.

A bitter jest of Megacreon of Abdera on the subject.

[330] τῶν κηρύκων τῶν περιαγγελλόντων. These were sent out as soon as Xerxes had arrived at Sardis. See above, § 32.

[331] τῶν ἐπιόντων κακῶν τὰ ἡμίσεα. The Abderitan population was familiar with calamity; for the town itself had been founded by the population of Teos, who left their native country *en masse* to avoid falling under the power of Harpagus (i. 168). But both the phrase which Herodotus there uses: Τηΐων τῶν ἐν Ἀβδήροισι, and the close alliance formed by Xerxes with the town (viii. 120), would induce the belief that the bulk of the population consisted of others than the original colonists.

[332] παρέχειν γὰρ ἂν Ἀβδηρίτῃσι, ... διατριβῆναι. These words are not to be

121 From Acanthus Xerxes proceeds across by land to *Therme*,

Ξέρξης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀκάνθου, ἐντειλάμενος τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ὑπομένειν ἐν Θέρμῃ, ἀπῆκε ἀπ' ἑωυτοῦ πορεύεσθαι τὰς νέας· (Θέρμῃ δὲ τῇ ἐν τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ οἰκημένῃ, ἀπ' ἧς καὶ ὁ κόλπος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει·) ταύτῃ γὰρ ἐπυνθάνετο συντομώτατον εἶναι[333]. μέχρι μὲν γὰρ Ἀκάνθου ὧδε τεταγμένος ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ Δορίσκου τὴν ὁδὸν ἐποιέετο· τρεῖς μοίρας ὁ Ξέρξης δασάμενος[334] πάντα τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν, μίαν αὐτέων ἔταξε παρὰ θάλασσαν ἰέναι ὁμοῦ τῷ ναυτικῷ· ταύτης μὲν δὴ ἐστρατήγεον Μαρδόνιός τε καὶ Μασίστης· ἑτέρη δὲ τεταγμένη ἤιε τοῦ στρατοῦ τριτημορὶς τὴν μεσόγαιαν, τῆς ἐστρατήγεον Τριτανταίχμης τε καὶ Γέργις· ἡ δὲ τρίτη τῶν μοιρέων, μετ' ἧς ἐπορεύετο αὐτὸς ὁ Ξέρξης, ἤιε μὲν τὸ μέσον αὐτέων, στρατηγοὺς δὲ παρείχετο Σμερδομένεά τε καὶ Μεγάβυζον.

122 sending the fleet through the canal to sail round the *Sithonian* and the *Pallenian* peninsulas. Its course,

Ὁ μέν νυν ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ὡς ἀπείθη ὑπὸ Ξέρξεω, καὶ διεξέπλωσε τὴν διώρυχα τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἄθῳ γενομένην διέχουσαν δὲ ἐς κόλπον ἐν τῷ Ἄσσα τε πόλις καὶ Πίλωρος καὶ Σίγγος καὶ Σάρτη οἴκηνται· ἐνθεῦτεν, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τουτέων τῶν πολίων στρατιὴν παρέλαβε, ἔπλεε ἀπιέμενος ἐς τὸν Θερμαῖον κόλπον, κάμπτων δὲ Ἄμπελον τὴν[335] Τορωναίην ἄκρην[336], παραμείβετο Ἑλληνίδας

considered as a part of the saying of Megacreon, but as an explanation, on the part of the author, of the thought which suggested his remark. The failure both here and in iv. 144, to observe where the actual saying ended, has caused a witty remark to be regarded as an insipidity by some modern critics.

333 συντομώτατον εἶναι, "was the shortest cut across."

334 τρεῖς μοίρας .... δασάμενος. This is a similar expression to δυώδεκα μοίρας δασ. Αἴγυπτον πᾶσαν (ii. 147), where see note 435. The regimen is the same as if the writer had said τριχῇ δασάμενος, a phrase which he uses in iii. 39. For the previous mention of the generals in command of these main divisions of the army, see above, § 82. Comparing the order in which they are there given with this passage, one may conjecture that Masistes, Gergis, and Megabyzus were subordinated to the generals with whom they are here respectively associated. Perhaps Masistes was placed with Mardonius on account of the recognized military skill of the latter, whose corps certainly had the most important work to do, and who had himself experience of the region in which the movement took place. See above, note 250 on § 82.

335 ἔπλεε ἀπιέμενος . . . Ἄμπελον τήν. These words are omitted in F.

336 κάμπτων δὲ Ἄμπελον τὴν Τορωναίην ἄκρην. As the text stands the meaning would be that *in* the rounding Ampelus, the fleet passed the Greek towns presently mentioned. This, however, is an impossibility. (See note 341, below.) If the MSS were not unanimous, I should be disposed to put a colon after ἄκρην and insert δὲ after the following word παραμείβετο. In this case the words (ἔπλεε . . . . . ἄκρην) would merely give the general direction of the course of the fleet. "It sailed off into the Thermæan gulf and round Ampelus, the headland of Torone,"—just such a description as an inhabitant of *Sane*, in the isthmus of Athos, would give of what he saw take place under his eyes. Then follows an account, which would naturally be derived from other sources, of the towns from which it levied contingents as it passed them.

τάσδε πόλις[337] ἐκ τῶν νέας τε καὶ στρατιὴν παρελάμβανε· Τορώνην, Γαληψὸν[338], Σερμύλην, Μηκύβερναν[339], Ὄλυνθον· ἡ μέν νυν χώρη αὕτη Σιθωνίη[340] καλέεται. Ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ὁ Ξέρξεω, 123
συντάμνων ἀπ' Ἀμπέλου ἄκρης ἐπὶ Καναστραῖον ἄκρην[341], τὸ δὴ πάσης τῆς Παλλήνης ἀνέχει μάλιστα, ἐνθεῦτεν νέας τε καὶ στρατιὴν παρελάμβανε ἐκ Ποτιδαίης, καὶ Ἀφύτιος, καὶ Νέης Πόλιος, καὶ Αἰγῆς, καὶ Θεράμβω, καὶ Σκιώνης, καὶ Μένδης, καὶ Σάνης[342] [343]· αὗται γάρ εἰσι αἱ τὴν νῦν Παλλήνην πρότερον δὲ

and the towns from which it obtained reinforcements,

[337] Ἑλληνίδας τάσδε πόλις. By this expression being used here, one would suspect that Assa, Pilorus, Singus, and Sarta were *not* settlements of Greeks. Stephanus Byzantinus describes each of them as πόλις πρὸς τῷ Ἄθῳ, or περὶ τὸν Ἄθων. It is probable that the Greeks would only know of them by hearsay at *Sane*, the Hellenic city on the isthmus, and would not willingly enter the gulf in which they lay. From the description of Herodotus it is impossible to say whether they were on the eastern or western shore. Σάρτη seems to be merely a dialectal variation of Σάτρη (a name which must certainly be Thracian, see above, § 111); and *Assa* is, according to Stephanus Byzantinus, the name also of a Scythian village. Neither have the other two names at all a Hellenic character.

[338] Γαληψόν. Stephanus Byzantinus (sub v.) calls this πόλις Θρᾴκης καὶ Παιόνων, quoting as his authority the *Europe* of Hecatæus. Both he and Thucydides (iv. 107), who puts *Myrcinus*, *Galepsus*, and *Œsume* together, probably allude to a town to the east of the embouchure of the Strymon, assigned to that locality by Strabo (vii. *fragm.* 16). Thucydides knows of no Galepsus in the locality here ascribed to it by Herodotus. He calls Galepsus a Thasian colony (*l. c.* and v. 6), which would certainly not induce one to look for it to the west of Mount Athos. Stephanus also calls *Sermylia* πόλις περὶ τὸν Ἄθων, on the authority of Hecatæus, which would bring it at any rate to the east of Point Ampelus. Thucydides speaks of a *Hermyle*, which is doubtless the same town (i. 65; v. 18), but not so as to decide whether it is to be looked for in the Toronean or the Singitic gulf.

[339] Μηκύβερναν. Strabo calls this place the arsenal (ἐπίνειον) of Olynthus (vii. *fragm.* 13).

[340] Σιθωνίη. S has Σιθονίη, which accords with the quantity of the word in Latin.

[341] συντάμνων ἀπ' Ἀμπέλου ἄκρης ἐπὶ Καναστραῖον ἄκρην, "after making a short cut from Point Ampelus to Point Canastræum." Strabo makes the opposite headland to *Canastrum* to be a point called *Derris* (vii. *fragm.* 15). There is some difficulty in reconciling the probable movements of the fleet with Herodotus's account. *Torone*, *Mecyberna*, and *Olynthus* at any rate could not have been visited by *it* until *after* Point Ampelus had been rounded. Perhaps we may regard the great bulk of the force as lying sheltered to the west of the headlands Ampelus or Derris, and a land force (possibly with the co-operation of light vessels) overrunning the Sithonian peninsula and pressing the inhabitants of the several cities. When these were collected, the whole armament would then make the short passage across to Point Canastræum, and take up a similar position while the operation was repeated with the towns of Pallene. It is not conceivable that the *whole* fleet should make the circuit of the Toronaic gulf, and afterwards return to Point Ampelus in order to cross it at the narrowest part.

[342] ἐκ Ποτιδαίης . . . . Σάνης. Scylax gives the Pallenian towns in the following order: *Potidæa*, *Mende*, *Aphytis*, *Thrambos*, *Scione*, after which comes "Canastræum the sacred headland." He names no others in that peninsula (§ 67, p. 26, Hudson).

[343] Σάνης. There is no trace earlier than a fragment of Strabo (vii. *fr.* 12),—which is apparently founded on this passage,—of any town of this name in the peninsula of Pallene. The Sane, which Thucydides speaks of (v. 18), is the town mentioned by Herodotus above (§ 22). See note 96 on that passage.

Φλέγρην καλεομένην νεμόμεναι. παραπλέων δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν χώρην ἔπλεε ἐς τὸ προειρημένον, παραλαμβάνων στρατιὴν καὶ ἐκ τῶν προσεχέων πολίων τῇ Παλλήνῃ, ὁμουρεουσέων δὲ τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ, τῇσι οὐνόματά ἐστι τάδε· Λίπαξος, Κώμβρεια, Λίσαι, Γίγωνος, Κάμψα, Σμίλα, Αἴνεια[344]· ἡ δὲ τουτέων χώρη Κροσσαίη ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε καλέεται. ἀπὸ δὲ Αἰνείης, ἐς τὴν ἐτελεύτων καταλέγων τὰς πόλις, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἤδη ἐς αὐτόν τε τὸν Θερμαῖον κόλπον ἐγίνετο τῷ ναυτικῷ στρατῷ ὁ πλόος καὶ γῆν τὴν Μυγδονίην· πλέων δὲ ἀπίκετο ἔς τε τὴν προειρημένην Θέρμην καὶ Σινδόν τε πόλιν καὶ Χαλέστρην[345], ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀξιὸν ποταμόν· ὃς οὐρίζει χώρην τὴν Μυγδονίην τε καὶ Βοττιαιΐδα, τῆς ἔχουσι τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν στεινὸν χωρίον πόλις Ἴχναι τε καὶ Πέλλα[346].

until it finally reached Therme, Sindus, and Chalestra on the Axius.

124 Ὁ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς, αὐτοῦ περὶ Ἀξιὸν ποταμὸν καὶ πόλιν Θέρμην καὶ τὰς μεταξὺ πόλις τουτέων, περιμένων βασιλέα, ἐστρατοπεδεύετο. Ξέρξης δὲ καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατὸς ἐπορεύετο ἐκ τῆς Ἀκάνθου[347], τὴν μεσόγαιαν τάμνων τῆς ὁδοῦ, βουλόμενος ἐς

Xerxes with the army proceeds direct over-land to Therme

I believe it here, like Galepsus in the last section, to be introduced by an error.

344 Λίπαξος . . . . Αἴνεια. These were probably mere hamlets. When Cassander founded the city *Thessalonica*, he transferred to it the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages (πολίχνια), of which *Ænea* is mentioned by STRABO as one (vii. *fragm.* 10).

345 Χαλέστρην. HECATÆUS stated that this town was inhabited by a pure Thracian population; *Therme* by Thracian Hellenes. (STEPH. BYZ. *v.* Χαλ.)

346 Πέλλα. It is to be remarked that at this time Pella is not even Macedonian. It owed its importance to Philip, the father of Alexander the Great, after he became king; he having been brought up there. SCYLAX (§ 67) mentions a Πολάγιλις, where there was a royal palace, and from the site it seems almost certain that this was at Pella; for that (see STRABO, vii. *fr.* 8) was ninety *stades'* sail up the river Lydias. Voss wishes to alter the text of Scylax to Πέλλα πόλις, but perhaps the form in Scylax is the old Bottiæan name. Another suggestion is, that ΠΟΛΑΓΙΛΙΣ is a corruption from ΠΟΛΙΣ ΑΙΓΑΙ, *Ægæ* being the residence of the Macedonian kings before the time of Philip. But Ægæ was high up in the mountains, and would never be mentioned in a description of the *coast*. LIVY gives a very graphic description of Pella at the time it was occupied by the Romans in B.C. 168 (xliv. 46).

347 Ξέρξης δὲ . . . . . . ἐκ τῆς Ἀκάνθου. These words must be taken with considerable allowance. It cannot be supposed that the whole land army of Xerxes deviated so far from the direct route to Macedonia as to go to Acanthus. The main division would doubtless have held that course which in subsequent times is marked in the ANTONINE ITINERARY, leading from Amphipolis (*The Nine Ways* where Xerxes crossed the Strymon, § 14) to Thessalonica (Therme) through Apollonia. The distance is variously given as 67, 68, and 69 Roman miles, in the Antonine Itinerary, the Peutinger Table, and the Jerusalem Itinerary, which are compared by HOFFMANN (*Griechenland*, p. 119). From the head of the valley called Arethusa (where there was a station of the same name, and in which the town Stagirus lay) there was a steep mountain-road, called *Acontisma* from its precipitous character, which likewise led into Macedonia. (AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, xxvii. 4.) Both of these routes, (of which perhaps the latter ultimately fell into the former,) would have run along the northern side of the mountain ridge which formed the

τὴν Θέρμην ἀπικέσθαι· ἐπορεύετο δὲ διὰ τῆς Παιονικῆς καὶ Κρηστωνικῆς ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἐχείδωρον, ὃς ἐκ Κρηστωναίων ἀρξάμενος, ῥέει διὰ Μυγδονίης χώρης, καὶ ἐξίει[348] παρὰ τὸ ἕλος τὸ ἐπ' Ἀξίῳ ποταμῷ·

through Pæonia and Crestonia, in which

125 Πορευομένῳ δὲ ταύτῃ, λέοντές οἱ ἐπεθήκαντο τῇσι σιτοφόροισι καμήλοισι· καταφοιτέοντες γὰρ οἱ λέοντες τὰς νύκτας, καὶ λείποντες τὰ σφέτερα ἤθεα, ἄλλου μὲν οὐδενὸς ἅπτοντο οὔτε ὑποζυγίου οὔτε ἀνθρώπου, οἱ δὲ τὰς καμήλους ἐκεράϊζον μούνας. θωμάζω δὲ τὸ αἴτιον ὅ τι κοτὲ ἦν, τῶν ἄλλων τὸ ἀναγκάζον ἀπεχομένους τοὺς λέοντας τῇσι καμήλοισι ἐπιτίθεσθαι· τὸ μήτε πρότερον ὀπώπεσαν θηρίον, μήτ' ἐπεπειρέατο αὐτοῦ.

passage his baggage camels were attacked by lions.

126 Εἰσὶ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία καὶ λέοντες πολλοὶ, καὶ βόες ἄγριοι τῶν τὰ κέρεα ὑπερμεγάθεά ἐστι, τὰ ἐς Ἕλληνας φοιτέοντα. οὖρος δὲ τοῖσι λέουσί ἐστι ὅ τε δι' Ἀβδήρων ῥέων ποταμὸς Νέστος, καὶ ὁ δι' Ἀκαρνανίης ῥέων Ἀχελῷος· οὔτε γὰρ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ τοῦ Νέστου οὐδαμόθι πάσης τῆς ἔμπροσθεν Εὐρώπης ἴδοι τις ἂν λέοντα, οὔτε πρὸς ἑσπέρης τοῦ Ἀχελῴου ἐν τῇ ἐπιλοίπῳ ἠπείρῳ· ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ μεταξὺ τούτων τῶν ποταμῶν γίνονται.

These parts abound in lions, and wild cattle with enormous horns. Limits of the lion region.

127 Ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Θέρμην ἀπίκετο ὁ Ξέρξης, ἵδρυσε αὐτοῦ τὴν στρατιήν· ἐπέσχε δὲ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ στρατοπεδευόμενος τὴν παρὰ θάλασσαν χώρην τοσήνδε· ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Θέρμης πόλιος καὶ τῆς Μυγδονίης, μέχρι Λυδίεώ τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ἁλιάκμονος, οἳ οὐρίζουσι γῆν τὴν Βοττιαιΐδα τε καὶ Μακεδονίδα ἐς τὠυτὸ ῥέεθρον τὸ ὕδωρ συμμίσγοντες[349]· ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο μὲν δὴ ἐν

Position of the Persian army on forming a junction with the fleet.

boundary of Chalcidice, and by going to Acanthus, this would have been crossed and recrossed. This it is very likely might have been done by the king with the troops in immediate attendance on his person, but certainly not by the whole army. If we suppose the main force to have moved on the line of the road above mentioned, the circumstance of the large number of wild animals observed in the march may be explained. The whole country to the north will have been beaten by the troops moving through it, and the lions and other animals previously dispersed over it, λείποντες τὰ σφέτερα ἤθεα, will have been forced into the region which the king, on his route from Acanthus, would have to pass through. Considering the passion of the oriental sovereigns for the chase, and the provision made for it by taking hounds with the army (§ 187), it is far from unlikely that one motive which carried Xerxes out of his way to Acanthus was to take advantage of this operation,—which would have secured him the pleasure of the sport during the whole passage. A similar reason may have induced him to take the course over Ida, while his army went round by the coast, as is suggested in the note 148 on § 42, above. It will be observed that all particulars of the course which he took are wanting, except the circumstances that he directed it to the river Echedorus, and that he found a very large number of wild animals, particularly lions, which were especially attracted by the camels. This would be a matter of talk at the Macedonian court when he arrived; and thus would get to the Greeks.

348 ἐξίει. See note 604 on i. 180.

349 οἳ οὐρίζουσι . . . . . . τὸ ὕδωρ συμμίσγοντες. In the time of the compila-

τούτοισι τοῖσι χωρίοισι οἱ βάρβαροι. τῶν δὲ καταλεχθέντων τούτων ποταμῶν, ἐκ Κρηστωναίης ῥέων Ἐχείδωρος μοῦνος οὐκ ἀντ-
128 *έχρησε τῇ στρατιῇ πινόμενος, ἀλλ' ἐπέλιπε. Ξέρξης δὲ ὁρέων ἐκ τῆς Θέρμης οὔρεα τὰ Θεσσαλικά, τόν τε Ὄλυμπον καὶ τὴν Ὄσσαν, μεγάθεΐ τε ὑπερμήκεα ἐόντα, διὰ μέσου τε αὐτῶν αὐλῶνα στεινὸν πυνθανόμενος εἶναι δι' οὗ ῥέει ὁ Πηνειός, ἀκούων τε εἶναι ταύτῃ ὁδὸν ἐς Θεσσαλίην φέρουσαν, ἐπεθύμησε πλώσας θεήσασθαι τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Πηνειοῦ· ὅτι τὴν ἄνω ὁδὸν ἔμελλε ἐλᾶν διὰ Μακεδόνων τῶν κατύπερθε οἰκημένων*[350]*, ἐς Περραιβοὺς παρὰ Γόννον πόλιν*[351]*· ταύτῃ γὰρ ἀσφαλέστατον ἐπυνθάνετο εἶναι· ὡς*

Xerxes visits the embouchure of the *Peneus.*

tion of Scylax's work, the two rivers seem to have found their way into the sea by separate channels; and the city *Alorus* (called by Pliny, iv. 10, Olorus) is placed between the two embouchures (§ 67, p. 26, Hudson). Stephanus Byzantinus (sub v.) calls Alorus a Macedonian town at the very head of the Thermæan gulf. It is therefore obviously on the coast. An inference from this would be, either that the river Lydias had changed its direction between the time of Herodotus and the compilation of Scylax's work, or that the geography of the former was at fault. The first of these suppositions is by no means unlikely; for the enormous deposits of alluvium in this district, and the great variation in the amount of water brought down at different seasons, would very easily occasion the formation of a new mouth. In this case the Macedonian territory may have been conceived by Herodotus as the space in the fork between the Haliacmon and the Lydias, and the Bottiæan as the southern bank of the lower Haliacmon and the northern of the lower Lydias. Thus we may reconcile his statement with that of Thucydides (ii. 99), who represents "Alexander" (the prince mentioned above, v. 17) "and his ancestors" as having expelled the Pieræ from *Pieria*, the Bottiæi from *Bottia*, the Pæonians from a narrow slip along the s.w. bank of the Axius down as far as Pella and the sea, and the Edones from the other side of the Axius as far as the Strymon. Considering the intrigues of Alexander with the Persian court (notes 56 on v. 21 and 110 on vi. 44), it seems not unlikely that the presence of the Persian armament on this occasion gave him the opportunity of completing his part of this revolution. (See note 45 on v. 17.) Grote (*History of Greece*, vol. iv. p. 18) rejects the account of Thucydides, which he regards as incompatible with that of Herodotus, and as not leaving sufficient room for the Bottiæans on the coast north of the Pierians. The circumstance of Herodotus not mentioning the original seats of the Pierians, but merely speaking of them as in Mount Pangæus (§ 112, above), is well accounted for by supposing their displacement to have been effected by "the ancestors" of Alexander.

350 *τῶν κατύπερθε οἰκημένων*, "the mountaineers," as opposed to those on the narrow strip of sea-coast, but not necessarily the inhabitants of *upper* Macedonia. The mountain defiles, which nearly proved fatal to a Roman consul (see next note) were only twelve miles from Dium. (Livy, xliv. 4.)

351 *παρὰ Γόννον πόλιν.* Livy describes this town as in a narrow pass, and as a point from which a descent into Thessaly from Macedonia might be advantageously effected. "Ante ipsa Tempe in faucibus situm Macedoniæ claustra tutissima præbet, et in Thessaliam opportunum Macedonibus decursum." The consul Crassus made an attempt upon it, but "quum et *loco* et præsidio valido inexpugnabilis esset, abstitit incepto" (xlii. 67). But the descent was in 169 B.C. so difficult as to be impossible if the pass were resolutely defended. In the narrowest part ten men could have maintained their ground against an army. (See the description in Livy, xliv. 6.) But the Aleuadæ had probably secured the co-operation of the mountaineers with Xerxes, and the pioneering operations of the army (below, § 131) doubtless removed much of the natural difficulty. Hawkins, who visited Tempe in 1797, seems inclined to place Gonnus on the south side of the Peneus, where

δὲ ἐπεθύμησε, καὶ ἐποίεε ταῦτα· ἐσβὰς ἐς Σιδωνίην νέα, ἐς τήνπερ ἐσέβαινε αἰεὶ ὅκως τι ἐθέλοι τοιοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἀνέδεξε σημήϊον καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἀνάγεσθαι, καταλιπὼν αὐτοῦ τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπίκετο καὶ ἐθεήσατο Ξέρξης τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Πηνειοῦ, ἐν θώματι μεγάλῳ ἐνέσχετο· καλέσας δὲ τοὺς κατηγεμόνας τῆς ὁδοῦ, εἴρετο εἰ τὸν ποταμόν ἐστι παρατρέψαντα ἑτέρῃ ἐς θάλασσαν ἐξαγαγεῖν;

129 The whole of *Thessaly* was formerly a lake,

(Τὴν δὲ Θεσσαλίην λόγος ἐστὶ τὸ παλαιὸν εἶναι λίμνην, ὥστε γε συγκεκληϊσμένην πάντοθεν ὑπερμήκεσι οὔρεσι· τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ ἔχοντα τό τε Πήλιον οὖρος καὶ ἡ Ὄσσα ἀποκλήει συμμίσγοντα τὰς ὑπωρείας ἀλλήλοισι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς βορέω ἀνέμου ὁ Οὔλυμπος[352], τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἑσπέρην Πίνδος· τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ ἄνεμον νότον ἡ Ὄθρυς· τὸ μέσον δὲ τούτων τῶν λεχθέντων οὐρέων ἡ Θεσσαλίη ἐστὶ, ἐοῦσα κοίλη· ὥστε ὧν ποταμῶν ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ ἄλλων συχνῶν ἐσβαλλόντων, πέντε δὲ τῶν δοκίμων μάλιστα τῶνδε, Πηνειοῦ, καὶ Ἀπιδανοῦ, καὶ Ὀνοχώνου, καὶ Ἐνιπέος, καὶ Παμίσου, οἱ μέν νυν ἐς τὸ πεδίον τοῦτο συλλεγόμενοι ἐκ τῶν οὐρέων τῶν περικληϊόντων τὴν Θεσσαλίην οὐνομαζόμενοι, δι' ἑνὸς αὐλῶνος, καὶ τούτου στεινοῦ, ἔκροον ἔχουσι ἐς θάλασσαν, προσυμμίσγοντες τὸ ὕδωρ πάντες ἐς τὠυτό· ἐπεὰν δὲ συμμιχθέωσι τάχιστα, ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ὁ Πηνειὸς τῷ οὐνόματι κατακρατέων, ἀνωνύμους τοὺς ἄλλους εἶναι ποιέει· τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν λέγεται, οὐκ ἐόντος κω τοῦ αὐλῶνος καὶ διεκρόου τούτου, τοὺς ποταμοὺς τούτους, καὶ πρὸς τοῖσι ποταμοῖσι τούτοισι τὴν Βοιβηΐδα λίμνην, οὔτε οὐνομάζεσθαι κατάπερ νῦν

he found some ruins of a fortification commanding the entrance into Thessaly along the Peneus (*Walpole's Turkey*, i. p. 526). But this apparently arises from his imagining Livy (xliv. 6) to be describing the latter pass, which Xerxes did *not* take, and not the northern one, which both he and the Roman consul did. On the same grounds he considers Livy's description exaggerated, which it probably is. But it would seem likely that the pass by Gonnus had been made purposely much more difficult by the Macedonians between 191 and 169 B.C. In the former year Larissa, being besieged by Antiochus, was relieved by a Roman detachment proceeding by forced marches to a hill overhanging *Gonni*. When there, Claudius, who commanded it, caused fires to be made, as if a large body of men were assembled. This being seen from Larissa, twenty miles off, produced an impression that the whole Roman army was at hand, and Antiochus raised the siege. (LIVY, xxxvi. 10.) If the pass had been then at all like what it is described in the latter year, the advance of any number might have been easily stopped. Hawkins speaks of a route between Thessaly and Macedonia as being commonly taken by travellers at this time, over the mountains, through the modern town *Rapsiani*. This is (I believe) the very route taken by Xerxes, and the more northern part of it that by which the Roman consul, Q. Marcius Philippus, descended upon Dium, finding the descent on Thessaly by Gonnus (which was his only alternative) utterly hopeless. (LIVY, l. c.)

352 ὁ Οὔλυμπος. This is the reading of S, V, M, P. Gaisford, on the authority of F, omits the article.

to which an outlet was formed through *Tempe* by Poseidon.

ῥέειν τε οὐδὲν ἧσσον ἢ νῦν· ῥέοντας δὲ ποιέειν τὴν Θεσσαλίην πᾶσαν πέλαγος· αὐτοὶ μέν νυν Θεσσαλοί φασι Ποσειδέωνα ποιῆσαι τὸν αὐλῶνα[353] δι᾽ οὗ ῥέει ὁ Πηνειός, οἰκότα λέγοντες· ὅστις γὰρ νομίζει Ποσειδέωνα τὴν γῆν σείειν, καὶ τὰ διεστεῶτα ὑπὸ σεισμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου ἔργα εἶναι, καὶ ἂν ἐκεῖνο ἰδὼν φαίη Ποσειδέωνα ποιῆσαι· ἔστι γὰρ σεισμοῦ ἔργον[354], ὡς ἐμοὶ ἐφαίνετο

130 εἶναι, ἡ διάστασις τῶν οὐρέων·) Οἱ δὲ κατηγεόμενοι, εἰρομένου Ξέρξεω εἰ ἔστι ἄλλη ἔξοδος ἐς θάλασσαν τῷ Πηνειῷ, ἐξεπιστάμενοι ἀτρεκέως, εἶπον· "βασιλεῦ, ποταμῷ τούτῳ οὐκ ἔστι ἄλλη ἐξήλυσις[355] ἐς θάλασσαν κατήκουσα, ἀλλ᾽ ἥδε αὐτή· οὔρεσι γὰρ περιεστεφάνωται πᾶσα Θεσσαλίη." Ξέρξεα δὲ λέγεται εἰπεῖν

Xerxes observes the facility of laying Thessaly under water.

353 Ποσειδέωνα ποιῆσαι τὸν αὐλῶνα. HUMBOLDT gives several instances both in South America and Central Asia of similar legends existing under similar circumstances, and remarks, "ce qui se présente comme une tradition, n'est souvent que le reflet de l'impression que laisse l'aspect des lieux" (*ap.* *Grote, History of Greece*, i. p. 536, note). The remark is a very true one, if it be taken as one particular application of the general principle, that in rendering an account of existing phenomena, every uncultivated people will unhesitatingly resort for an explanation to the traditions with which they are familiar. It is not that philosophical opinions are put *by choice* into the shape of narrative, when they could have been stated in their proper shape,—but that the narrative form is (under the existing conditions of culture) the only one in which they could be conveyed at all. The same necessity determines the particular features of the narrative. A people with only one history perforce refers all facts to *it*. Thus water-works, which in the time of Herodotus were ascribed to Semiramis or Nitocris, are by the inhabitants of the same locality at the present day ascribed to Nimrod. (See note 628 on i. 185.) LAYARD says that in the neighbourhood of *Bitlis* "several bridges and spacious khans, whose ruins still attest the ancient commerce and intercourse carried on through these mountains, are attributed, *like all other public works in the country*, to Sultan Murad during his memorable expedition against Baghdad (A.D. 1638). . . ." About five miles from Bitlis is a tunnel of about twenty feet in length, carried through a mass of calcareous rock. "There is no inscription to record by whom and at what period this passage was cut. It is of course assigned to Sultan Murad, but is probably of a far earlier period. There are many such in the mountains." (*Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 38.) Compare note 380 on ii. 128, above.

354 ἔστι γὰρ σεισμοῦ ἔργον. HAWKINS, who entirely confirms this view, says that he observed marks of similar revolutions in other parts of Greece, especially Arcadia. He mentions especially the river *Ladon*, which, at a short distance above the ruins of Telphussa, bursts its way through a vast chasm, which is reported to be several miles in length, and has the appearance of being inaccessible to a human being. Parallel instances to the Peneus are also afforded by the passage of the *Potomac* through the Blue Mountains in Virginia, and that of the *Elbe* through the sandstone of the Saxon Switzerland.

355 οὐκ ἔστι ἄλλη ἐξήλυσις. HAWKINS says that "the closure of Tempe would undoubtedly cause so extensive an inundation as to cover the whole eastern half of Thessaly (that is, Perrhæbia and Pelasgiotis). In this state of things the first draught of the waters would be towards the Pagasæan gulf. But were they to rise so much higher, in consequence of this stoppage, as to spread over the plains on the western side of Thessaly (Hestiæotis), they would ultimately find an issue between Pelion and Ossa, near the modern town of *Aia*. In this case I conceive that a range of hills which separates the two great level districts (connecting *Pheræ* and *Pharsalia* with *Tricca* and the towns which lie on the s.w. borders of Macedonia) would be the only part of the interior above water" (*Walpole's Turkey*, i. p. 523).

πρὸς ταῦτα· "σοφοὶ ἄνδρες[356] εἰσὶ Θεσσαλοί· ταῦτ' ἄρα πρὸ πολλοῦ ἐφυλάξαντο γνωσιμαχέοντες, καὶ τἄλλα καὶ ὅτι χώρην ἄρα εἶχον εὐαίρετόν τε καὶ ταχυάλωτον." τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν πρῆγμα ἂν ἦν μοῦνον ἐπεῖναί σφεων ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην, χώματι ἐκ τοῦ αὐλῶνος ἐκβιβάσαντα, καὶ παρατρέψαντα δι' ὧν νῦν ῥέει ῥεέθρων· ὥστε Θεσσαλίην πᾶσαν ἔξω τῶν ουρέων ὑπόβρυχα γενέσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ ἔχοντα ἔλεγε ἐς τοὺς Ἀλεύεω παῖδας[357], (ὅτι πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων, ἐόντες Θεσσαλοί, ἔδοσαν ἑωυτοὺς βασιλέϊ,) δοκέων ὁ Ξέρξης ἀπὸ παντός σφεας τοῦ ἔθνεος ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι φιλίην· εἴπας δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ θεησάμενος, ἀπέπλεε ἐς τὴν Θέρμην.

131 Pioneering operations to facilitate the transit of the army.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ περὶ Πιερίην διέτριβε ἡμέρας συχνάς[358]· τὸ γὰρ δὴ οὖρος τὸ Μακεδονικὸν ἔκειρε τῆς στρατιῆς τριτημορίς, ἵνα ταύτῃ διεξίῃ ἅπασα ἡ στρατιὴ ἐς Περραιβούς. οἱ δὲ δὴ κήρυκες οἱ ἀποπεμφθέντες[359] ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπὶ γῆς αἴτησιν ἀπικέατο· οἱ μὲν κεινοί, οἱ δὲ φέροντες γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ.

132 List of the Hellenes who submitted to the king.

τῶν δὲ δόντων ταῦτα ἐγένοντο οἵδε· Θεσσαλοί, Δόλοπες, Ἐνιῆνες, Περραιβοί, Λοκροί, Μάγνητες, Μηλιέες, Ἀχαιοὶ οἱ Φθιῶται, καὶ Θηβαῖοι, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Βοιωτοὶ πλὴν Θεσπιέων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων. ἐπὶ τούτοισι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔταμον ὅρκιον[360] οἱ τῷ βαρβάρῳ πόλεμον ἀειράμενοι· τὸ δὲ ὅρκιον ὧδε εἶχε· "ὅσοι τῷ Πέρσῃ ἔδοσάν σφεας αὐτοὺς Ἕλληνες ἐόντες, μὴ ἀναγκασθέντες, καταστάντων σφι εὖ τῶν πρηγμάτων, τούτους δεκατεῦσαι τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεῷ·" τὸ μὲν δὴ ὅρκιον ὧδε εἶχε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι.

133 Ἐς δὲ Ἀθήνας καὶ Σπάρτην οὐκ

356 σοφοὶ ἄνδρες. See note 99 on i. 30.

357 ἔχοντα ἔλεγε ἐς τοὺς Ἀλεύεω παῖδας, "with a reference to the sons of Aleuas." For the sense of ἐσέχειν, see note 409 on ii. 138. Of the Aleuadæ, note 19, above.

358 περὶ Πιερίην διέτριβε ἡμέρας συχνάς. The Hellenic confederates proceeded to take up their position at Thermopylæ and Artemisium, on the intelligence arriving at the isthmus of the enemy's arrival in Pieria (§ 177).

359 οἱ δὲ δὴ κήρυκες οἱ ἀποπεμφθέντες. These messengers seem to have been those mentioned in § 32, above. The interval appears a long one if they be regarded as mere heralds; but perhaps we may conceive of them as commissioners entrusted with the power of making arrangements for the transit of the expedition where they met with a favourable reception. In this case they would naturally not return until the army was at hand, when they would come to report on the state of the preparation for it.

360 ἐπὶ τούτοισι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔταμον ὅρκιον. Herodotus does not say where the Hellenic congress took place on the occasion on which this oath was framed. In the time of PAUSANIAS a spot called *Hellenium*, near the temple of the Tænarian Poseidon, was said to be the spot (iii. 12. 6). But another tradition accounted for the name by placing there the congress of the suitors to avenge the rape of Helen by Paris. Most likely the congress really took place at the isthmus. See note on § 145, below.

Cause of no commissioners being sent to Athens or Sparta.

ἀπέπεμψε ὁ Πέρσης[361] ἐπὶ γῆς αἴτησιν κήρυκας τῶνδε εἵνεκα· πρότερον Δαρείου πέμψαντος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν τοὺς αἰτέοντας ἐς τὸ βάραθρον[362] οἱ δὲ ἐς φρέαρ ἐσβαλόντες, ἐκέλευον γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκ τούτων φέρειν παρὰ βασιλέα· τούτων μὲν εἵνεκα οὐκ ἔπεμψε Ξέρξης τοὺς αἰτήσοντας. ὅ τι δὲ τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ταῦτα ποιήσασι τοὺς κήρυκας συνήνεικε ἀνεθέλητον[363] γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι[364], πλὴν ὅτι σφέων ἡ χώρη καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐδηϊώθη· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο οὐ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην δοκέω γενέσθαι.

Wrath of *Talthybius* in consequence of the violation of the law of nations shown in the story of Sperthias and Bulis.

134 Τοῖσι δὲ ὦν Λακεδαιμονίοισι μῆνις κατέσκηψε Ταλθυβίου τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος κήρυκος· (ἐν γὰρ Σπάρτῃ ἐστὶ Ταλθυβίου ἱρόν[365]· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπόγονοι Ταλθυβίου, Ταλθυβιάδαι καλεόμενοι, τοῖσι αἱ κηρυκηΐαι αἱ ἐκ Σπάρτης πᾶσαι γέρας δέδονται·) μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτῃσι καλλιερῆσαι θυομένοισι οὐκ ἐδύνατο[366]. τοῦτο δ' ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἦν σφι· ἀχθομένων δὲ καὶ συμφορῇ χρεωμένων Λακεδαιμονίων, ἁλίης τε πολλάκις συλλεγομένης, καὶ κήρυγμα τοιόνδε ποιευμένων, εἴ τις βούλοιτο Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸ τῆς Σπάρτης ἀποθνήσκειν, Σπερθίης[367] τε ὁ Ἀνηρίστου καὶ Βοῦλις ὁ Νικόλεω, ἄνδρες Σπαρτιῆται, φύσει τε γεγονότες εὖ καὶ χρήμασι ἀνήκοντες ἐς τὰ πρῶτα, ἐθελονταὶ ὑπέδυσαν ποινὴν τῖσαι Ξέρξῃ τῶν Δαρείου κηρύκων τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπολομένων· οὕτω Σπαρτιῆται τούτους ὡς ἀποθανευμένους ἐς Μήδους ἀπέπεμψαν.

[361] *ὁ Πέρσης.* The manuscripts S and V have *Ξέρξης.*

[362] *ἐς τὸ βάραθρον.* This pit is alluded to by Aristophanes (*Knights*, 1362):

ἄρας μετέωρον ἐς τὸ βάραθρον ἐμβαλῶ
ἐκ τοῦ λάρυγγος ἐκκρεμάσας Ὑπέρβολον.

[363] *ἀνεθέλητον.* See note 261 on § 88, above.

[364] *οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι.* In later times the misfortunes of the family of Miltiades were regarded as the divine vengeance for the crime of the Athenians, Miltiades being said to have persuaded his countrymen to commit the offence against the law of nations. (Pausanias, iii. 12. 7.) But that this was not the common view in the time of Herodotus is plain not only from the expression in the text, but from the fact that he attributes the divine vengeance upon Miltiades to an offence of a different kind. See vi. 135.

[365] *ἐν γὰρ Σπάρτῃ ἐστὶ Ταλθυβίου ἱρόν.* There was also a tomb of Talthybius near Tænarum. It is to be observed that the ritual of Talthybius is ante-dorian, as he is a hero of the Agamemnonian cycle of legends. Accordingly, not only in Laconia, but in Achaia, in the agora of *Ægæ*, his tomb was shown. (Pausanias, iii. 12. 7.) That is to say, his worship was carried thither by the Achæan population expelled by the Heraclides from the greater part of Peloponnese, or existed there among the primitive race.

[366] *οὐκ ἐδύνατο.* The construction is the same as if, instead of *καλλιερῆσαι*, its equivalent *καλὰ γενέσθαι ἱερὰ* had been used. See ix. 19: *ὥς σφι ἐκαλλιερέετο.*

[367] *Σπερθίης.* In Suidas, Plutarch, and other writers this tale is told of a *Sperchis;* and it has been conjectured that the poem *Σπέρχιν τὸν ἰάλεμον*, alluded to in Theocritus (xv. 98), was a composition of which this self-devoted patriot was the hero. Compare the note 286 on i. 82.

Αὕτη τε ἡ τόλμα τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν θώματος ἀξίη, καὶ τάδε πρὸς τούτοισι τὰ ἔπεα· πορευόμενοι γὰρ ἐς Σοῦσα, ἀπικνέονται παρὰ Ὑδάρνεα· ὁ δὲ Ὑδάρνης ἦν μὲν γένος Πέρσης[368], στρατηγὸς δὲ τῶν παραθαλασσίων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ· ὅς σφεας, ξείνια προθέμενος, εἱστία[369]· ξεινίζων δὲ, εἴρετο λέγων τάδε· "ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τί δὴ φεύγετε βασιλέϊ φίλοι γενέσθαι; ὁρᾶτε γὰρ ὡς ἐπίσταται βασιλεὺς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τιμᾶν, ἐς ἐμέ τε καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ πρήγματα ἀποβλέποντες· οὕτω δὴ καὶ ὑμεῖς εἰ δοίητε ὑμέας αὐτοὺς βασιλέϊ, δεδόξωσθε[370] γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄνδρες εἶναι ἀγαθοὶ, ἕκαστος ἂν ὑμέων ἄρχοι γῆς Ἑλλάδος, δόντος βασιλέος[371]." πρὸς ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε· "Ὕδαρνες, οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου γίνεται ἡ συμβουλίη ἡ ἐς ἡμέας τείνουσα· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ πεπειρημένος συμβουλεύεις, τοῦ δὲ ἄπειρος ἐών· τὸ μὲν γὰρ δοῦλος εἶναι ἐξεπίσteαι, ἐλευθερίης δὲ οὔκω ἐπειρήθης, οὔτ' εἰ ἔστι γλυκὺ οὔτ' εἰ μή· εἰ γὰρ αὐτῆς πειρήσαιο, οὐκ ἂν δόρασι συμβουλεύοις ἡμῖν περὶ αὐτῆς μάχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πελέκεσι." 135

Ταῦτα μὲν Ὑδάρνεα ἀμείψαντο· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὡς ἀνέβησαν ἐς Σοῦσα καὶ βασιλέϊ ἐς ὄψιν ἦλθον, πρῶτα μὲν τῶν δορυφόρων κελευόντων καὶ ἀνάγκην σφι προσφερόντων προσκυνέειν βασιλέα προσπίπτοντας, οὐκ ἔφασαν, ὠθεόμενοι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν, ποιήσειν ταῦτα οὐδαμά· οὔτε γάρ σφι ἐν νόμῳ εἶναι ἄνθρωπον προσκυνέειν, οὔτε κατὰ ταῦτα ἥκειν· ὡς δὲ ἀπεμαχέσαντο τοῦτο, δεύτερά σφι λέγουσι τάδε καὶ λόγου τοιοῦδε ἐχόμενα, "ὦ βασιλεῦ Μήδων, ἔπεμψαν ἡμέας Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀντὶ τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπολομένων κηρύκων, ποινὴν ἐκείνων τίσοντας." λέγουσι δὲ αὐτοῖσι ταῦτα Ξέρξης ὑπὸ μεγαλοφροσύνης οὐκ ἔφη ὁμοῖος ἔσεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοισι· κείνους μὲν γὰρ συγχέαι τὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων νόμιμα, ἀποκτείναντας κήρυκας· αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ κείνοισι ἐπιπλήσσει ταῦτα οὐ ποιήσειν[372], 136

[368] ὁ δὲ Ὑδάρνης ἦν μὲν γένος Πέρσης. This description of Hydarnes would seem to show that he is not *regarded as* the person of the same name mentioned elsewhere,—whether he may or may not really have been so. (See note 254 on § 83, above.)

[369] εἱστία. S, V, P, K have ἱστία, which is defended by the analogy of ἱστιητόριον (iv. 35). But in v. 20 the manuscript S has εἱστιῆσθαι, and M, K, and F ἡστιῆσθαι.

[370] δεδόξωσθε. The same form appears in ix. 48, below: ἐπεί τε δεδόξωσθε εἶναι ἄριστοι, and in viii. 124, ἐδοξώθη.

[371] ἕκαστος ἂν ὑμέων ἄρχοι γῆς Ἑλλάδος, δόντος βασιλέος. That is, they would be put in the position of ὕπαρχοι (see v. 20) or satraps to the Persian king, holding their governments as fiefs under him. See notes 315 on i. 90 and 110 on vi. 44.

[372] αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ κείνοισι ἐπιπλήσσει ταῦτα οὐ ποιήσειν. The same expression is used in iii. 142: τὰ τῷ πέλας ἐπιπλήσσω αὐτὸς κατὰ δύναμιν οὐ ποιήσω.

οὐδ' ἀνταποκτείνας ἐκείνους, ἀπολύσειν Λακεδαιμονίους τῆς αἰτίης.
137 Οὕτω ἡ Ταλθυβίου μῆνις, καὶ ταῦτα ποιησάντων Σπαρτιητέων, ἐπαύσατο τὸ παραυτίκα, καίπερ ἀπονοστησάντων ἐς Σπάρτην Σπερθίεώ τε καὶ Βούλιος· χρόνῳ δὲ μετέπειτα πολλῷ ἐπηγέρθη, κατὰ τὸν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων πόλεμον, ὡς λέγουσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι. τοῦτό μοι ἐν τοῖσι θειότατον φαίνεται γενέσθαι. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ κατέσκηψε ἐς ἀγγέλους ἡ Ταλθυβίου μῆνις, οὐδὲ ἐπαύσατο πρὶν ἢ ἐξῆλθε, τὸ δίκαιον οὕτω ἔφερε· τὸ δὲ συμπεσεῖν ἐς τοὺς παῖδας τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων τῶν ἀναβάντων πρὸς βασιλέα διὰ τὴν μῆνιν, ἐς Νικόλαν τε τὸν Βούλιος, καὶ ἐς Ἀνήριστον τὸν Σπερθίεω, ὃς εἷλε ἁλιέας τοὺς ἐκ Τίρυνθος[373], ὁλκάδι καταπλώσας πλήρεϊ ἀνδρῶν· δῆλον ὦν μοι ὅτι θεῖον ἐγένετο τὸ πρῆγμα ἐκ τῆς μήνιος· οἳ γάρ, πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἄγγελοι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, προδοθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ Σιτάλκεω τοῦ Τήρεω Θρηΐκων βασιλέος[374], καὶ Νυμφοδώρου τοῦ Πύθεω ἀνδρὸς Ἀβδηρίτεω, ἥλωσαν κατὰ Βισάνθην τὴν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, καὶ ἀπαχθέντες ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀπέθανον ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων· μετὰ δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ Ἀριστέας ὁ Ἀδειμάντου[375], Κορίνθιος ἀνήρ· ταῦτα μέν νυν πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι ὕστερον[376] ἐγένετο τοῦ βασιλέος στόλου· ἐπάνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον.

138 Ἡ δὲ στρατηλασίη ἡ βασιλέος οὔνομα μὲν εἶχε ὡς ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐλαύνει, κατίετο δὲ ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα· πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα πρὸ πολλοῦ[377] οἱ Ἕλληνες, οὐκ ἐν ὁμοίῳ πάντες ἐποιεῦντο· οἱ μὲν

Consternation of Hellas at the approach of

[373] ὃς εἷλε ἁλιέας τοὺς ἐκ Τίρυνθος. In the beginning of the Peloponnesian war the Lacedæmonians destroyed all persons they could fall in with out at sea, considering them as favourable to the Athenian cause; and it was in retaliation for this savagery that the Athenians, on getting Anaristus, Nicolaus, and their colleagues into their power, put them to death. (Thucydides, ii. 67.) These Tirynthian fishermen were probably a notorious instance of the barbarous warfare which Thucydides describes.

[374] Σιτάλκεω τοῦ Τήρεω Θρηΐκων βασιλέος. Herodotus mentions this chief before (iv. 80), but there does not think it necessary to describe him, just as if he was a person familiar to his hearers. See the note on that passage. Sitalces had, according to Thucydides (ii. 29), married a sister of Nymphodorus, and was entirely under his brother-in-law's influence.

[375] Ἀριστέας ὁ Ἀδειμάντου. This Adimantus is probably the general mentioned in viii. 59. 61. 94. The success of the son against the Athenians at Potidæa (Thucydides, i. 61, 62), perhaps contributed more to his being put to death than the conduct of the father at Salamis, to which Larcher most gratuitously ascribes it.

[376] πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι ὕστερον. The event of which Herodotus speaks took place in the second year of the Peloponnesian war. If this section proceeds from the pen of Herodotus, it is one of the many proofs existing that the work did not receive a last polish at his hands. See note 221 on vi. 98.

[377] πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα πρὸ πολλοῦ.

γὰρ αὐτῶν δόντες γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ τῷ Πέρσῃ εἶχον θάρσος ὡς οὐδὲν πεισόμενοι ἄχαρι πρὸς τοῦ βαρβάρου· οἱ δὲ οὐ δόντες ἐν δείματι μεγάλῳ κατέστασαν, ἅτε οὔτε νεῶν ἐουσέων ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀριθμὸν ἀξιομάχων δέκεσθαι τὸν ἐπιόντα, οὔτε βουλομένων τῶν πολλῶν ἀντάπτεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου, μηδιζόντων δὲ προθύμως. the army of Xerxes.

139 Ἐνθαῦτα ἀναγκαίῃ ἐξέργομαι[378] γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι ἐπίφθονον μὲν πρὸς τῶν πλεόνων ἀνθρώπων· ὅμως δέ, τῇ γέ μοι φαίνεται εἶναι ἀληθές, οὐκ ἐπισχήσω· εἰ Ἀθηναῖοι καταρρωδήσαντες τὸν ἐπιόντα κίνδυνον ἐξέλιπον τὴν σφετέρην, ἢ καὶ μὴ ἐκλιπόντες ἀλλὰ μείναντες ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ξέρξῃ, κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν οὐδαμοὶ ἂν ἐπειρῶντο ἀντιεύμενοι βασιλέϊ[379]· εἰ τοίνυν κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν μηδεὶς ἠντιοῦτο Ξέρξῃ, κατά γε ἂν τὴν ἤπειρον τοιάδε ἐγίνετο· εἰ καὶ πολλοὶ τειχέων κιθῶνες ἦσαν ἐληλαμένοι διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ Πελοποννησίοισι, προδοθέντες ἂν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων, οὐκ ἑκόντων ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης, κατὰ πόλις ἁλισκομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ βαρβάρου, ἐμουνώθησαν· μουνωθέντες δὲ ἄν, καὶ ἀποδεξάμενοι ἔργα μεγάλα, ἀπέθανον γενναίως. ἢ ταῦτα ἂν ἔπαθον, ἢ πρὸ τοῦ, ὁρέωντες ἂν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας μηδίζοντας, ὁμολογίῃ ἂν ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς Ξέρξεα· καὶ οὕτω ἂν ἐπ' ἀμφότερα ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐγίνετο ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι· τὴν γὰρ ὠφελίην τὴν τῶν τειχέων τῶν διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐληλαμένων οὐ δύναμαι πυθέσθαι ἥτις ἂν ἦν, βασιλέος ἐπικρατέοντος τῆς θαλάσσης· νῦν δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἄν τις λέγων σωτῆρας γενέσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, οὐκ ἂν ἁμαρτάνοι τὸ ἀληθές[380]· οὗτοι γὰρ ἐπὶ ὁκότερα τῶν πρηγμάτων ἐτράποντο, ταῦτα ῥέψειν ἔμελλε· ἑλόμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα περιεῖναι ἐλευθέρην, τοῦτο[381] τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν πᾶν τὸ λοιπόν, ὅσον μὴ ἐμήδισε, αὐτοὶ οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐπεγείραντες, καὶ βασιλέα μετά γε θεοὺς ἀνωσάμενοι· οὐδέ σφεας χρηστήρια φοβερὰ ἐλθόντα The author considers that the decision of the Athenians was the saving of all.

This must refer to at least as far back as the year before the invasion actually took place. See § 146, below.

[378] ἐξέργομαι. See note 106 on i. 31.

[379] οὐδαμοὶ ἂν ἐπειρῶντο ἀντιεύμενοι βασιλέϊ. See note on § 148, below.

[380] τὸ ἀληθές. This is not to be taken after ἁμαρτάνοι, in which case a genitive would be required; but is equivalent to ἀληθῶς, "in good sooth."

[381] τοῦτο. S has τοῦ, and after the word Ἑλληνικὸν the participle ὄν. Also, for αὐτοὶ in the next line, it has αὐτοῦ. There seems to be a corruption in the text somewhere or other. I am inclined to suspect the sentence originally ran: ἑλόμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα περιεῖναι ἐλευθέρην, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ, τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν πᾶν τὸ λοιπὸν ὅσον μὴ ἐμήδισε οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐπεγείραντες. The word αὐτὸ, having dropped out of its place and been inserted in a wrong one, may have been changed into αὐτοῦ or αὐτοὶ, to make sense.

ἐκ Δελφῶν, καὶ ἐς δεῖμα βαλόντα, ἔπεισε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα· ἀλλὰ καταμείναντες ἀνέσχοντο τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην δέξασθαι.

140 *Πέμψαντες γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπους, χρηστηριάζεσθαι ἦσαν ἑτοῖμοι· καί σφι ποιήσασι περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὰ νομιζόμενα, ὡς ἐς τὸ μέγαρον[382] ἐσελθόντες ἵζοντο, χρᾷ ἡ Πυθίη τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Ἀριστονίκη τάδε·*

Two oracles were received by the Athenians from Delphi,

Ὦ μέλεοι, τί κάθησθε; λιπὼν φεῦγ' ἔσχατα γαίης
δώματα καὶ πόλιος τροχοειδέος[383] ἄκρα κάρηνα.
οὔτε γὰρ ἡ κεφαλὴ μένει ἔμπεδον, οὔτε τὸ σῶμα,
οὔτε πόδες νέατοι, οὔτ' ὦν χέρες, οὔτε τι μέσσης
λείπεται, ἀλλ' ἄζηλα πέλει· κατὰ γάρ μιν ἐρείπει
πῦρ τε καὶ ὀξὺς Ἄρης Συριηγενὲς ἅρμα διώκων.
πολλὰ δὲ κἄλλ' ἀπολεῖ πυργώματα, κοὐ τὸ σὸν οἶον·
πολλοὺς δ' ἀθανάτων νηοὺς μαλερῷ πυρὶ δώσει,
οἵ που νῦν ἱδρῶτι ῥεούμενοι[384] ἑστήκασι,
δείματι παλλόμενοι· κατὰ δ' ἀκροτάτοις ὀρόφοισι
αἷμα μέλαν κέχυται, προϊδὸν κακότητος ἀνάγκας.
ἀλλ' ἴτον ἐξ ἀδύτοιο, κακοῖς δ' ἐπικίδνατε θυμόν.

141 *Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων θεοπρόποι, συμφορῇ τῇ μεγίστῃ ἐχρέωντο· προβάλλουσι δὲ σφέας αὐτοὺς[385] ὑπὸ τοῦ*

382 *ἐς τὸ μέγαρον.* The inmost recess of the temple, where the sacred weapons were suspended, which no mortal hand was allowed to touch. See viii. 37.

383 *πόλιος τροχοειδέος.* An allusion to the circular fortification which enclosed the city.

384 *ἱδρῶτι ῥεούμενοι.* Drops of moisture standing upon the statues was considered a portent among the ancients, who were entirely ignorant of the physical cause of it. The original notion suggested seems to have been that sweat was produced by the influence of fear, or tears let fall under that of sorrow at an impending calamity: "mœstum illacrymat templis ebur, æraque sudant." (Virgil, *Georg.* i. 480.) Sometimes the credulity of the spectators, enhanced by superstitious terror, converted the moisture into blood. Apollonius Rhodius describes the panic which follows habitually:

ὅταν αὐτόματα ξόανα ῥέῃ ἱδρώοντα
αἵματι, καὶ μυκαὶ σηκοῖς ἔνι φαντάζωνται,
ἠὲ καὶ ἠέλιος μέσῳ ἤματι νύκτ' ἐπάγῃσιν
οὐρανόθεν, τὰ δὲ λαμπρὰ δι' ἠέρος ἄστρα
φαείνῃ.

(iv. 1284.)

At the time of Alexander's march upon Thebes the statues in the agora were seen *ἱδρῶτας ἀφιέντες καὶ μεγάλων μεστοὶ σταλαγμῶν*, and at the same time word was brought from Delphi that the shrine, which the Thebans had set up there out of the tithe of the spoils of the Phocians, *ἡματωμένην ἔχων τὴν ὀροφὴν ὁρᾶται.* (Diodorus, xvii. 10.) Blood too burst out from the pavement of the temple of Here at Sybaris, shortly before the destruction of the city. See note 107 on v. 43.

385 *προβάλλουσι δὲ σφέας αὐτούς.* It is not easy to say exactly what the notion is which is implied in these words; but I think the most plausible interpretation is "throwing their cause up," *lit.* "casting themselves away," as a gamester would dice out of his box. Hence the author of the *Rhesus* uses the expression *ἐπ' ἀξίοις πονεῖν Ψυχὴν προβάλλοντ' ἐν κύβοισι δαίμονος.* The Athenians appear to have thought that their case was one in which no prudence could avail, and that nothing remained but to give *themselves up passively* to the course of events. Schweighäuser seems to think the expression

κακοῦ τοῦ κεχρησμένου, Τίμων ὁ Ἀνδροβούλου, τῶν Δελφῶν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος. ὁμοῖα τῷ μάλιστα, συνεβούλευέ σφι ἱκετηρίην λαβοῦσι, δεύτερα αὖτις ἐλθόντας χρᾶσθαι τῷ χρηστηρίῳ ὡς ἱκέτας· πειθομένοισι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι, καὶ λέγουσι· "ὦναξ, χρῆσον ἡμῖν ἄμεινόν τι περὶ τῆς πατρίδος, αἰδεσθεὶς τὰς ἱκετηρίας τάσδε τάς τοι ἥκομεν φέροντες· ἢ οὔ τοι ἄπιμεν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ τῇδε μενέομεν, ἔστ' ἂν καὶ τελευτήσωμεν·" ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσι ἡ πρόμαντις χρᾷ δεύτερα τάδε·

Οὐ δύναται Παλλὰς Δί' Ὀλύμπιον ἐξιλάσασθαι,
λισσομένη πολλοῖσι λόγοις καὶ μήτιδι πυκνῇ.
σοὶ δὲ τόδ' αὖτις ἔπος ἐρέω, Ἀδάμαντι[386] πελάσσας·
τῶν ἄλλων γὰρ ἁλισκομένων, ὅσα Κέκροπος οὖρος
ἐντὸς ἔχει κευθμών τε Κιθαιρῶνος ζαθέοιο,
τεῖχος Τριτογενεῖ ξύλινον διδοῖ εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς
μοῦνον ἀπόρθητον τελέθειν, τὸ σὲ τέκνα τ' ὀνήσει.
μηδὲ σύ γ' ἱπποσύνην τε μένειν καὶ πεζὸν ἰόντα
πολλὸν ἀπ' ἠπείρου στρατὸν ἥσυχος, ἀλλ' ὑποχωρεῖν
νῶτον ἐπιστρέψας· ἔτι τοι κοτὲ κἀντίος ἔσσῃ.
ὦ θείη Σαλαμὶς, ἀπολεῖς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν,
ἤ που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος, ἢ συνιούσης[387].

Ταῦτά σφι ἠπιώτερα γὰρ τῶν προτέρων καὶ ἦν καὶ ἐδόκεε εἶναι, 142
συγγραψάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας· ὡς δὲ ἀπελθόντες from the
οἱ θεοπρόποι ἀπήγγελλον ἐς τὸν δῆμον, γνῶμαι καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ latter of which they
ἐγίνοντο διζημένων τὸ μαντήϊον, καὶ αἵδε συνεστηκυῖαι μάλιστα[388]· derive a ray of hope.
τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἔλεγον μετεξέτεροι, δοκέειν σφι τὸν θεὸν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν χρῆσαι περιέσεσθαι· ἡ γὰρ ἀκρόπολις τὸ πάλαι τῶν

might mean "prostrating themselves on the ground"—as in despair.

[386] Ἀδάμαντι. This word seems to me to be an epithet denoting the supreme deity, the Olympian Zeus. Compare ἐς τὴν ἀμφίρρυτον (iv. 163), and ἐς Πολύφημον (v. 79). Pallas was unable "*entirely* to appease him" (ἐξιλάσασθαι), but gained as a boon from him all within the wooden wall.

[387] ἤ που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος, ἢ συνιούσης, "either in seed-time or harvest."

[388] συνεστηκυῖαι μάλιστα, "most opposed to one another." The metaphor is taken from the matching of two athletes, who stand up together to put their strength to trial. The opposite of συνεστηκυῖαι would be ἐπαλλάττουσαι. Thus ARISTOTLE uses the phrase λόγοι ἐπαλλάττοντες for opposing arguments in which a real issue is not joined (*Polit.* i. p. 1255), and ὀδόντες ἐπαλλάττοντες are teeth which do not meet fairly, but fall into the intervals of each other. In iv. 132 the opinion of Gobryas ran counter to that of Darius, and hence the phrase συνεστήκεε ταύτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ. The opinion of Crœsus (i. 208) was at direct issue with the common judgment of the Persians, and Herodotus says γνῶμαι μὲν αὗται συνέστασαν. See also vi. 108, συνεστεῶτας Βοιωτοῖσι, and viii. 78, 79, where the expressions ὠθισμὸς λόγων and συνεστηκότων τῶν στρατηγῶν are derived from the same idea.

Ἀθηνέων ῥηχῷ[389] ἐπέφρακτο· οἱ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸν φραγμὸν συνεβάλλοντο τοῦτο τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος εἶναι· οἱ δ' αὖ ἔλεγον τὰς νέας σημαίνειν τὸν θεὸν, καὶ ταύτας παραρτέεσθαι ἐκέλευον τὰ ἄλλα ἀπέντας. τοὺς ὦν δὴ τὰς νέας λέγοντας εἶναι τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος ἔσφαλλε τὰ δύο τὰ τελευταῖα ῥηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίης·

ὦ θείη Σαλαμὶς, ἀπολεῖς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν,
ἤ που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἢ συνιούσης.

κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ ἔπεα συνεχέοντο αἱ γνῶμαι τῶν φαμένων τὰς νέας τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος εἶναι· οἱ γὰρ χρησμολόγοι ταύτῃ ταῦτα ἐλάμβανον, ὡς ἀμφὶ Σαλαμῖνα δεῖ σφέας ἑσσωθῆναι, ναυμαχίην παρασκευασαμένους.

143 *Themistocles interprets the oracle of the ships.*

Ἦν δὲ τῶν τις Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ ἐς πρώτους νεωστὶ παριὼν, τῷ οὔνομα μὲν ἔην Θεμιστοκλέης, παῖς δὲ Νεοκλέος ἐκαλέετο· οὗτος ὡνὴρ οὐκ ἔφη πᾶν ὀρθῶς τοὺς χρησμολόγους συμβάλλεσθαι, λέγων τοιάδε· εἰ ἐς Ἀθηναίους εἶχε τὸ πάθος[390] εἰρημένον ἐόντως[391], οὐκ ἂν οὕτω μιν δοκέειν ἠπίως χρησθῆναι, ἀλλὰ ὧδε· ὦ σχετλίη Σαλαμίς· ἀντὶ τοῦ ὦ θείη Σαλαμίς· εἴπερ γε ἔμελλον οἱ οἰκήτορες ἀμφ' αὐτῇ τελευτήσειν· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους τῷ θεῷ εἰρῆσθαι τὸ χρηστήριον, συλλαμβάνοντι κατὰ τὸ ὀρθὸν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐς Ἀθηναίους, παρασκευάζεσθαι ὦν αὐτοὺς ὡς ναυμαχήσοντας συνεβούλευε, ὡς τούτου ἐόντος τοῦ ξυλίνου τείχεος. ταύτῃ Θεμιστοκλέος ἀποφαινομένου, Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτά σφι ἔγνωσαν αἱρετώτερα εἶναι μᾶλλον[392] ἢ τὰ τῶν χρησμολόγων· οἳ οὐκ ἔων ναυμαχίην ἀρτέεσθαι, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἶναι, οὐδὲ χεῖρας ἀνταείρεσθαι ἀλλὰ ἐκλιπόντας χώρην τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἄλλην τινὰ οἰκίζειν.

144 *Former attempt of Themistocles to*

Ἑτέρη τε Θεμιστοκλέϊ γνώμη ἔμπροσθε ταύτης ἐς καιρὸν ἠρίστευσε· ὅτε Ἀθηναίοισι γενομένων χρημάτων μεγάλων ἐν τῷ κοινῷ[393], τὰ ἐκ τῶν μετάλλων σφι προσῆλθε τῶν

[389] ῥηχῷ, "a palisade." PAUSANIAS says, that the Trœzenians gave the name of ῥηχὸς to the wild olive (ii. 32. 10). This being a tree indigenous to the country, it is likely that its wood would be common, and being generally used in fences of this kind would give its name to them, just as the outer door of students' rooms at Oxford is called an "oak."

[390] πάθος. S and V have this reading instead of ἔπος, which is printed by Gaisford on the authority of the rest.

[391] ἐόντως. This is a conjectural reading adopted by Schaefer and Bekker. The MSS have ἐόν κως, to which no sense can be given.

[392] αἱρετώτερα εἶναι μᾶλλον. Compare μᾶλλον ὀλβιώτερος (i. 32), κερδαλεώτερον μᾶλλον (ix. 7).

[393] ἐν τῷ κοινῷ. The substantive understood is ταμιείῳ. Similarly the Romans said "in publicum redigere," understanding the word "ærarium."

ἀπὸ Λαυρείου, ἔμελλον λάξεσθαι ὀρχηδὸν[394] ἕκαστος δέκα δραχμάς· τότε Θεμιστοκλέης ἀνέγνωσε Ἀθηναίους, τῆς διαιρέσιος ταύτης παυσαμένους νέας τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ποιήσασθαι διηκοσίας[395], ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας λέγων[396]· οὗτος γὰρ ὁ πόλεμος συστὰς ἔσωσε τότε τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀναγκάσας θαλασσίους γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίους· αἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ μὲν ἐποιήθησαν οὐκ ἐχρήσθησαν· ἐς δέον δὲ οὕτω τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐγένοντο. αὗταί τε δὴ αἱ νέες τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι προποιηθεῖσαι ὑπῆρχον, ἑτέρας τε ἔδεε προσναυπηγέεσθαι· ἔδοξέ τε σφι, μετὰ τὸ χρηστήριον βουλευομένοισι, ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸν βάρβαρον δέκεσθαι τῇσι νηυσὶ πανδημεὶ, τῷ θεῷ πειθομένους, ἅμα Ἑλλήνων τοῖσι βουλομένοισι. τὰ μὲν δὴ χρηστήρια ταῦτα τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἐγεγόνεε. — create a navy.

145 Συλλεγομένων δὲ ἐς τὠυτὸ[397] τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ἑλλήνων τῶν τὰ ἀμείνω φρονεόντων, καὶ διδόντων σφίσι λόγον καὶ πίστιν, ἐνθαῦτα ἐδόκεε βουλευομένοισι αὐτοῖσι, πρῶτον μὲν χρημάτων πάντων καταλλάσσεσθαι τάς τε ἔχθρας καὶ τοὺς κατ' ἀλλήλους ἐόντας πολέμους· ἦσαν δὲ πρός τινας καὶ ἄλλους ἐγκεχρημένοι, ὁ δὲ ὦν μέγιστος Ἀθηναίοισί τε καὶ Αἰγινήτῃσι· μετὰ δὲ, πυνθανόμενοι Ξέρξεα σὺν τῷ στρατῷ εἶναι ἐν Σάρδισι, ἐβουλεύσαντο κατασκόπους πέμπειν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τῶν βασιλέος πρηγμάτων, ἐς Ἄργος τε ἀγγέλους ὁμαιχμίην συνθησομένους πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην· καὶ ἐς Σικελίην ἄλλους πέμπειν παρὰ Γέλωνα τὸν Δεινομένεος, ἔς τε Κέρκυραν, κελεύσοντας βοηθέειν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, καὶ ἐς Κρήτην ἄλλους· φρονήσαντες εἴ κως ἕν τε γένοιτο τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ εἰ συγκύψαντες[398] τὠυτὸ πρήσσοιεν πάντες, ὡς δεινῶν ἐπιόντων

Proceedings of the Hellenic congress.

They send commissioners to *Argos*, *Sicily*, *Corcyra*, and *Crete*, for succour,

394 ὀρχηδὸν, "every grown man."

395 *νέας τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ποιήσασθαι διηκοσίας*. PLUTARCH (*Themist.* § 4) gives *one* hundred as the number of gallies constructed out of this fund, a number which appears the more probable, as the whole Athenian navy did not amount to more than two hundred ships at the time of the battle of Salamis. (See note 2 on viii. 1.) And independently of this batch of gallies, they had at least fifty others when the war with Ægina was going on (vi. 89).

396 *ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας λέγων*, "for the war against the Æginetans (he said)." THUCYDIDES, by the way he speaks of the matter, entirely confirms the statement of Herodotus: *ὀψέ τε ἀφ' οὗ Ἀθηναίους Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔπεισεν Αἰγινήταις πολεμοῦντας, καὶ ἅμα τοῦ βαρβάρου προσδοκίμου ὄντος, τὰς ναῦς ποιήσασθαι αἷσπερ καὶ ἐναυμάχησαν* (i. 14). The Æginetan war was the main argument, the probable invasion an additional reason. These ships (Thucydides remarks) had not decks running their whole length.

397 *Συλλεγομένων ἐς τὠυτό*. Where the place of congress was does not appear from this passage (see also § 132, above); but from § 172, below, it would appear to have been at the isthmus,—which in later times was the *rendezvous* for the members of the Lacedæmonian hegemony.

398 *συγκύψαντες*. The metaphor is

ὁμοίως πᾶσι Ἕλλησι. τὰ δὲ Γέλωνος πρήγματα μεγάλα ἐλέγετο εἶναι, οὐδαμῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τῶν οὐ πολλὸν μέζω.

and spies to Sardis, who are detected.

146 Ὡς δὲ ταῦτά σφι ἔδοξε, καταλυσάμενοι τὰς ἔχθρας, πρῶτα μὲν κατασκόπους πέμπουσι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἄνδρας τρεῖς· οἱ δὲ ἀπικόμενοί τε ἐς Σάρδις καὶ καταμαθόντες τὴν βασιλέος στρατιήν, ὡς ἐπάϊστοι ἐγένοντο, βασανισθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπήγοντο ὡς ἀπολεύμενοι· καὶ τοῖσι μὲν κατακέκριτο θάνατος· Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο ταῦτα, μεμφθεὶς[399] τῶν στρατηγῶν τὴν γνώμην, πέμπει τῶν τινας δορυφόρων, ἐντειλάμενος, ἢν καταλάβωσι τοὺς κατασκόπους ζῶντας, ἄγειν παρ' ἑωυτόν· ὡς δὲ ἔτι περιεόντας αὐτοὺς κατέλαβον καὶ ἦγον ἐς ὄψιν τὴν βασιλέος, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν, πυθόμενος ἐπ' οἷσι ἦλθον, ἐκέλευέ σφεας τοὺς δορυφόρους περιάγοντας ἐπιδείκνυσθαι πάντα τε τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν καὶ τὴν ἵππον[400]· ἐπεὰν δὲ ταῦτα θηεύμενοι ἔωσι πλήρεες, ἀποπέμπειν ἐς

Magnanimity of Xerxes to these

147 τὴν ἂν αὐτοὶ ἐθέλωσι χώρην ἀσινέας. Ἐπιλέγων δὲ τὸν λόγον τόνδε ταῦτα ἐνετέλλετο, ὡς εἰ μὲν ἀπώλοντο οἱ κατάσκοποι, οὔτε ἂν τὰ ἑωυτοῦ πρήγματα προεπύθοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐόντα λόγου μέζω, οὔτ' ἄν τι τοὺς πολεμίους μέγα ἐσινέατο ἄνδρας τρεῖς ἀπολέσαντες· νοστησάντων δὲ τούτων ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, δοκέειν (ἔφη) ἀκούσαντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὰ ἑωυτοῦ πρήγματα, πρὸ τοῦ στόλου τοῦ γινομένου παραδώσειν σφέας τὴν ἰδίην ἐλευθερίην, καὶ οὕτω οὐδὲ δεήσειν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατηλατέοντας πρήγματα ἔχειν. οἶκε δὲ αὐτοῦ αὕτη ἡ γνώμη τῇ γε ἄλλῃ· ἐὼν γὰρ ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ὁ Ξέρξης, εἶδε πλοῖα ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου σιταγωγὰ διεκπλώοντα τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἔς τε Αἴγιναν καὶ Πελοπόννησον κομιζόμενα[401]· οἱ μὲν δὴ πάρεδροι αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἐπύθοντο πολέμια εἶναι τὰ πλοῖα, ἑτοῖμοι ἦσαν αἱρέειν αὐτά, ἐσβλέποντες ἐς τὸν βασιλέα ὁκότε παραγγελέει· ὁ δὲ Ξέρξης εἴρετο αὐτούς, ὅκη πλέοιεν; οἱ δὲ εἶπαν· "ἐς τοὺς σοὺς πολεμίους, ὦ δέσποτα[402], σῖτον ἄγοντες·" ὁ δὲ

was of a piece with his forbearance to the corn ships from the Euxine to Ægina and Peloponnesus.

taken from the rowers of a galley, who all *bend* to their oars *together* to increase the steadiness and force of the stroke. The same expression is used in iii. 82.

399 μεμφθείς. See note 267 on i. 77.

400 ἐκέλευέ σφεας . . . καὶ τὴν ἵππον. A similar piece of contemptuous magnanimity is ascribed to Scipio by LIVY (xxx. 29).

401 ἔς τε Αἴγιναν καὶ Πελοπόννησον κομιζόμενα, "bound for Ægina and Peloponnese." The centre of the traffic between Pontus and European Greece at this time would probably be Calaurea, a little island in the immediate neighbourhood of Trœzen, and not far from Ægina. See note on viii. 41: οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι ἐς Τροιζῆνα.

402 ὦ δέσποτα. S has ὦ βασιλεῦ!

ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη· "οὐκ ὦν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐκεῖ πλέομεν ἔνθαπερ καὶ οὗτοι τοῖσί τε ἄλλοισι ἐξηρτυμένοι[403] καὶ σίτῳ; τί δῆτα ἀδικέουσι οὗτοι[404] ἡμῖν σιτία παρακομίζοντες;" οἱ μέν νυν κατάσκοποι οὕτω θεησάμενοί τε καὶ ἀποπεμφθέντες ἐνόστησαν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην.

Οἱ δὲ συνωμόται Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ, μετὰ τὴν ἀπόπεμψιν 148
τῶν κατασκόπων, δεύτερα ἔπεμπον ἐς Ἄργος ἀγγέλους. Ἀργεῖοι δὲ λέγουσι τὰ κατ' ἑωυτοὺς γενέσθαι ὧδε· πυθέσθαι γὰρ αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς τὰ ἐκ τοῦ βαρβάρου ἐγειρόμενα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, πυθόμενοι δὲ, καὶ μαθόντες ὥς σφεας οἱ Ἕλληνες πειρήσονται παραλαμβάνοντες[405] ἐπὶ τὸν Πέρσην, πέμψαι θεοπρόπους ἐς Δελφοὺς, τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρησομένους ὥς σφι μέλλει ἄριστον ποιεῦσι γενέσθαι; νεωστὶ γὰρ σφέων τεθνάναι ἑξακισχιλίους[406] ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Κλεομένεος τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδεω· τῶνδε δὴ εἵνεκα πέμπειν· τὴν δὲ Πυθίην ἐπειρωτῶσι αὐτοῖσι ἀνελεῖν τάδε·

Embassy to Argos.

Ἐχθρὲ περικτιόνεσσι, φίλ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι,
εἴσω τὸν προβόλαιον[407] ἔχων πεφυλαγμένος ἧσο,
καὶ κεφαλὴν πεφύλαξο· κάρη δὲ τὸ σῶμα σαώσει.

ταῦτα μὲν τὴν Πυθίην χρῆσαι πρότερον· μετὰ δὲ, ὡς ἐλθεῖν τοὺς ἀγγέλους ἐς δὴ τὸ Ἄργος, ἐπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ λέγειν τὰ ἐντεταλμένα· τοὺς δὲ πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα ὑποκρίνασθαι, ὡς ἑτοῖμοί εἰσι Ἀργεῖοι ποιέειν ταῦτα, τριήκοντα ἔτεα εἰρήνην σπεισάμενοι Λακεδαιμονίοισι καὶ ἡγεόμενοι κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ πάσης τῆς συμμαχίης· καίτοι κατά γε τὸ δίκαιον γίνεσθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίην ἑωυτῶν[408], ἀλλ' ὅμως σφι ἀποχρᾶν κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ

The Argive account of the conference throws the blame of its failure entirely on the arrogance of the Lacedæmonians; although the Delphic oracle had recommended neutrality to the Argives.

403 *ἐξηρτυμένοι*. SUIDAS remarks that this word is used by Herodotus in the sense of *κατεσκευασμένοι*. The same expression is used above: *ὕδασί τε καὶ σιτίοισι εὖ ἐξηρτυμένους* (ii. 32).

404 *τί δῆτα ἀδικέουσι οὗτοι*. Xerxes had perhaps sagacity enough to be aware that any interference with the corn trade of the Euxine would be most prejudicial to his own interests. His own supplies from thence must have been enormous.

405 *πειρήσονται παραλαμβάνοντες*. Herodotus habitually uses the verb *πειρᾶσθαι* with a participle, where in other authors an infinitive would be found. Thus: *ἐπειρᾶτο ἐπιὼν ὁ Κῦρος* (i. 77). *οὐδαμοὶ ἂν ἐπειρῶντο ἀντιεύμενοι βασιλέϊ* (§ 139, above). *ἡμεῖς δὲ πειρησόμεθα αὐτοί τινα σωτηρίην μηχανεώμενοι* (§ 172, below).

406 *τεθνάναι ἑξακισχιλίους*. See note 188 on vi. 83.

407 *τὸν προβόλαιον*, "the spear," a weapon which in warfare would be advanced forward. The term *πρόβολος*, for 'a boar spear,' is used by Herodotus (§ 76, above).

408 *καίτοι κατά γε τὸ δίκαιον . . . ἑωυτῶν*. Schweighäuser considers that this plea has reference to the supremacy of Agamemnon at the time of the Trojan war. But the seat of Agamemnon's dominion was not *Argos*, but *Mycenæ*; and the Mycenæans did actually send eighty auxiliaries

149 ἡγεομένοισι. Ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσι τὴν βουλὴν ὑποκρίνασθαι, καίπερ ἀπαγορεύοντός σφι τοῦ χρηστηρίου μὴ ποιέεσθαι τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας συμμαχίην· σπουδὴν δὲ ἔχειν σπονδὰς γενέσθαι τριηκονταέτιδας καίπερ τὸ χρηστήριον φοβεομένοισι, ἵνα δή σφι οἱ παῖδες ἀνδρωθέωσι ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι ἔτεσι· μὴ δὲ σπονδέων ἐουσέων, ἐπιλέγεσθαι, ἢν ἄρα σφέας καταλάβῃ πρὸς τῷ γεγονότι κακῷ ἄλλο πταῖσμα πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην, μὴ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔωσι Λακεδαιμονίων ὑπήκοοι[409]· τῶν δὲ ἀγγέλων τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Σπάρτης πρὸς τὰ ῥηθέντα ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἀμείψασθαι τοῖσδε· περὶ μὲν σπονδέων ἀνοίσειν ἐς τοὺς πλεῦνας· περὶ δὲ ἡγεμονίης αὐτοῖσι ἐντετάλθαι ὑποκρίνασθαι, καὶ δὴ λέγειν, σφὶ μὲν εἶναι δύο βασιλέας, Ἀργείοισι δὲ ἕνα· οὔκων δυνατὸν εἶναι τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης οὐδέτερον παῦσαι τῆς ἡγεμονίης· μετὰ δὲ δύο τῶν σφετέρων ὁμόψηφον τὸν Ἀργεῖον[410] εἶναι κωλύειν οὐδέν. οὕτω δὴ οἱ Ἀργεῖοί φασι οὐκ ἀνασχέσθαι τῶν Σπαρτιητέων τὴν πλεονεξίην, ἀλλ' ἑλέσθαι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄρχεσθαι ἤ τι ὑπεῖξαι Λακεδαιμονίοισι· προειπεῖν τε τοῖσι ἀγγέλοισι, πρὸ δύντος ἡλίου ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ τῆς Ἀργείων χώρης· εἰ δὲ μή, περιέψεσθαι ὡς πολεμίους.

150 Αὐτοὶ μὲν Ἀργεῖοι τοσαῦτα τούτων πέρι λέγουσι. ἔστι δὲ ἄλλος λόγος λεγόμενος ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὡς Ξέρξης ἔπεμψε κήρυκα ἐς Ἄργος πρότερον ἤ περ ὁρμῆσαι στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· ἐλθόντα δὲ τοῦτον λέγεται εἰπεῖν· „ἄνδρες Ἀργεῖοι, βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τάδε ὑμῖν λέγει· ἡμεῖς νομίζομεν Πέρσην εἶναι, ἀπ' οὗ ἡμεῖς γεγόναμεν, παῖδα Περσέος τοῦ Δανάης, γεγονότα ἐκ τῆς Κηφέος θυγατρὸς Ἀνδρομέδης· οὕτω ἂν ὦν εἴημεν ὑμέτεροι

A report current in Hellas accuses the Argives of really favouring the Persian cause.

to assist Leonidas at Thermopylæ,—a circumstance which is said to have in the sequel induced the Argives to destroy the city. (DIODORUS, xi. 65.) I should rather consider it as based upon the tradition of Temenus being the eldest of the three Heraclide brothers, who were said to have conquered the Peloponnese.

409 *μὴ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔωσι Λακεδαιμονίων ὑπήκοοι.* This clause is governed by the sense *φοβεῖσθαι*, which is not contained in the *word* *ἐπιλέγεσθαι* (to perpend), but implied in the *act* under such circumstances. See note 520 on iv. 203.

410 *τὸν Ἀργεῖον.* The word *βασιλέα* would naturally have to be supplied; but there seems to be no trace of the regal office in Argos at this time. Perhaps the polemarch for the time being would be regarded as representing the kingly office. But as this would only be in the field, the answer of the Lacedæmonians squares very ill with the circumstance asserted by Herodotus above (v. 75), that after the joint expedition of Cleomenes and Demaratus to restore the Pisistratids, a law was passed that only *one* Spartan king should take the command at once.

ἀπόγονοι[411]· οὔτε ὦν ἡμέας οἰκὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους προγόνους ἐκστρατεύεσθαι, οὔτε ὑμέας ἄλλοισι τιμωρέοντας ἡμῖν ἀντιξόους γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖσι ἡσυχίην ἔχοντας κατῆσθαι· ἢν γὰρ ἐμοὶ γένηται κατὰ νόον, οὐδαμοὺς μέζονας ὑμέων ἄξω." ταῦτα ἀκούσαντας Ἀργείους λέγεται πρῆγμα ποιήσασθαι[412], καὶ παραχρῆμα μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπαγγελλομένους μεταιτέειν[413]· ἐπεὶ δέ σφεας παραλαμβάνειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οὕτω δὴ, ἐπισταμένους ὅτι οὐ μεταδώσουσι τῆς ἀρχῆς Λακεδαιμόνιοι, μεταιτέειν, ἵνα ἐπὶ προφάσιος ἡσυχίην ἄγωσι. Συμπεσεῖν δὲ τούτοισι καὶ τόνδε τὸν 151 λόγον λέγουσί τινες Ἑλλήνων, πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι ὕστερον γενόμενον τούτων· τυχεῖν ἐν Σούσοισι τοῖσι Μεμνονίοισι[414] ἐόντας ἑτέρου πρήγματος εἵνεκα[415] ἀγγέλους Ἀθηναίων, Καλλίην τε τὸν Ἱππονίκου καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τούτου ἀναβάντας· Ἀργείους δὲ, τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον πέμψαντας καὶ τούτους ἐς Σοῦσα ἀγγέλους, εἰρωτᾶν Ἀρταξέρξεα[416] τὸν Ξέρξεω εἴ σφι ἔτι ἐμμένει τὴν πρὸς Ξέρξεα φιλίην συνεκεράσαντο, ἢ νομιζοίατο πρὸς αὐτοῦ εἶναι πολέμιοι; βασιλέα δὲ Ἀρταξέρξεα μάλιστα ἐμμένειν φάναι, καὶ οὐδεμίαν νομίζειν πόλιν Ἄργεος φιλιωτέρην. Εἰ μέν νυν Ξέρξης τε 152 ἀπέπεμψε ταῦτα λέγοντα κήρυκα ἐς Ἄργος, καὶ Ἀργείων ἄγγελοι ἀναβάντες ἐς Σοῦσα ἐπειρώτων Ἀρταξέρξεα περὶ φιλίης, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν· οὐδέ τινα γνώμην περὶ αὐτῶν ἀποφαίνομαι ἄλλην

Story of what Callias, son of Hipponicus, heard years afterwards at Susa, confirming the charge.

Remarks of the author on the subject.

[411] ἡμεῖς νομίζομεν, κ.τ.λ. That this genealogy was *Hellenic*, not *Persian*, appears from what the author himself says elsewhere. See the notes on vi. 54, and note 194 on vii. 61. It is likewise obviously absurd that genuine Persian legends should derive their own ancestor from Argos.

[412] πρῆγμα ποιήσασθαι, "considered it a thing of importance." Compare vi. 63: τοῦτο ἤκουσαν μὲν οἱ ἔφοροι, πρῆγμα μέντοι οὐδὲν ἐποιήσαντο τὸ παραυτίκα.

[413] παραχρῆμα μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπαγγελλομένους μεταιτέειν, "at the moment made no demand in their overtures."

[414] ἐν Σούσοισι τοῖσι Μεμνονίοισι. Gaisford, following S, V, P, F, prints Μεμνονίοισι, but the majority of MSS, both here and in v. 54, give the reading Μεμνονείοισι. Strabo (xv. p. 317) says that the *acropolis* of Susa was called Memnoneum.

[415] ἑτέρου πρήγματος εἵνεκα. It really was no other than the concluding a peace with Persia. (Diodorus, xii. 4.) The reason of Herodotus not mentioning the business *expressly* in this passage is obvious. To make terms, however honourable, with the foreigner, no doubt called forth taunts; and the Athenians would be very glad to show, if they could, that Argos had throughout been treacherous to the Hellenic cause. The immediate cause of the peace was the success of Cimon and his successors in Cyprus (449 B.C.). On the other hand the Athenians had suffered a severe loss in Egypt three years before (Thucydides, i. 110), and had been forced by want of supplies to raise the siege of Citium. (Thucydides, i. 112.) Peace, therefore, was to the mutual advantage of the belligerents, although it could hardly have been regarded in those times as any thing but a blot upon Hellenic patriotism to make it.

[416] Ἀρταξέρξεα. The manuscript S has here Ἀρτοξέρξεα, but in the next section Ἀρτοξέρξην.

γε ἢ τήνπερ αὐτοὶ Ἀργεῖοι λέγουσι. [ἐπίσταμαι δὲ τοσοῦτο, ὅτι, εἰ πάντες ἄνθρωποι τὰ οἰκήϊα κακὰ ἐς μέσον συνενείκαιεν ἀλλάξασθαι βουλόμενοι τοῖσι πλησίοισι, ἐγκύψαντες ἂν ἐς τὰ τῶν πέλας κακὰ ἀσπασίως ἕκαστοι αὐτῶν ἀποφεροίατο ὀπίσω τὰ ἐσενείκαντο [417].] οὕτω δὴ οὐκ Ἀργείοισι αἴσχιστα πεποίηται· ἐγὼ δὲ ὀφείλω λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα, πείθεσθαί γε μὴν οὐ παντάπασι ὀφείλω· καί μοι τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ἐχέτω ἐς πάντα τὸν λόγον· ἐπεὶ καὶ ταῦτα λέγεται, ὡς ἄρα Ἀργεῖοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐπικαλεσάμενοι τὸν Πέρσην ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐπειδή σφι πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους κακῶς ἡ αἰχμὴ ἑστήκεε, πᾶν δὴ βουλόμενοί σφι εἶναι πρὸ τῆς παρεούσης λύπης. τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἀργείων εἴρηται.

It is even said that the Argives invited the Persian invasion.

153 Ἐς δὲ τὴν Σικελίην ἄλλοι τε ἀπίκατο ἄγγελοι ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων συμμίξοντες Γέλωνι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων Σύαγρος. τοῦ δὲ Γέλωνος τούτου πρόγονος, οἰκήτωρ ἐὼν Γέλης [418], ἦν ἐκ νήσου Τήλου τῆς ἐπὶ Τριοπίῳ κειμένης· ὃς κτιζομένης Γέλης ὑπὸ Λινδίων [419] τε τῶν ἐκ Ῥόδου καὶ Ἀντιφήμου, οὐκ ἐλείφθη· ἀνὰ χρόνον δὲ αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀπόγονοι γενόμενοι ἱροφάνται τῶν χθονίων θεῶν διετέλεον ἐόντες, Τηλίνεω ἑνός τευ τῶν προγόνων κτησαμένου

Embassy to Sicily. Family history of Gelon.

417 [ἐπίσταμαι . . . ἐσενείκαντο.] This reflection has nothing at all to do with the matter in hand, which relates to the *crimes* which people impute to each other, not to the *troubles* of which they complain. The passage is, I believe, an interpolation. If it be removed, the following words, οὕτω δὴ, refer to the explanation of their conduct which was given by the Argives themselves (γνώμην τήνπερ αὐτοὶ Ἀργεῖοι λέγουσι). They were enjoined to neutrality by an oracle; and in spite of this, if they could have had what they deemed their rights, they would have joined the Hellenic confederacy. "In this view, then, the conduct of the Argives was not utterly base. But I am bound to say what is said, although not altogether bound to believe it—a principle which must be extended to my whole story—for it is even said, that, after all, the Argives were those who invited the Persian to invade Hellas," *i.e.* not the Pisistratids or Demaratus. See note on ix. 12: ὑποδεξάμενοι σχήσειν τὸν Σπαρτιήτην μὴ ἐξιέναι.

418 Γέλης. This city was built on the bank of a river of the same name, so called (according to STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS, *sub v.*): ὅτι πολλὴν πάχνην γεννᾷ· ταύτην γὰρ τῇ Ὀπικῶν φωνῇ καὶ Σικέλων γέλαν λέγεσθαι. The Oscan and Sicilian *gela* has left its trace in the Latin *gelu*, but it is more likely that the stream obtained its name from its temperature, than from any quality which could be described in the words used by Stephanus. It should not be overlooked that according to this statement one would expect the great bulk of the inhabitants of Gela to have been the aborigines. Else its name would have certainly been Hellenic. The proper ethnic adjective is Γελαῖος—not Γελῷος, the form which Herodotus uses, and which customarily prevailed. Stephanus says that perhaps the form Γελῷος is derived from γέλως,—not an unlikely proceeding on the part of Greek settlers, for the sake of the omen.

419 Λινδίων. The place which was first enclosed, and where the town Gela existed in the time of THUCYDIDES, bore the name *Lindii* (vi. 4). Thucydides says that a portion of the original colonists were *Cretans* (l. c.).

τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ἐς Μακτώριον πόλιν τὴν ὑπὲρ Γέλης οἰκημένην ἔφυγον ἄνδρες Γελώων, ἑσσωθέντες στάσι· τούτους ὦν ὁ Τηλίνης κατήγαγε ἐς Γέλην, ἔχων οὐδεμίαν ἀνδρῶν δύναμιν ἀλλ' ἱρὰ τούτων τῶν θεῶν· ὅθεν δὲ αὐτὰ ἔλαβε[420] ἢ αὐτὸς ἐκτήσατο, τοῦτο οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν· τούτοισι δ' ὦν πίσυνος ἐὼν, κατήγαγε ἐπ' ᾧ τε οἱ ἀπόγονοι αὐτοῦ ἱροφάνται τῶν θεῶν ἔσονται. θῶμά μοι ὦν καὶ τοῦτο γέγονε πρὸς τὰ πυνθάνομαι κατεργάσασθαι Τηλίνην ἔργον τοσοῦτον· τὰ τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἔργα οὐ πρὸς τοῦ ἅπαντος ἀνδρὸς[421] νενόμικα γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ψυχῆς τε ἀγαθῆς καὶ ῥώμης ἀνδρηίης· ὁ δὲ λέγεται πρὸς τῆς Σικελίης τῶν οἰκητόρων τὰ ὑπεναντία τούτων, πεφυκέναι θηλυδρίης τε καὶ μαλακώτερος ἀνήρ[422]. οὕτω μέν νυν ἐκτήσατο τοῦτο τὸ γέρας· Κλεάνδρου δὲ τοῦ Παντάρεος τελευτήσαντος τὸν βίον, ὃς ἐτυράννευσε μὲν Γέλης ἑπτὰ ἔτεα ἀπέθανε δὲ ὑπὸ Σαβύλλου ἀνδρὸς Γελώου, ἐνθαῦτα ἀναλαμβάνει τὴν μουναρχίην Ἱπποκράτης, Κλεάνδρου ἐὼν ἀδελφεός· ἔχοντος δὲ Ἱπποκράτεος τὴν τυραννίδα, ὁ Γέλων, ἐὼν Τηλίνεω τοῦ ἱροφάντεω ἀπόγονος, πολλῶν μετ' ἄλλων καὶ Αἰνησιδήμου τοῦ Παταϊκοῦ[423] ὃς ἦν δορυφόρος Ἱπποκράτεος[424] . . . . . μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον δι' ἀρετὴν ἀπεδέχθη πάσης τῆς ἵππου εἶναι ἵππαρχος. πολιορκέοντος γὰρ Ἱπποκράτεος Καλλιπολίτας τε καὶ Ναξίους[425],

154 He distinguishes himself in the military service of Hippocrates,

420 ὅθεν δὲ αὐτὰ ἔλαβε. It may be reasonably supposed that he brought the ritual with him from the *Triopium* in Caria. That this was one adapted for stanching blood-feuds appears from the legend of Triopas, the eponymous founder. See DIODORUS, quoted in note 561 on i. 167. We may perhaps consider *Mactorium* as a city of refuge, to which the Geleans fled for sanctuary. If the root of the name be Oscan, which seems not unlikely, it is probably connected etymologically with 'mak,' the element of the Latin 'macto' and of the Greek μάχεσθαι, and consequently would signify something like "fort of the slayer." That Herodotus should be unfamiliar with this ritual is explained by the circumstance that Halicarnassus was excluded from all participation in the Carian Triopium (i. 144).

421 πρὸς τοῦ ἅπαντος ἀνδρός. One would expect either τοῦ τυχόντος or ἅπαντος without the article; but there is no variation in the MSS. It seems to me probable that the text is a confusion of the two readings. Valcknaer conjectures πρὸς τοῦ ἐπιόντος ἀνδρός, comparing SOPHOCLES, *Œdip. Tyran.* 401: καίτοι τόγ' αἴνιγμ' οὐχὶ τοὐπιόντος ἦν Ἀνδρὸς διειπεῖν.

422 θηλυδρίης τε καὶ μαλακώτερος ἀνήρ. This is very much the way in which a tribe of warlike barbarians, like the Sicels, would describe a man of peace, such as the officiating priest of the χθόνιαι θεαὶ naturally would be. It is, I conceive, the native hill tribes, and not the Hellenic settlers, whom the author means by Σικελίης οἰκήτορες.

423 Παταϊκοῦ. This name is very unlike any pure Hellenic one. See note 111 on iii. 37. One may suspect it to have come from Phœnicia through some of the Carthaginian settlements in Sicily.

424 Ἱπποκράτεος. After this word Bekker supposes a *lacuna* to exist.

425 Καλλιπολίτας τε καὶ Ναξίους. STRABO says that Callipolis (which in his time was in ruins) had been a colony from Naxos (vi. p. 34). Naxos itself was the earliest of the settlements in Sicily,

καὶ Ζαγκλαίους τε καὶ Λεοντίνους[426], καὶ πρὸς, Συρηκουσίους τε καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων συχνοὺς, ἀνὴρ ἐφαίνετο ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι πολέμοισι ἐὼν ὁ Γέλων λαμπρότατος· τῶν δὲ εἶπον πολίων, τουτέων πλὴν Συρηκουσέων οὐδεμία πέφευγε δουλοσύνην πρὸς Ἱπποκράτεος· Συρηκουσίους δὲ Κορίνθιοί τε καὶ Κερκυραῖοι ἐρρύσαντο μάχῃ ἑσσωθέντας ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Ἐλώρῳ. ἐρρύσαντο δὲ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τοῖσδε καταλλάξαντες, ἐπ' ᾧτε Ἱπποκράτεϊ Καμάριναν[427] Συρηκουσίους παραδοῦναι· Συρηκουσίων δὲ ἦν Καμάρινα τὸ ἀρχαῖον.

155 Ὡς δὲ καὶ Ἱπποκράτεα τυραννεύσαντα ἴσα ἔτεα τῷ ἀδελφεῷ Κλεάνδρῳ κατέλαβε ἀποθανεῖν πρὸς πόλι Ὕβλῃ, στρατευσάμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς Σικελοὺς, οὕτω δὴ ὁ Γέλων τῷ λόγῳ τιμωρέων τοῖσι Ἱπποκράτεος παισὶ Εὐκλείδῃ τε καὶ Κλεάνδρῳ, οὐ βουλομένων τῶν πολιητέων κατηκόων ἔτι εἶναι, τῷ ἔργῳ, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε μάχῃ τῶν Γελώων, ἦρχε αὐτὸς ἀποστερήσας τοὺς Ἱπποκράτεος παῖδας· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ εὕρημα, τοὺς γαμόρους καλεομένους τῶν Συρηκουσίων ἐκπεσόντας ὑπό τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν σφετέρων δούλων (καλεομένων δὲ Κυλλυρίων[428]) ὁ Γέλων καταγαγὼν τούτους ἐκ Κασμένης πόλιος ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας, ἔσχε καὶ ταύτας· ὁ γὰρ

and on his death succeeds him as king of Gela, to the exclusion of his sons.

founded at the same time with Megara, according to Ephorus, in the fifteenth generation after the Trojan war. Thucydides (vi. 3) says that the original founders, who were Chalcidians from Eubœa under Theocles, erected the altar of *Apollo* Archegetes outside the city, on which in his day sacrifices were always made before the *theori* set sail from Sicily. But it seems that the coins universally have either the head of Dionysus on them, with Dionysiac emblems on the reverse also, or a Dionysiac emblem (a Silenus) on the reverse, where the laurel-crowned Apollo is on the obverse. (Hoffmann, *Griechenland*, ii. p. 1987.) See note 432, below.

426 Ζαγκλαίους τε καὶ Λεοντίνους. The original settlement of Zancle was by some pirates from Cuma in Italy. The name is Oscan, and signifies 'a sickle.' Afterwards a new settlement of Chalcidians was made partly from Cuma in Italy, partly from Chalcis the metropolis of Cuma. This population again was expelled by Samians and other Ionians driven from their homes by the Persian invasion. (Thucydides, vi. 5.) The Samian invasion is the one described by Herodotus above (vi. 23). See note 62 on that passage, and note 64 on vi. 24. Leontini was a colony from Naxos five years after its own settlement.

427 Καμάριναν. It was the *land* belonging to Camarina that Hippocrates received, according to Thucydides (vi. 5), as a ransom for his Syracusan prisoners. The town was a colony from Syracuse 135 years after the foundation of Syracuse itself, and the Syracusans had destroyed it in consequence of its revolting from their authority. Hippocrates rebuilt it and colonized it. It was again destroyed by Gelon, and by Gelon again re-settled. (Thucydides, l. c.)

428 Κυλλυρίων. The manuscripts M, K have Κιλλυρίων. Hesychius: Κιλλικύριοι· οἱ ἐπεισελθόντες γεωμόροι· [Valcknaer emends γεωμόροις] δοῦλοι δὲ ἦσαν οὗτοι, καὶ τοὺς κυρίους ἐξέβαλον. Hence Valcknaer would read Κιλλικυρίων in this passage. If this conjecture be well founded, we may expect that the root κιλ was the Greek pronunciation of an Oscan root. As the Oscans said 'pitpit' for 'quidquid,' and 'petora' for 'quatuor,' it seems not unlikely that 'pel,' the root of the Latin 'pello,' was the form in question.

δῆμος ὁ τῶν Συρηκουσίων ἐπιόντι Γέλωνι παραδιδοῖ τὴν πόλιν
καὶ ἑωυτόν. Ὁ δὲ ἐπεί τε παρέλαβε τὰς Συρηκούσας, Γέλης 156
μὲν ἐπικρατέων λόγον ἐλάσσω ἐποιέετο[429], ἐπιτρέψας αὐτὴν
Ἱέρωνι ἀδελφεῷ ἑωυτοῦ· ὁ δὲ τὰς Συρηκούσας ἐκράτυνε, καὶ ἦσαν
ἅπαντά οἱ Συρήκουσαι[430]. αἱ δὲ παραυτίκα ἀνά τ' ἔδραμον καὶ
ἀνέβλαστον[431]. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Καμαριναίους ἅπαντας ἐς τὰς
Συρηκούσας ἀγαγὼν πολιήτας ἐποίησε, Καμαρίνης δὲ τὸ ἄστυ
κατέσκαψε· τοῦτο δὲ Γελώων ὑπερημίσεας τῶν ἀστῶν τὠυτὸ
τοῖσι Καμαριναίοισι ἐποίησε· Μεγαρέας τε τοὺς ἐν Σικελίῃ, ὡς
πολιορκεόμενοι ἐς ὁμολογίην προσεχώρησαν, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν
παχέας, ἀειραμένους τε πόλεμον αὐτῷ καὶ προσδοκέοντας ἀπο-
λέεσθαι διὰ τοῦτο, ἄγων ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας πολιήτας ἐποίησε·
τὸν δὲ δῆμον τῶν Μεγαρέων, οὐκ ἐόντα μεταίτιον τοῦ πολέμου
τούτου οὐδὲ προσδεκόμενον κακὸν οὐδὲν πείσεσθαι, ἀγαγὼν καὶ
τούτους ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας ἀπέδοτο ἐπ' ἐξαγωγῇ ἐκ Σικελίης.
τὠυτὸ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ Εὐβοέας τοὺς ἐν Σικελίῃ ἐποίησε[432], διακρίνας·

He becomes king of Syracuse, and effects an entirely new combination of civil interests.

[429] Γέλης μὲν ἐπικρατέων λόγον ἐλάσσω ἐποιέετο. Schweighäuser interprets this phrase as if instead of ἐπικρατέων the author had written ἐπικρατέειν: "he made it a matter of less importance to add Gela to his dominions." I should rather say that it was a compression into one of two clauses, Γέλης ἐπεκράτεε and αὐτῆς λόγον ἐλάσσω ἐποιέετο, and render it: "he made Gela a mere accession to his dominion, and cared less for it," *i. e.* he transferred the seat of government to Syracuse, in which consequently he might be said κρατεῖν, all outlying possessions being regarded as *additions* to his empire, so that the term ἐπικρατεῖν became applicable to them.

[430] ἦσαν ἅπαντά οἱ Συρήκουσαι. This is the conjecture of Valcknaer. Compare i. 122: ἦν οἱ τὰ πάντα ἡ Κυνώ. iii. 157: πάντα δὴ ἦν ἐν τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι Ζώπυρος. THUCYDIDES, viii. 95: Εὔβοια γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀποκεκλῃσμένης τῆς Ἀττικῆς πάντα ἦν. The MSS have *αἱ* Συρήκουσαι, which Gaisford prints.

[431] αἱ δὲ παραυτίκα ἀνά τ' ἔδραμον καὶ ἀνέβλαστον. Compare i. 66, where speaking of the Lacedæmonians, the author says: ἀνά τ' ἔδραμον αὐτίκα καὶ εὐθηνήθησαν.

[432] τὠυτὸ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ Εὐβοέας τοὺς ἐν Σικελίῃ ἐποίησε. The object of Gelon, as of Hippocrates before him, seems to have been to get rid as much as possible of the Chalcidian element in the population, and to foster the Peloponnesian, derived from Corinth and Megara. Hence the populations of Naxos, Callipolis, Zancle, Leontini, and Eubœa (a colony from Leontini) were reduced to slavery; but the aristocracy of Megara, who naturally would be the descendants of the original settlers, Dorians from Megara in Peloponnesus, were brought to Syracuse. The place of the Chalcidians would be naturally supplied by settlers belonging to the favoured race; and hence Hermocrates was able to say, in the time of the Peloponnesian war, in opposition to the Athenian arguments: καὶ νῦν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ταῦτα παρόντα σοφίσματα, Λεοντινῶν τε ξυγγενῶν κατοικίσεις καὶ Ἐγεσταίων ξυμμάχων ἐπικουρίας, οὐ ξυστραφέντες βουλόμεθα προθυμότερον δεῖξαι αὐτοῖς ὅτι οὐκ Ἴωνες τάδε εἰσὶν . . . ἀλλὰ Δωριῆς ἐλεύθεροι ἀπ' αὐτονόμου τῆς Πελοποννήσου τὴν Σικελίαν οἰκοῦντες. (THUCYDIDES, vi. 77.) This policy explains the readiness of Hippocrates to accept the mediation of Corinth and its colony Corcyra (§ 154). The pride felt by the Syracusans of even three centuries later in their Corinthian blood and Doric brogue is humorously brought out by THEOCRITUS:—

ἐποίεε δὲ ταῦτα τούτους ἀμφοτέρους, νομίσας δῆμον εἶναι συνοίκημα ἀχαριτώτατον. τοιούτῳ μὲν τρόπῳ τύραννος ἐγεγόνεε μέγας ὁ Γέλων.

157 Address of the commissioners to Gelon.

Τότε δέ, ὡς οἱ ἄγγελοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπίκατο ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας, ἐλθόντες αὐτῷ ἐς λόγους ἔλεγον τάδε· "ἔπεμψάν ἡμέας Λακεδαιμόνιοι[433] καὶ οἱ τούτων σύμμαχοι, παραλαμψομένους σε πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον· τὸν γὰρ ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάντως κου πυνθάνεαι· ὅτι Πέρσης ἀνὴρ μέλλει, ζεύξας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ ἐπάγων πάντα τὸν ἠῷον στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης, στρατηλατήσειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, πρόσχημα μὲν ποιεύμενος ὡς ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐλαύνει, ἐν νόῳ δὲ ἔχων πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὑπ' ἑωυτῷ ποιήσασθαι. σὺ δὲ δυνάμιός τε ἥκεις μεγάλης, καὶ μοῖρά τοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μέτα, ἄρχοντί γε Σικελίης· βοήθει τε τοῖσι ἐλευθεροῦσι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ συνελευθέρου. ἁλὴς μὲν γὰρ γινομένη πᾶσα ἡ Ἑλλὰς χεὶρ μεγάλη συνάγεται, καὶ ἀξιόμαχοι γινόμεθα τοῖσι ἐπιοῦσι· ἢν δὲ ἡμέων οἱ μὲν καταπροδιδῶσι οἱ δὲ μὴ θέλωσι τιμωρέειν, τὸ δὲ ὑγιαῖνον τῆς Ἑλλάδος ᾖ ὀλίγον, τοῦτο δὲ ἤδη δεινὸν γίνεται μὴ πέσῃ πᾶσα ἡ Ἑλλάς. μὴ γὰρ ἐλπίσῃς, ἢν ἡμέας καταστρέψηται ὁ Πέρσης μάχῃ κρατήσας, ὡς οὐκὶ ἥξει παρὰ σέ γε· ἀλλὰ πρὸ τούτου φύλαξαι· βοηθέων γὰρ

ΞΕΝΟΣ. παύσασθ', ὦ δύστανοι, ἀνάνυτα κωτίλλοισαι,
τρυγόνες· ἐκκναισεῦντι πλατειάσδοισαι ἅπαντα.
ΓΟΡΓΩ. Μᾶ· πόθεν ὤνθρωπος; τί δὲ τὶν, εἰ κωτίλαι εἰμές;
πασάμενος ἐπίτασσε· Συρακοσίαις ἐπιτάσσεις·
ὡς εἰδῇς καὶ τοῦτο, Κορίνθιαι εἰμὲς ἄνωθεν,
ὡς καὶ ὁ Βελλεροφῶν· Πελοποννασιστὶ λαλεῦμες·
δωρίσδεν δ' ἔξεστι, δοκῶ, τοῖς Δωριέεσσι.
(*Idyll.* xv. 87—93.)

It seems not unlikely that the altar of *Apollo Archegetes* at Naxos, which Thucydides attributes to the original colonists (see note 425, above), received increased honours at this time; and also that to the same revolution is to be ascribed the substitution of the head of Apollo for that of Dionysus on its coins. Gelon also professed an anxiety to revenge the death of the Lacedæmonian Dorieus (§ 158).

433 Λακεδαιμόνιοι. After this in V follow the words καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, and in S τε καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, which Gaisford adopts. Bekker reads Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, which brings the text into a conformity with the usage of language, but seems a perfectly arbitrary change. All the rest of the MSS have the reading I have adopted. The problem seems rather to be, to account for the variations found in S and V, than to disturb the evidence of the other MSS. And it appears not unlikely that the words καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι crept in from a marginal note, written by some one who observed that in § 161 an Athenian commissioner was mentioned. I do not believe either that at the time of the embassy any other people would be coupled with the Lacedæmonians as of coordinate rank in the confederacy, or that at the time at which Herodotus wrote such a representation would be made. This perhaps might have been when the archetypal MS from which S is derived was written; and this was perhaps the feeling of the editor who inserted the copula τε.

ἡμῖν σεωυτῷ τιμωρέεις· τῷ δὲ εὖ βουλευθέντι πρήγματι τελευτὴ ὡς τὸ ἐπίπαν χρηστὴ ἐθέλει ἐπιγίνεσθαι.” Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον· 158
Γέλων δὲ πολλὸς ἐνέκειτο[434] λέγων τοιάδε· “ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, λόγον ἔχοντες πλεονέκτην ἐτολμήσατε ἐμὲ σύμμαχον ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον παρακαλέοντες ἐλθεῖν· αὐτοὶ δὲ, ἐμεῦ πρότερον δεηθέντος βαρβαρικοῦ στρατοῦ συνεπάψασθαι ὅτε μοι πρὸς Καρχηδονίους νεῖκος συνῆπτο, ἐπισκήπτοντός τε τὸν Δωριέος τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδεω πρὸς Ἐγεσταίων[435] φόνον ἐκπρήξασθαι, ὑποτείνοντός τε τὰ ἐμπόρια συνελευθεροῦν[436], ἀπ' ὧν ὑμῖν μεγάλαι ὠφελίαι τε καὶ ἐπαυρέσιες γεγόνασι, οὔτε ἐμεῦ εἵνεκα ἤλθετε βοηθήσοντες οὔτε τὸν Δωριέος φόνον ἐκπρηξόμενοι, τό τε κατ' ὑμέας τάδε ἅπαντα ὑπὸ βαρβάροισι νέμεται· ἀλλὰ εὖ γὰρ ἡμῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμεινον κατέστη· νῦν δὲ ἐπειδὴ περιελήλυθε ὁ πόλεμος καὶ ἀπῖκται ἐς ὑμέας, οὕτω δὴ Γέλωνος μνῆστις γέγονε. ἀτιμίης δὲ πρὸς ὑμέων κυρήσας οὐκ ὁμοιώσομαι ὑμῖν ἀλλ' ἑτοῖμός εἰμι βοηθέειν, παρεχόμενος διηκοσίας τε τριήρεας καὶ δισμυρίους ὁπλίτας, καὶ δισχιλίην ἵππον, καὶ δισχιλίους τοξότας, καὶ δισχιλίους σφενδονήτας, καὶ δισχιλίους ἱπποδρόμους ψιλούς· σῖτόν τε ἁπάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλήνων στρατιῇ ἔστ' ἂν διαπολεμήσωμεν ὑποδέκομαι παρέξειν· ἐπὶ δὲ λόγῳ τοιῷδε τάδε ὑπίσχομαι· ἐπ' ᾧ στρατηγός τε καὶ ἡγεμὼν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔσομαι πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον· ἐπ' ἄλλῳ δὲ λόγῳ οὔτ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἔλθοιμι οὔτ'

Reply of Gelon, specifying his resources, and claiming the command of the confederates.

434 πολλὸς ἐνέκειτο. See note 346 on i. 98.

435 πρὸς Ἐγεσταίων. Several of the MSS both here and in v. 46 have Αἰγεσταίων or Αἰγεστέων.

436 ἐμεῦ πρότερον . . . τὰ ἐμπόρια συνελευθεροῦν. It is curious that in the account which Herodotus gives of Dorieus's adventures (v. 42—46), there is no hint whatever of any connexion with Gelon, who here represents himself as having been anxious to undertake a war for the sake of avenging him. Neither is there any mention of the policy which is here asserted to have been proposed, of driving out the Carthaginians from the ports of Sicily. It seems likely therefore that the two stories come from different localities,—this (probably) from Magna Græcia, the other from Lacedæmon. Still there are points which serve to connect the two. (1) Dorieus is at Sparta the representative of the Heraclide or Cadmæo-dorian interests, against Cleomenes the champion of the Achæan (see notes 100 on v. 41; 108 on v. 44; 111 on v. 45; 189 on v. 72; 172 on vi. 74); while the policy of Gelon (see above, note 432) seems to have been exclusively favourable to the Dorian Greeks in the Sicilian towns. (2) Dorieus, both in Libya and at Segesta, is opposed by Carthaginians (v. 42 and 46), the same parties with whom Gelon asserts himself to have been at war. (3) Dorieus sails on his expedition to Sicily by the counsel of a soothsayer, who expounded to him “the oracles of Laius” (v. 43). This circumstance, and his connexion with Thera (from whence he procured pilots to carry him to Libya), would suggest the conjecture that he participated in the religious traditions of the temple of the Ἐρίνυες Λαΐου καὶ Οἰδιπόδεω which existed at Sparta (iv. 149), *i.e.* in the Cadmæodorian form of the worship of the χθόνιαι θεαὶ, the priesthood of which was hereditary in the family of Gelon (above, § 153).

159 ἂν ἄλλους πέμψαιμι." Ταῦτα ἀκούσας οὔτε ἠνέσχετο ὁ Σύαγρος εἶπέ τε τάδε· "ἦ κε μέγ' οἰμώξειεν ὁ Πελοπίδης Ἀγαμέμνων[437], πυθόμενος Σπαρτιήτας τὴν ἡγεμονίην ἀπαραιρῆσθαι ὑπὸ Γέλωνός τε καὶ Συρηκουσίων· ἀλλὰ τούτου μὲν τοῦ λόγου μηκέτι μνησθῇς, ὅκως τὴν ἡγεμονίην τοι παραδώσομεν· ἀλλ', εἰ μὲν βούλεαι βοηθέειν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἴσθι ἀρξόμενος ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων· εἰ δ' ἄρα

Indignation of the Spartan commissioner Syagrus.

160 μὴ δικαιοῖς ἄρχεσθαι, σὺ δὲ μὴ βοηθέειν[438]." Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Γέλων, ἐπειδὴ ὥρα ἀπεστραμμένους τοὺς λόγους[439] τοῦ Συάγρου, τὸν τελευταῖόν σφι τόνδε ἐξέφαινε λόγον· "ὦ ξεῖνε Σπαρτιῆτα, ὀνείδεα κατιόντα[440] ἀνθρώπῳ φιλέει ἐπανάγειν τὸν θυμόν· σὺ μέντοι ἀποδεξάμενος ὑβρίσματα ἐν τῷ λόγῳ, οὔ με ἔπεισας ἀσχήμονα ἐν τῇ ἀμοιβῇ γενέσθαι· ὅκου δὲ ὑμεῖς οὕτω περιέχεσθε τῆς ἡγεμονίης, οἰκὸς καὶ ἐμὲ μᾶλλον ὑμέων περιέχεσθαι, στρατιῆς τε ἐόντα πολλαπλασίης ἡγεμόνα καὶ νηῶν πολὺ πλεύνων· ἀλλ' ἐπεί τε ὑμῖν ὁ λόγος οὕτω προσάντης κατίσταται, ἡμεῖς τι ὑπείξομεν τοῦ ἀρχαίου λόγου· εἰ τοῦ μὲν πεζοῦ ὑμεῖς ἡγέοισθε, τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ ἐγώ· εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν ἡδονὴ τοῦ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἡγεμονεύειν, τοῦ πεζοῦ ἐγὼ θέλω· καὶ ἢ τούτοισι ὑμέας χρέων ἐστι ἀρέσκεσθαι[441], ἢ ἀπιέναι συμμάχων τοιῶνδε ἐρήμους."

A second proposition of Gelon to share the command with Lacedæmon

437 *μέγ' οἰμώξειεν ὁ Πελοπίδης Ἀγαμέμνων.* The expression is a parody on the Homeric verse: *ἦ κε μέγ' οἰμώξειε γέρων ἱππηλάτα Πηλεύς.* (*Iliad.* vii. 125.) It will be observed that Syagrus, although he does not absolutely profess, like Cleomenes, to be "not a Dorian, but an *Achæan*" (v. 72), yet rests the dignity of Lacedæmon on its connexion with the *Achæan* or ante-dorian dynasty of the *Pelopids.* The party of Cleomenes therefore was obviously represented in his person. That it should at the time be predominant at Lacedæmon, in spite of Cleomenes's own death, is not wonderful, as his daughter and heiress, Gorgo, was the wife of Leonidas (v. 48; vii. 205 and 239), and her celebrity for shrewdness indicates a woman of influence.

438 *σὺ δὲ μὴ βοηθέειν.* Compare iv. 126: *σὺ δὲ στάς τε καὶ παυσάμενος πλάνης μάχεσθαι.* iii. 134: *σὺ δέ μοι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατεύεσθαι.*

439 *ἀπεστραμμένους τοὺς λόγους.* Wesseling suspects that the true reading is *ἐπεστραμμένους,* a form which occurs below in viii. 62: *λέγων μᾶλλον ἐπεστραμμένα* (where see the note). But the reading in the text gives a fair meaning, "that Syagrus's views were averse to the proposal," although undoubtedly the remark of Gelon in reply is a reproof of *violence,* which would be implied in the word *ἐπεστραμμένους.*

440 *κατιόντα.* Compare *κατιόντος τοῦ οἴνου ἐς τὸ σῶμα* (i. 212). The word *ἀνθρώπῳ* must be taken both with what goes before and what follows.

441 *ἀρέσκεσθαι.* The manuscripts S and V have *ἀρκέεσθαι,* which is adopted by Bekker. Either word would give a good sense; but the reading in the text has more of caustic bitterness in it, which accords better with the spirit of Gelon's answer. "You must either contrive to *make yourself happy* under these conditions, or take yourself off without the assistance I have described." And the word *ἀρέσκεσθαι* is several times used by Herodotus: *οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τῇ κρίσει* (iii. 34). *διαίτῃ οὐδαμῶς ἠρέσκετο Σκυθικῇ* (iv. 78). *οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τοῖς πρήγμασι τοῖς ἐκ Μαρδονίου ποιευμένοισι* (ix. 66). But the other expression occurs in ix. 33: *οὐδ' οὕτω ἔφη ἔτι ἀρκέεσθαι τούτοισι μούνοισι.*

Γέλων μὲν δὴ ταῦτα προτείνετο· φθάσας δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἄγγελος τὸν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἀμείβετό μιν τοῖσδε· "ὦ βασιλεῦ Συρηκουσίων, οὐκ ἡγεμόνος δεομένη ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀπέπεμψεν ἡμέας πρὸς σέ, ἀλλὰ στρατιῆς· σὺ δὲ ὅκως μὲν στρατιὴν πέμψεις μὴ ἡγεύμενος τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐ προφαίνεις, ὡς δὲ στρατηγήσεις αὐτῆς γλίχεαι· ὅσον μέν νυν παντὸς τοῦ Ἑλλήνων στρατοῦ ἐδέου ἡγέεσθαι, ἐξήρκει ἡμῖν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἡσυχίην ἄγειν, ἐπισταμένοισι ὡς ὁ Λάκων[442] ἱκανός τοι ἔμελλε ἔσεσθαι καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ἀπολογεύμενος[443]· ἐπεί τε δὲ ἁπάσης ἀπελαυνόμενος δέεαι τῆς ναυτικῆς ἄρχειν, οὕτω ἔχει τοι· οὐδ' ἢν ὁ Λάκων ἐπίῃ τοι ἄρχειν αὐτῆς, ἡμεῖς ἐπήσομεν· ἡμετέρη γάρ ἐστι αὕτη γε, μὴ αὐτῶν βουλομένων Λακεδαιμονίων. τούτοισι μὲν ὦν ἡγέεσθαι βουλομένοισι οὐκ ἀντιτείνομεν, ἄλλῳ δὲ παρήσομεν οὐδενὶ ναυαρχέειν· μάτην γὰρ ἂν ὧδε πάραλον[444] Ἑλλήνων στρατὸν πλεῖστον εἴημεν ἐκτημένοι, εἰ Συρηκουσίοισι ἐόντες Ἀθηναῖοι συγχωρήσομεν τῆς ἡγεμονίης, ἀρχαιότατον μὲν ἔθνος παρεχόμενοι μοῦνοι δὲ ἐόντες οὐ μετανάσται Ἑλλήνων[445]· τῶν καὶ Ὅμηρος ὁ ἐποποιὸς ἄνδρα ἄριστον ἔφησε ἐς Ἴλιον ἀπικέσθαι, τάξαι τε καὶ διακοσμῆσαι στρατόν· οὕτω οὐκ ὄνειδος οὐδὲν ἡμῖν ἐστι λέγειν ταῦτα." Ἀμείβετο Γέλων τοῖσδε· "ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, ὑμεῖς οἴκατε τοὺς μὲν ἄρχοντας ἔχειν τοὺς δὲ ἀρξομένους οὐκ ἔχειν· ἐπεὶ τοίνυν οὐδὲν ὑπιέντες[446] ἔχειν τὸ πᾶν ἐθέλετε, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιτε τὴν ταχίστην ὀπίσω ἀπαλλασσόμενοι καὶ ἀγγέλλοντες τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ

161 is repelled by the Athenian commissioner.

162 Gelon puts an end to the conference with a sneer.

442 ὁ Λάκων, "the Laconian commissioner." See note 511 on i. 152.

443 σὺ δὲ ὅκως . . ἀπολογεύμενος. This entire paragraph is wanting in F.

444 πάραλον. The manuscripts S and V have μάτην γὰρ ἂν ὧδέ γε παρ' ἄλλων. It seems to me not unlikely that the iambic line: μάτην γὰρ ὧδε πάραλον Ἑλλήνων στρατὸν is taken from some tragedian.

445 μοῦνοι δὲ ἐόντες οὐ μετανάσται Ἑλλήνων. The point of being aborigines was a favourite topic with the Athenians, although they had little more reason to despise foreign blood than those to whom De Foe addressed his satire of "The true-born Englishman." But they were probably right in considering that in Attica alone no invasion had altogether changed the character of the population. (See note 179 on i. 56.) In this sense may be justified what Euripides (*ap. Plutarch, de Exilio*, § 13) says of Athens :—

Ἧι πρῶτα μὲν λεὼς οὐκ ἐπακτὸς ἄλλοθεν,
αὐτόχθονες δ' ἔφυμεν· αἱ δ' ἄλλαι πόλεις,
πεσσῶν ὁμοίως διαφορηθεῖσαι βολαῖς,
ἄλλαι παρ' ἄλλων εἰσὶν ἐξαγώγιμοι.

446 οὐδὲν ὑπιέντες. Some MSS have οὐδὲν ἐπιέντες. But ὑφιέναι is used by Herodotus in several places: ὑπεὶς τῆς ὀργῆς (i. 156; iii. 52); ὑπήσειν τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης (ix. 4); and the only reason of the genitive being used in those passages is that a merely partial remission is contemplated, such as would be expressed if the particle τι had been introduced. (See note 523 on i. 156, and 347 on iv. 135.)

ἐνιαυτοῦ τὸ ἔαρ αὐτῇ ἐξαραίρηται[447]." οὗτος δὲ ὁ νόος τοῦδε τοῦ ῥήματος, τὸ ἐθέλει λέγειν· δῆλα γὰρ ὡς ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐστὶ τὸ ἔαρ δοκιμώτατον, τῆς δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατιῆς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ στρατιήν· στερισκομένην ὦν τὴν Ἑλλάδα τῆς ἑωυτοῦ συμμαχίης εἴκαζε, ὡς εἰ τὸ ἔαρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐξαραιρημένον εἴη.

163 Οἱ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄγγελοι τοσαῦτα τῷ Γέλωνι χρηματισάμενοι ἀπέπλεον· Γέλων δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα, δείσας μὲν περὶ τοῖσι Ἕλλησι μὴ οὐ δυνέωνται τὸν βάρβαρον ὑπερβαλέσθαι, δεινὸν δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν ποιησάμενος ἐλθὼν ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐὼν Σικελίης τύραννος, ταύτην μὲν τὴν ὁδὸν ἠμέλησε, ὁ δὲ ἄλλης εἴχετο· ἐπεί τε γὰρ τάχιστα ἐπύθετο τὸν Πέρσην διαβεβηκότα τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, πέμπει πεντηκοντέροισι τρισὶ Κάδμον τὸν Σκύθεω, ἄνδρα Κῷον, ἐς Δελφούς, ἔχοντα χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ φιλίους λόγους, καραδοκήσοντα τὴν μάχην ᾗ πεσέεται· καὶ ἢν μὲν ὁ βάρβαρος νικᾷ, τά τε χρήματα αὐτῷ διδόναι καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ τῶν ἄρχει ὁ Γέλων· ἢν δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὀπίσω ἀπάγειν.

Gelon's temporizing policy after the departure of the commissioners.

His agent was Cadmus, son of Scythes tyrant of Cos,

164 Ὁ δὲ Κάδμος οὗτος, πρότερον τούτων παραδεξάμενος παρὰ πατρὸς τὴν τυραννίδα Κῴων εὖ βεβηκυῖαν, ἑκών τε εἶναι[448] καὶ δεινοῦ ἐπιόντος οὐδενός, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ δικαιοσύνης, ἐς μέσον Κῴοισι καταθεὶς τὴν ἀρχήν, οἴχετο ἐς Σικελίην· ἔνθα μετὰ Σαμίων ἔσχε τε καὶ κατοίκησε πόλιν Ζάγκλην[449] τὴν ἐς Μεσσήνην μεταβαλοῦσαν τὸ οὔνομα.

celebrated for his probity.

447 ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τὸ ἔαρ αὐτῇ ἐξαραίρηται, "that out of her year springtide has been cut away." Aristotle, in two passages (*Rhetoric*, i. p. 1365, and iii. p. 1411), quotes this illustration as one of Pericles's in his funeral oration, but its employment there is much more appropriate: τὴν νεότητα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀνῃρῆσθαι ὥσπερ τὸ ἔαρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ εἰ ἐξαιρεθείη. Euripides compares the young and ardent citizens to the *spring growth* of plants (*Suppl.* 447—9):

πῶς οὖν ἔτ' ἂν γένοιτ' ἂν ἰσχυρὰ πόλις,
ὅταν τις, ὡς λειμῶνος ἠρινοῦ στάχυν,
τόλμας ἀφαιρῇ κἀπολωτίζῃ νέους;

and the orator Demades appears to have called the ephebi: ἔαρ τοῦ δήμου (*ap. Athen.* iii. p. 99).

448 ἑκών τε εἶναι. See note on viii. 30.

449 ἔνθα μετὰ Σαμίων ἔσχε τε καὶ κατοίκησε πόλιν Ζάγκλην. This seems undoubtedly to be the enterprise described in vi. 22—24, but the sources of the two narratives can hardly be the same. Here Scythes appears as tyrant of Cos, leaving the sovereignty firmly established in the hands of his son; while in the other passage Scythes is the tyrant of Zancle, and being expelled by these very Samians whom his son Cadmus is here represented as joining, takes refuge at the Persian court, and dies there in a good old age and perfect prosperity. It is also curious that both Scythes and Cadmus should be celebrated for their probity (δικαιοσύνη), exhibited in the one instance in the shape in which that virtue would be most appreciated in a monarchy (vi. 24); in the other in that which would be most valued

Τοῦτον δὴ ὦν ὁ Γέλων τὸν Κάδμον καὶ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ ἀπικόμενον, διὰ δικαιοσύνην τήν οἱ αὐτὸς ἄλλην συνῄδεε ἐοῦσαν, ἔπεμπε· ὃς ἐπὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι δικαίοισι τοῖσι ἐξ ἑωυτοῦ ἐργασμένοισι, καὶ τόδε οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τούτων ἐλείπετο· κρατήσας γὰρ μεγάλων χρημάτων τῶν οἱ Γέλων ἐπετράπετο, παρεὸν κατασχέσθαι, οὐκ ἐθέλησε, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπεκράτησαν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ, καὶ Ξέρξης οἰχώκεε ἀπελαύνων, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Σικελίην ἀπὸ πάντα τὰ χρήματα ἄγων.

Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Σικελίῃ οἰκημένων, ὡς ὅμως καὶ 165
μέλλων ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ὁ Γέλων ἐβοήθησε ἂν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ Θήρωνος τοῦ Αἰνησιδήμου [450] Ἀκραγαντίνων μουνάρχου ἐξελασθεὶς ἐξ Ἱμέρης Τήριλλος ὁ Κρινίππου, τύραννος ἐὼν Ἱμέρης, ἐπῆγε ὑπ' αὐτὸν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Φοινίκων καὶ Λιβύων καὶ Ἰβήρων καὶ Λιγύων καὶ Ἑλισύκων [451] καὶ Σαρδονίων καὶ Κυρνίων [452] τριήκοντα μυριάδας, καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Ἀμίλκαν τὸν Ἄννωνος Καρχηδονίων ἐόντα βασιλέα· κατὰ ξεινίην [453] τε τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ὁ Τήριλλος ἀναγνώσας, καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὴν Ἀναξίλεω [454] τοῦ Κρητίνεω προθυμίην, ὃς Ῥηγίου ἐὼν τύραννος, τὰ ἑωυτοῦ τέκνα δοὺς ὁμήρους Ἀμίλκᾳ ἐπῆγέ μιν ἐπὶ τὴν Σικελίην, τιμωρέων τῷ πενθερῷ· Τηρίλλου γὰρ εἶχε θυγατέρα Ἀναξίλεως τῇ οὔνομα

Account of the policy of Gelon as given by the inhabitants of Sicily,

by republican Greece. (See note 154 on vii. 46.) Respecting the Samians mentioned in the text, see note 64 on vi. 24.

[450] Θήρωνος τοῦ Αἰνησιδήμου. This Theron is the subject of the second and third Olympic odes of PINDAR. His father Ænesidemus is mentioned above (§ 154). Theron derived his descent from Thersander, son of Polynices (*Olymp.* ii. 76—80); and this was also the case with Theras, the eponymous colonizer of Thera (iv. 147). Thersander's daughter *Argeia* was, according to pure Lacedæmonian traditions (vi. 52), the progenetrix of the Lacedæmonian Heraclide dynasty.

[451] Ἑλισύκων. STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS (on the authority of Hecatæus) says that this is a Ligurian tribe.

[452] Σαρδονίων καὶ Κυρνίων. These are mountaineers from Sardinia and Corsica in the Carthaginian service. See note 307 on v. 106.

[453] κατὰ ξεινίην. Most probably Terillus was supported by the influence of Carthage, between which and the Syracusan dynasty a continual struggle for the possession of all Sicily lasted, until both fell before the power of Rome. Hamilcar would be his 'patronus,' and the great influence of that chief would cause him to be popularly considered by the Sicilians as the 'king' of Carthage. The Aleuadæ are called "kings of Thessaly" in § 6, above.

[454] Ἀναξίλεω. This Anaxilaus is the person who persuaded the Samians to seize upon Zancle, which at that time was in alliance with Hippocrates, the predecessor of Gelon. (See note on vi. 23.) It may be reasonably supposed that the connexion of Terillus with him sprang out of political relations, for Himera was a colony from Zancle, and its inhabitants were mainly Chalcidians, intermixed with *exiles* from Syracuse; and the institutions were mainly Chalcidian, although the dialect was a mixture of Chalcidian and Doric. (THUCYDIDES, vi. 5.) Rhegium also was colonized by Chalcidians; so that here also the struggle appears to be between the two races. (See above, note 432, on § 156.)

ἣν Κυδίππη· οὕτω δὴ οὐκ οἷόν τε γενόμενον βοηθέειν τὸν Γέλωνα
166 τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἀποπέμπειν ἐς Δελφοὺς τὰ χρήματα. Πρὸς δὲ καὶ τάδε λέγουσι, ὡς συνέβη τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης[455] ἔν τε τῇ Σικελίῃ Γέλωνα καὶ Θήρωνα νικᾶν Ἀμίλκαν τὸν Καρχηδόνιον, καὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὸν Πέρσην· τὸν δὲ Ἀμίλκαν Καρχηδόνιον ἐόντα πρὸς πατρὸς μητρόθεν δὲ Συρηκούσιον, βασιλεύσαντά τε κατ' ἀνδραγαθίην Καρχηδονίων, ὡς ἡ συμβολή τε ἐγίνετο καὶ ὡς ἑσσοῦτο τῇ μάχῃ, ἀφανισθῆναι πυνθάνομαι· οὔτε γὰρ ζῶντα οὔτε ἀποθανόντα φανῆναι οὐδαμοῦ γῆς· τὸ πᾶν γὰρ ἐπεξελθεῖν

and of the battle in which he defeated Hamilcar, on the same day as the action at Salamis.

167 διζήμενον Γέλωνα. Ἔστι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν Καρχηδονίων ὅδε ὁ λόγος λεγόμενος εἰκότι χρεωμένων[456], ὡς οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἐν τῇ Σικελίῃ ἐμάχοντο ἐξ ἠοῦς ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι δείλης ὀψίης· (ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο γὰρ λέγεται ἑλκύσαι τὴν σύστασιν·) ὁ δὲ Ἀμίλκας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ μένων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐθύετο καὶ ἐκαλλιρέετο, ἐπὶ πυρῆς μεγάλης σώματα ὅλα καταγίζων[457], ἰδὼν δὲ τροπὴν τῶν ἑωυτοῦ γινομένην, ὡς ἔτυχε ἐπισπένδων τοῖσι ἱροῖσι, ὦσε ἑωυτὸν ἐς τὸ πῦρ· οὕτω δὴ κατακαυθέντα ἀφανισθῆναι.

Carthaginian account of the matter.

ἀφανισθέντι δὲ Ἀμίλκᾳ τρόπῳ εἴτε τοιούτῳ ὡς Φοίνικες λέγουσι, εἴτε ἑτέρῳ ὡς Συρηκούσιοι, Καρχηδόνιοι τοῦτο μέν οἱ θύουσι, τοῦτο δὲ μνήματα ἐποίησαν ἐν πάσῃσι τῇσι πόλισι τῶν ἀποικίδων, ἐν αὐτῇ τε μέγιστον Καρχηδόνι. τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ Σικελίης τοσαῦτα.

They sacrifice to Hamilcar as a hero.

455 τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης. Diodorus says that the action took place on the same day with that at *Thermopylæ*, adding: ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες τοῦ δαιμονίου περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ποιήσαντος γενέσθαι τήν τε καλλίστην νίκην καὶ τὴν ἐνδοξοτάτην ἧτταν (xi. 24). Aristotle mentions it as taking place *about the same time* (κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους) with Salamis. (*Poetic.* p. 1459.) Perhaps the exact identification of the *day* sprang from the disposition to draw a parallel between the Sicilian and Athenian commanders and their respective stratagems,—which Diodorus says was a favourite topic with the Sicilians.

456 εἰκότι χρεωμένων, "judging from probabilities." This is a conjecture of Koen, the MSS having εἰκόνι. Gaisford prints οἰκότι. They had probably no direct evidence of Hamilcar having burnt himself; but only of what he was engaged in when the scale at last turned against the Carthaginians. Diodorus says that he was destroyed, while sacrificing, by some cavalry of Gelon's, who were mistaken for a friendly detachment from Selinus.

457 ἐπὶ πυρῆς μεγάλης σώματα ὅλα καταγίζων. This was with a view of propitiating Moloch, the tutelary deity of Carthage. (See Diodorus, quoted in note 676 on i. 199.) The self-sacrifice of the general at last was an action having the same object as the devotion of the Roman consul Decius. (See note 555, below.) Diodorus, in the account he gives of the action, makes *Poseidon* the deity to whom the Carthaginian general was sacrificing. The origin of this diversity of statement is pointed out in note 130 on ii. 45. It was as foreign traders that the Sicilian Greeks knew the Carthaginians, and hence the tutelary deities of the latter would come under their notice as "domini navigantium."

Κερκυραῖοι δὲ τάδε ὑποκρινάμενοι τοῖσι ἀγγέλοισι τοιάδε ἐποίησαν· καὶ γὰρ τούτους παρελάμβανον οἱ αὐτοὶ οἵπερ καὶ ἐς Σικελίην ἀπίκατο, λέγοντες τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους τοὺς καὶ πρὸς Γέλωνα ἔλεγον· οἱ δὲ παραυτίκα μὲν ὑπίσχοντο πέμψειν[458] τε καὶ ἀμυνέειν, φράζοντες ὡς οὔ σφι περιοπτέη ἐστὶ ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀπολλυμένη· ἢν γὰρ σφαλῇ, σφεῖς γε οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ δουλεύσουσι τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν ἡμερέων· ἀλλὰ τιμωρητέον εἴη ἐς τὸ δυνατώτατον. ὑπεκρίναντο μὲν οὕτω εὐπρόσωπα· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔδει βοηθέειν, ἄλλα νοεῦντες ἐπλήρωσαν νέας ἑξήκοντα, μόγις δὲ ἀναχθέντες προσέμιξαν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ· καὶ περὶ Πύλον καὶ Ταίναρον γῆς τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων ἀνεκώχευον τὰς νέας, καραδοκέοντες καὶ οὗτοι τὸν πόλεμον ᾗ πεσέεται· ἀελπτέοντες μὲν τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὑπερβαλέεσθαι, δοκέοντες δὲ τὸν Πέρσην κατακρατήσαντα πολλὸν ἄρξειν πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος· ἐποίευν ὦν ἐπίτηδες, ἵνα ἔχωσι πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην λέγειν τοιάδε· "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἡμεῖς, παραλαμβανόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡμέας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον, ἔχοντες δύναμιν οὐκ ἐλαχίστην, οὐδὲ νέας ἐλαχίστας παρασχόντες ἄν, ἀλλὰ πλείστας μετά γε Ἀθηναίους, οὐκ ἐθελήσαμέν τοι ἐναντιοῦσθαι, οὐδέ τι ἀποθύμιον ποιῆσαι·" τοιαῦτα λέγοντες ἤλπιζον πλέον τι τῶν ἄλλων οἴσεσθαι· τάπερ ἂν καὶ ἐγένετο, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέει. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνάς σφι σκῆψις ἐπεποίητο, τῇπερ δὴ καὶ ἐχρήσαντο· αἰτιωμένων γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὅτι οὐκ ἐβοήθεον, ἔφασαν πληρῶσαι μὲν ἑξήκοντα τριήρεας ὑπὸ δὲ ἐτησιέων ἀνέμων ὑπερβαλέειν Μαλέην οὐκ οἷοί τε γενέσθαι· οὕτω οὐκ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Σαλαμῖνα, καὶ οὐδεμιῇ κακότητι λειφθῆναι τῆς ναυμαχίης. οὗτοι μὲν οὕτω διεκρούσαντο τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

168 Treacherous policy of the *Corcyræans*, who were solicited by the same commissioners that applied to Gelon.

Κρῆτες δέ, ἐπεί τέ σφεας παρελάμβανον οἱ ἐπὶ τούτοισι ταχθέντες Ἑλλήνων, ἐποίησαν τοιόνδε· πέμψαντες κοινῇ θεοπρόπους ἐς Δελφοὺς τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρώτων, εἴ σφι ἄμεινον γίνεται τιμωρέουσι τῇ Ἑλλάδι; ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ὑπεκρίνατο· "ὦ νήπιοι, ἐπιμέμφεσθε[459] ὅσα ὑμῖν ἐκ τῶν Μενέλεῳ τιμωρημάτων Μίνως ἔπεμψε μηνίων[460] δακρύματα, ὅτι οἱ μὲν οὐ συνεξεπρήξαντο

169 The *Cretans* consult the oracle of Delphi, and are deterred by the response from taking part in the war.

458 πέμψειν. S and V have πέμπειν.

459 ἐπιμέμφεσθε, "you are not content with."

460 μηνίων. The anger of Minos was excited from the circumstance that the difficulties attending the siege of Camicus should have induced his subjects to give up *his* quarrel, and stop short of exacting satisfaction (οὐκ ἐκπρήξασθαι) from his murderers; while, on the other hand, those who went to Troy persevered,—and that in a cause where the injury was done

αὐτῷ τὸν ἐν Καμίκῳ θάνατον γενόμενον, ὑμεῖς δὲ κείνοισι τὴν ἐκ Σπάρτης ἁρπαχθεῖσαν ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς βαρβάρου γυναῖκα." ταῦτα οἱ Κρῆτες ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν, ἔσχοντο τῆς τιμωρίης.

170 Λέγεται γὰρ Μίνων[461] κατὰ ζήτησιν Δαιδάλου ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σικανίην τὴν νῦν Σικελίην καλευμένην, ἀποθανεῖν βιαίῳ θανάτῳ· ἀνὰ δὲ χρόνον Κρῆτας, θεοῦ σφε ἐποτρύναντος, πάντας πλὴν Πολιχνιτέων τε καὶ Πραισίων[462] ἀπικομένους στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ἐς Σικανίην, πολιορκέειν ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε πόλιν Κάμικον· τὴν κατ' ἐμὲ Ἀκραγαντῖνοι ἐνέμοντο· τέλος δέ, οὐ δυναμένους οὔτε ἑλεῖν, οὔτε παραμένειν λιμῷ συνεστεῶτας, ἀπολιπόντας οἴχεσθαι· ὡς δὲ κατὰ Ἰηπυγίην γενέσθαι πλώοντας, ὑπολαβόντα σφέας χειμῶνα μέγαν ἐκβαλέειν ἐς τὴν γῆν· συναραχθέντων δὲ τῶν πλοίων, οὐδεμίαν γάρ σφι ἔτι κομιδὴν ἐς Κρήτην φαίνεσθαι, ἐνθαῦτα Ὑρίην[463] πόλιν κτίσαντας καταμεῖναί τε, καὶ μεταβαλόντας ἀντὶ μὲν Κρητῶν γενέσθαι Ἰήπυγας Μεσσαπίους[464], ἀντὶ δὲ εἶναι[465] νησιώτας, ἠπειρώτας· ἀπὸ δὲ Ὑρίης πόλιος τὰς ἄλλας οἰκίσαι· τὰς δὴ Ταραντῖνοι χρόνῳ ὕστερον πολλῷ ἐξανιστάντες προσέπταισαν μεγάλως· ὥστε φόνος Ἑλληνικὸς μέγιστος οὗτος δὴ ἐγένετο[466] πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, αὐτῶν τε Ταραντίνων καὶ

Legend of the death of Minos in Sicily.

Cretan origin of the *Messapian Iapyges*, who long afterwards destroyed an army of *Tarentines*

not to a Cretan, but to a foreigner—in prosecuting the quarrel to a successful issue, the capture and destruction of the city. Hence he was said *μηνίειν*, which is nearly the equivalent of *νεμεσᾷν*, although generally confined to the case of gods and heroes. (See note 226 on v. 84.) The Arcadians used the word *ἐριννύειν* in the same sense.

461 *Μίνων*. Gaisford follows Schweighäuser in printing this form on the authority of two MSS only. Two others (S and B) have the anomalous form *Μίνεω*, and several more *Μίνεων*. Below (§ 171) almost all have *Μίνεω*.

462 *πλὴν Πολιχνιτέων τε καὶ Πραισίων*. From THUCYDIDES (ii. 85) it appears that the territory belonging to *Polichne* was conterminous to that of Cydonia; and that, at the time of the Peloponnesian war, there was hostility between the two towns. *Præsus*, according to STAPHYLUS (*ap. Strabon.* x. c. 4, p. 371), was a town of the *Eteocretes*, whom he considered as an aboriginal population, occupying the southern part of the island. At Præsus was the temple of the Dictæan Zeus. Strabo calls it sixty *stades* from the sea; and it is placed by PASHLEY in his map nearly at the western extremity of the island.

463 *Ὑρίην*. The manuscripts M and P have, both here and below, *Ὑρηδίην*. Others have *Ὑρηλίην*, which is either an error for *Ὑρηδίην*, or *Ὑρηδίην* for it. STRABO calls the place *Οὐρία*.

464 *Ἰήπυγας Μεσσαπίους*. HECATÆUS asserted that there were two Iapygias, the one in Italy, the other in Illyria. (*ap. Steph. Byz.* v. *Ἰαπυγία*.)

465 *ἀντὶ δὲ εἶναι*. Bekker reads *ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ εἶναι*. But all the MSS omit the article. See note 701 on i. 210.

466 *φόνος Ἑλληνικὸς μέγιστος οὗτος δὴ ἐγένετο*. It may be reasonably concluded that this passage was written before the annihilation of the Athenian expedition sent against Syracuse. Had that taken place, the writer could hardly have avoided some reference to it; and indeed the remark he makes would have been glaringly incorrect. The destruction of that armament took place in the month of September, B.C. 413. ARISTOTLE no doubt refers to this carnage of the Tarentines by the Iapygians, where he says that the de-

Ῥηγίνων, οἱ ὑπὸ Μικύθου τοῦ Χοίρου ἀναγκαζόμενοι τῶν ἀστῶν καὶ ἀπικόμενοι τιμωροὶ Ταραντίνοισι, ἀπέθανον τρισχίλιοι οὕτω[467]· αὐτῶν δὲ Ταραντίνων οὐκ ἐπέην ἀριθμός. ὁ δὲ Μίκυθος[468], οἰκέτης ἐὼν Ἀναξίλεω, ἐπίτροπος[469] Ῥηγίου καταλέλειπτο· οὗτος ὅσπερ ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ Ῥηγίου καὶ Τεγέην τὴν Ἀρκάδων οἰκήσας, ἀνέθηκε ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀνδριάντας. Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Ῥηγίνους 171 τε καὶ Ταραντίνους τοῦ λόγου μοι παρενθήκη γέγονε· ἐς δὲ τὴν Κρήτην ἐρημωθεῖσαν, ὡς λέγουσι Πραίσιοι, ἐσοικίζεσθαι ἄλλους τε ἀνθρώπους καὶ μάλιστα Ἕλληνας· τρίτῃ δὲ γενεῇ μετὰ Μίνωα τελευτήσαντα γενέσθαι τὰ Τρωϊκά· ἐν τοῖσι οὐ φλαυροτάτους φαίνεσθαι ἐόντας Κρῆτας τιμωροὺς Μενέλεῳ· ἀντὶ τούτων δέ σφι ἀπονοστήσασι ἐκ Τροίης λιμόν τε καὶ λοιμὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ αὐτοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι προβάτοισι· ἔς τε, τὸ δεύτερον ἐρημωθείσης Κρήτης, μετὰ τῶν ὑπολοίπων τρίτους αὐτὴν νῦν νέμεσθαι Κρῆτας. ἡ μὲν δὴ Πυθίη ὑπομνήσασα ταῦτα, ἔσχε βουλομένους τιμωρέειν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι.

and Rhegians, the latter compelled to serve by Micythus, who made some offerings which are now at Olympia.

Crete was twice depopulated through the wrath of Minos, before the present race came in.

Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ ἀναγκαίης τὸ πρῶτον ἐμήδισαν, ὡς διέδεξαν 172

struction of the *γνώριμοι* on the occasion was so great as to cause the Tarentine constitution to be changed from the form of a *polity* to that of a *democracy*. (*Polit.* v. p. 1303.) He assigns it to a period soon after the Persian expedition against Greece. DIODORUS, who puts it in the fourth year of the seventy-sixth Olympiad, relates that the division from Rhegium, after its defeat, was so closely pressed by the Iapygians, as to be unable to prevent the pursuers from entering the town at the same time with themselves and capturing it (xi. 52).

[467] *ἀπέθανον τρισχίλιοι οὕτω*, "fell to the number of three thousand on the spot." For this use of the word *οὕτω*, see note 238 on vi. 104. The words *τῶν ἀστῶν* appear to me to have been inserted in the wrong place by some transcriber who had omitted them from their proper one,—which I take to be after *ἀπέθανον*.

[468] *ὁ δὲ Μίκυθος*. PAUSANIAS, who calls this individual *Smicythus*, quotes this passage of Herodotus, as stating: *ὡς Ἀναξίλα τοῦ ἐν Ῥηγίῳ τυραννήσαντος γενόμενος δοῦλος καὶ ταμίας τῶν Ἀναξίλα χρημάτων, ὕστερον τούτων ἀπιὼν οἴχοιτο εἰς Τεγέαν τελευτήσαντος Ἀναξίλα* (v. 26. 4). The statues were by two Argive artists; and from their numbers must have cost a great deal. Pausanias says the inscription on them related that they were set up as a thank-offering for the recovery of a son from consumption.

[469] *ἐπίτροπος*. The relation of Micythus to Anaxilaus seems to have been somewhat the same as that of Mæandrius to Polycrates. (See note 392 on iii. 142.) Mæandrius is called in one passage the *γραμματιστὴς* of Polycrates (iii. 123), as Micythus is called the *ταμίας χρημάτων* of Anaxilaus by PAUSANIAS. (See the last note.) From the word *οἰκέτης* one may conjecture that he was originally a freedman,—a position which would not, in a monarchy, prevent him from holding the highest offices, although the Greek republicans would not fail to describe it in the most offensive terms. STRABO calls Hermias the *slave* of Eubulus of Atarneus (xiii. p. 126). DIODORUS represents Micythus as being regent for the children of Anaxilaus, who had left him guardian during their minority, he himself dying in the first year of the seventy-sixth Olympiad, consequently three years before the battle related in the text (xi. 48). When they came of age he gave so faithful an account of his stewardship, that the young men pressed him to continue holding the reins of government;—which however he refused, and emigrated to Tegea (xi. 66).

The *Thessalians* at first take part with the allies,

ὅτι οὔ σφι ἥνδανε τὰ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι ἐμηχανέωντο[470]· ἐπεί τε γὰρ ἐπυθέατο τάχιστα μέλλοντα διαβαίνειν τὸν Πέρσην ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, πέμπουσι ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀγγέλους· ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ[471] ἦσαν ἁλισμένοι πρόβουλοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἀραιρημένοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων τῶν τὰ ἀμείνω φρονεουσέων περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τούτους τῶν Θεσσαλῶν οἱ ἄγγελοι ἔλεγον· "ἄνδρες Ἕλ-

and at their request

ληνες, δεῖ φυλάσσεσθαι τὴν ἐσβολὴν τὴν Ὀλυμπικὴν[472], ἵνα Θεσσαλίη τε καὶ ἡ σύμπασα ᾖ Ἑλλὰς ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ πολέμου[473]. ἡμεῖς μέν νυν ἑτοῖμοί εἰμεν συμφυλάσσειν· πέμπειν δὲ χρὴ καὶ ὑμέας στρατιὴν πολλήν· ὡς, εἰ μὴ πέμψετε, ἐπίστασθε ἡμέας ὁμολογήσειν τῷ Πέρσῃ· οὐ γάρ τοι προκατημένους τοσοῦτο πρὸ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος, μούνους πρὸ ὑμέων δεῖ ἀπολέσθαι. βοηθέειν δὲ οὐ βουλόμενοι, ἀναγκαίην ἡμῖν οὐδεμίαν οἷοί τέ ἐστε προσφέρειν· οὐδαμὰ γὰρ ἀδυνασίης ἀνάγκη κρέσσων ἔφυ· ἡμεῖς δὲ πειρησόμεθα αὐτοί τινα σωτηρίην μηχανεώμενοι[474]." ταῦτα

173 ἔλεγον οἱ Θεσσαλοί. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες πρὸς ταῦτα ἐβουλεύσαντο

a Lacedæmonian and Athenian force takes up a position at *Tempe*;

ἐς Θεσσαλίην πέμπειν κατὰ θάλασσαν πεζὸν στρατὸν, φυλάξοντα τὴν ἐσβολήν. ὡς δὲ συνελέχθη ὁ στρατὸς, ἔπλεε δι' Εὐρίπου· ἀπικόμενος δὲ τῆς Ἀχαιίης ἐς Ἄλον[475], ἀποβὰς ἐπορεύετο ἐς Θεσσαλίην, τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ καταλιπών· καὶ ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰ Τέμπεα ἐς τὴν ἐσβολὴν, ἥπερ ἀπὸ Μακεδονίης τῆς κάτω ἐς Θεσσαλίην φέρει παρὰ Πηνειὸν ποταμὸν, μεταξὺ δὲ Οὐλύμπου τε οὔρεος ἐόντα καὶ τῆς Ὄσσης. ἐνθαῦτα ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατὰ μυρίους ὁπλῖται συλλεγέντες[476]· καί σφι προσῆν ἡ τῶν

[470] *τὰ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι ἐμηχανέωντο.* For a notice of this powerful family, see note 20 on § 6, above.

[471] *ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ.* See note on § 145, above.

[472] *τὴν ἐσβολὴν τὴν Ὀλυμπικήν.* By these words the Thessalians meant, I conceive, not only the entrance to Thessaly by Tempe, but also the road over the mountains which Xerxes really did take. The entrance by Tempe would not have required any great force to defend it; but in the time of Xerxes the pass over the mountains might perhaps have done so (see note 351 on § 128, above), and hence the demand of the Thessalians on the Hellenic confederates: *πέμπειν χρὴ καὶ ὑμέας στρατιὴν πολλήν.* But the congress, as Herodotus tells the story, seems to have imagined that the only pass into Thessaly was the one along the bank of the Peneus.

[473] *ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ πολέμου.* See note 487 on i. 143.

[474] *ἡμεῖς δὲ πειρησόμεθα . . . μηχανεώμενοι.* See note 405 on § 148, above.

[475] *Ἄλον.* One MS (*d*) has *Σάλον.*

[476] *ἐνθαῦτα ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο . . . συλλεγέντες.* The army seems to have taken up its position *along the bank* of the Peneus, as the most convenient point from which it could, when required, be moved to occupy the neighbourhood of the pass at *Gonnus*. The following extract from the journal of Hawkins shows plainly that such numbers were not required (and indeed could not be brought into action) for the defence of the defile

Θεσσαλῶν ἵππος· ἐστρατήγεε δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν Εὐαίνετος ὁ Καρήνου ἐκ τῶν πολεμάρχων ἀραιρημένος, γένεος μέντοι ἐὼν οὐ τοῦ βασιληΐου, Ἀθηναίων δὲ Θεμιστοκλέης ὁ Νεοκλέος. ἔμειναν δὲ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἐνθαῦτα· ἀπικόμενοι γὰρ ἄγγελοι παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀμύντεω, ἀνδρὸς Μακεδόνος [477], συνεβούλευόν σφι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, μηδὲ μένοντας ἐν τῇ ἐσβολῇ καταπατηθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπιόντος· σημαίνοντες τὸ πλῆθός τε τῆς στρατιῆς καὶ τὰς νέας· ὡς δὲ οὗτοί σφι ταῦτα συνεβούλευον, (χρηστὰ γὰρ ἐδόκεον συμβουλεύειν, καί σφι εὔνοος ἐφαίνετο ἐὼν ὁ Μακεδὼν,) ἐπείθοντο· δοκέειν δέ μοι, ἀρρωδίη ἦν τὸ πεῖθον, ὡς ἐπύθοντο καὶ ἄλλην ἐοῦσαν ἐσβολὴν ἐς Θεσσαλοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἄνω Μακεδονίην διὰ Περραιβῶν κατὰ Γόννον πόλιν [478]· τῇπερ δὴ καὶ ἐσέβαλε ἡ στρατιὴ ἡ Ξέρξεω· καταβάντες δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ τὰς νέας, ὀπίσω ἐπορεύοντο ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμόν. Αὕτη ἐγένετο ἡ ἐς Θεσσαλίην 174 στρατηΐη, βασιλέος [479] τε μέλλοντος διαβαίνειν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην

but after a few days, upon the advice of Alexander of Macedonia, retires;

and the Thessalians,

of Tempe itself. "The road through the *Bogaz* [the gorge of Tempe] is chiefly the work of art, nature having left only sufficient room for the channel of the river. [This at the end of May, the time at which Hawkins visited it, is generally about fifty yards across.] The road is, nevertheless, broad enough for the use of wheel carriages, and in some parts of its course consists of a paved causeway, which has been laid on the bank of the river; whilst in others it is a solid terrace of rock, hewn out of the base of the mountain. It is carried on for a great way, at the height of twenty or thirty feet above the river; but towards the eastern end of the vale it rises much higher, in order to surmount the brows of some promontories which fall there precipitately, and without any basement, into the water." The *Bogaz* "answers to our description of a rocky dell; and is in length about two miles." The scenery "is distinguished by an air of savage grandeur, rather than by its beauty and amenity; the aspect of the whole defile impressing the spectator with a sense of danger and difficulty, not of security and indulgence." (*ap. Walpole's Turkey*, i. pp. 519—522.)

477 ἀνδρὸς Μακεδόνος. It is striking that the heir apparent of the Macedonian king should be thus simply described, especially after the prominent part he has already occupied in the earlier part of the history (v. 19—22). Yet that he is the person here mentioned seems not to admit a doubt. The Macedonian prince was the πρόξενος καὶ εὐεργέτης of the Athenians (viii. 136); and the part of magnifying the Persian power is that for which his services were especially used (viii. 140). The most obvious solution of the difficulty is, in my opinion, the hypothesis that the last three books of Herodotus's history were, in the original design, an independent work. See note 1 on § 1, above, and that on viii. 104: δὶς ἤδη ἐγένετο.

478 ὡς ἐπύθοντο . . . κατὰ Γόννον πόλιν. That the reason assigned by Herodotus for the retreat of the allies was their real one may be doubted. The only real danger was, lest the enemy, having a navy as well as an overwhelming army, should land in large numbers at Alus in the Thermaic gulf, where they had left their transports, and thus take them in a trap if they remained in the defile. "The enormous numbers of the land force and the ships," of which news was brought, would have been quite unavailable (and the latter entirely inapplicable) for forcing the passes over Olympus and along the gorge of the Peneus. But by cutting them off from their base of operations, the enemy would infallibly have destroyed them.

479 βασιλέος. For the principle upon which the article is omitted, see the note on ix. 110: ἐν ἡμέρῃ τῇ ἐγένετο βασιλεύς.

unsupported, join the side of Persia.

ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης καὶ ἐόντος ἤδη ἐν Ἀβύδῳ· Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ ἐρημωθέντες συμμάχων, οὕτω δὴ ἐμήδισαν προθύμως οὐδ' ἔτι ἐνδοιαστῶς· ὥστε ἐν τοῖσι πρήγμασι ἐφαίνοντο βασιλέϊ ἄνδρες ἐόντες χρησιμώτατοι.

175 The allies determine to make their stand at *Thermopylæ*, with a fleet supporting them at *Artemisium*.

175 Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐπεί τε ἀπίκατο ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν, ἐβουλεύοντο πρὸς τὰ λεχθέντα ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ᾗ τε στήσονται τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἐν οἵοισι χώροισι· ἡ νικῶσα δὲ γνώμη ἐγένετο, τὴν ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐσβολὴν φυλάξαι· στεινοτέρη γὰρ ἐφαίνετο ἐοῦσα τῆς ἐς Θεσσαλίην, καὶ μία[480], ἀγχοτέρη τε τῆς ἑωυτῶν· τὴν δὲ ἀτραπὸν δι' ἣν ἥλωσαν οἱ ἁλόντες Ἑλλήνων ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι, οὐδὲ ᾔδεσαν ἐοῦσαν πρότερον ἤπερ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἐπύθοντο Τρηχινίων· ταύτην ὦν ἐβουλεύσαντο φυλάσσοντες τὴν ἐσβολὴν, μὴ παριέναι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸν βάρβαρον· τὸν δὲ ναυτικὸν στρατὸν πλέειν γῆς τῆς Ἱστιαιώτιδος[481] ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμίσιον· ταῦτα γὰρ ἀγχοῦ τε ἀλλήλων ἐστὶ, ὥστε πυνθάνεσθαι τὰ κατὰ ἑκατέρους ἐόντα.

176 Description of the site.

176 Οἵ τε χῶροι οὕτως ἔχουσι· τοῦτο μὲν, τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον[482] ἐκ τοῦ πελάγεος τοῦ Θρηϊκίου ἐξ εὐρέος συνάγεται ἐς στεινὸν πόρον, τὸν μεταξὺ ἐόντα νήσου τε Σκιάθου καὶ ἠπείρου Μαγνησίης· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ στεινοῦ τῆς Εὐβοίης ἤδη τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον δέκεται αἰγιαλός· ἐν δὲ, Ἀρτέμιδος ἱρόν. ἡ δὲ αὖ διὰ Τρηχῖνος ἔσοδος ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔστι, τῇ στεινοτάτη, ἡμίπλεθρον· οὐ μέντοι κατὰ τοῦτό γ' ἐστι τὸ στεινότατον τῆς χώρης τῆς ἄλλης, ἀλλ' ἔμπροσθέ τε Θερμοπυλέων καὶ ὄπισθε· κατά τε Ἀλπηνοὺς ὄπισθε ἐόντας ἐοῦσα ἁμαξιτὸς μούνη, καὶ ἔμπροσθε κατὰ Φοίνικα ποταμὸν, ἀγχοῦ Ἀνθήλης πόλιος, ἁμαξιτὸς ἄλλη μούνη· τῶν δὲ Θερμοπυλέων τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἑσπέρης, ὄρος ἄβατόν τε καὶ ἀπόκρημνον, ὑψηλὸν, ἀνατεῖνον ἐς τὴν Οἴτην· τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ τῆς ὁδοῦ, θάλασσα ὑποδέκεται καὶ τενάγεα· ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ ταύτῃ θερμὰ λουτρὰ, τὰ Χύτρους καλέουσι[483] οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, καὶ βωμὸς ἵδρυται Ἡρακλέος ἐπ' αὐτοῖσι·

480 καὶ μία. This is the reading of S and V. The rest of the MSS have καὶ ἅμα, which Gaisford adopts.

481 γῆς τῆς Ἱστιαιώτιδος. The *Histiæotis* here meant is the northern part of the island Eubœa; but above, i. 56, a portion of Thessaly is intended.

482 τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον. The *strait* is, according to Larcher, intended by this name; and it is not impossible that the term, proper to the beach, should in common language also be given to the neighbouring roadsted. The English "Spithead" is a somewhat similar case.

483 τὰ Χύτρους καλέουσι. In the time of PAUSANIAS a large plunging bath (κολυμβήθρα) was formed to receive the water which issued from these springs, and the name of them was χύτροι γυναικεῖοι. Pausanias says the water was the brightest

ἐδέδμητο δὲ τεῖχος κατὰ ταύτας τὰς ἐσβολάς, καὶ τό γε παλαιὸν πύλαι ἐπῆσαν· ἔδειμαν δὲ Φωκέες τὸ τεῖχος δείσαντες, ἐπεὶ Θεσσαλοὶ ἦλθον ἐκ Θεσπρωτῶν οἰκήσοντες γῆν τὴν Αἰολίδα, τήνπερ νῦν ἐκτέαται. ἅτε δὴ πειρωμένων τῶν Θεσσαλῶν καταστρέφεσθαί σφεας[484], *τοῦτο προεφυλάξαντο οἱ Φωκέες· καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ θερμὸν τότε ἐπῆκαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔσοδον, ὡς ἂν χαραδρωθείη ὁ χῶρος· πᾶν μηχανεώμενοι ὅκως μή σφι ἐσβάλοιεν οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην. τὸ μέν νυν τεῖχος τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐκ παλαιοῦ τε ἐδέδμητο, καὶ τὸ πλέον αὐτοῦ ἤδη ὑπὸ χρόνου ἔκειτο· τοῖσι δέ, αὖτις ὀρθώσασι, ἔδοξε ταύτῃ ἀπαμύνειν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὸν βάρβαρον. κώμη δέ ἐστι ἀγχοτάτω τῆς ὁδοῦ, Ἀλπηνοὶ οὔνομα· ἐκ ταύτης δὲ ἐπισιτιεῖσθαι ἐλογίζοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες.*

Οἱ μέν νυν χῶροι οὗτοι τοῖσι Ἕλλησι εἶναι ἐφαίνοντο ἐπιτήδεοι· 177
ἅπαντα γὰρ προσκεψάμενοι, καὶ ἐπιλογισθέντες ὅτι οὔτε πλήθεϊ ἕξουσι χρᾶσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι οὔτε ἵππῳ, ταύτῃ σφι ἔδοξε δέκεσθαι τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· ὡς δὲ ἐπύθοντο τὸν Πέρσην ἐόντα ἐν Πιερίῃ, διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ[485], *ἐστρατεύοντο αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐς Θερμοπύλας πεζῇ, ἄλλοι δὲ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον.*

The allies take up their position on hearing of the arrival of Xerxes in Pieria.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνες κατὰ τάχος ἐβοήθεον διαταχθέντες. Δελφοὶ 178
δ' ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐχρηστηριάζοντο τῷ θεῷ, ὑπὲρ ἑωυτῶν καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καταρρωδηκότες· καί σφι ἐχρήσθη ἀνέμοισι εὔχεσθαι[486]*· μεγάλους γὰρ τούτους ἔσεσθαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι συμμάχους. Δελφοὶ δὲ δεξάμενοι τὸ μαντήϊον, πρῶτα μέν, Ἑλλήνων τοῖσι βουλομένοισι εἶναι ἐλευθέροισι ἐξήγγειλαν τὰ χρησθέντα αὐτοῖσι· καί σφι δεινῶς καταρρωδέουσι τὸν βάρβαρον ἐξαγγείλαντες, χάριν ἀθάνατον κατέθεντο· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, οἱ Δελφοὶ τοῖσι ἀνέμοισι βωμόν τε ἀπέδεξαν ἐν Θυίῃ*[487], *τῇπερ τῆς Κηφισοῦ θυγατρὸς*

The *Delphians*, consulting their oracle, are ordered to pray to *the Winds*.

blue (γλαυκότατον) of any he had ever seen (iv. 35. 9).

[484] ἅτε δὴ πειρωμένων τῶν Θεσσαλῶν καταστρέφεσθαί σφεας. It was apparently at this time that the Melians discovered the mountain pass which enabled Xerxes to take Leonidas in the rear. See § 215, below.

[485] διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ. The army of Xerxes was detained for some time in Pieria, for the purpose of carrying out the pioneering operations which were requisite to make the pass into Thessaly available (§ 131, above). It may therefore be supposed that the allies were able to take up their position before it was again put in motion.

[486] ἀνέμοισι εὔχεσθαι. CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (*Stromm.* vi. c. 3, § 29) gives as the actual words of the oracle the hexameter line: ὦ Δελφοί, λίσσεσθ' ἀνέμους, καὶ λῷον ἔσται. (See note 172 on i. 53.)

[487] ἐν Θυίῃ. Thyia is mentioned by

Θυίης τὸ τέμενός ἐστι, ἐπ' ἧς καὶ ὁ χῶρος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει· καὶ θυσίῃσί σφεας μετήϊσαν. Δελφοὶ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοὺς ἀνέμους ἱλάσκονται.

A Persian advanced squadron of ten ships surprises three Hellenic vessels posted in observation at Sciathus,

179 Ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς Ξέρξεω στρατὸς, ὁρμεώμενος ἐκ Θέρμης πόλιος, παρέβαλε[488] νηυσὶ τῇσι ἄριστα πλεούσῃσι δέκα ἰθὺ Σκιάθου· ἔνθα ἦσαν προφυλάσσουσαι νέες τρεῖς Ἑλληνίδες, Τροιζηνίη τε καὶ Αἰγιναίη καὶ Ἀττική· προϊδόντες δὲ οὗτοι τὰς νέας τῶν βαρβάρων,
180 ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν· Τὴν μὲν δὴ Τροιζηνίην, τῆς ἦρχε Πρηξῖνος, αὐτίκα αἱρέουσι ἐπισπόμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι· καὶ ἔπειτα τῶν ἐπιβατέων αὐτῆς τὸν καλλιστεύοντα ἀγαγόντες ἐπὶ τῆς πρώρης[489] τῆς νηὸς ἔσφαξαν, διαδέξιον ποιεύμενοι[490] τὸν εἷλον τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρῶτον καὶ κάλλιστον· τῷ δὲ σφαγιασθέντι τούτῳ οὔνομα ἦν Λέων· τάχα
181 δ' ἂν τι καὶ τοῦ οὐνόματος ἐπαύροιτο[491]. Ἡ δὲ Αἰγιναίη, τῆς ἐτριηράρχεε Ἀσωνίδης, καί τινά σφι θόρυβον παρέσχε, Πυθέω τοῦ Ἰσχενόου ἐπιβατεύοντος ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου γενομένου ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην· ὃς ἐπειδὴ ἡ νηῦς ἡλίσκετο, ἐς τοῦτο ἀντεῖχε μαχό-

Pausanias (x. 6. 2) as being made, in some of the local traditions of Delphi, the daughter of *Castalius*, an autochthonous inhabitant of the place. She was first of all a priestess of Dionysus (and from her the bacchants are called Thyiades), and she afterwards bore *Delphus* to Apollo. This is manifestly a mere frame-work pedigree to connect the different portions of the Delphic ritual,—the Pelasgian or autochthonous element-worship (see note 164 on i. 52), the orgies of the northern Dionysus (see note 15 on v. 7), and the anthropomorphism of the Dorian Apollo. Pausanias does not mention the genealogy of Thyia recorded in the text; but he does say that some accounts made Delphus the son of one *Melæna*, a daughter of *Cephisus*. And the name Thyiades was given to certain *Attic* women, who every year proceeded to Delphi and joined the Delphic women in bacchic orgies (x. 4. 2). It is not wonderful, therefore, that in *Athenian* traditions the Delphic Thyia should receive an Athenian parentage. But as she is here connected with an altar of the winds, perhaps she may have been identified with Orithyia, "the Athenian damsel," carried off "by boisterous rape" in the arms of the north wind. See below, § 189.

[488] παρέβαλε, "made a cast." The phrase is appropriate to a direct voyage from point to point,—which, from the habits of navigators in ancient times, always had something of the nature of a *venture* in it. See note 493 on § 182, below.

[489] ἐπὶ τῆς πρώρης. S and V have ἐπὶ τὴν πρώρην.

[490] διαδέξιον ποιεύμενοι, "securing a good omen for themselves." The maxim,

"Who spills the foremost foeman's life,
That party conquers in the strife,"

seems to have prevailed very generally among the Indo-Germanic nations. Tacitus relates of the Germans of his time: "Est et alia observatio auspiciorum, quâ gravium bellorum eventus explorant: ejus gentis, cum quâ bellum est, captivum quoquo modo interceptum cum electo popularium suorum, patriis quemque armis, committunt: victoria hujus vel illius pro præjudicio accipitur." (*Germania*, § 10.) And Procopius says of the Scandinavians (*Thulitæ*): τῶν ἱερείων σφισι τὸ κάλλιστον ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν ὅνπερ ἂν δοριάλωτον ποιήσαιντο πρῶτον. (*De Bello Gotthico*, ii. 15.)

[491] τάχα δ' ἂν τι καὶ τοῦ οὐνόματος ἐπαύροιτο, "and perchance he will gain something from his name," *i.e.* his fate will the more remain in the memories of men, from the circumstance that he bore that name.

μενος, ἐς ὃ κατεκρεουργήθη ἅπας· ὡς δὲ πεσὼν οὐκ ἀπέθανε ἀλλ' ἦν ἔμπνοος, οἱ Πέρσαι, οἵπερ ἐπεβάτευον ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, δι' ἀρετὴν τὴν ἐκείνου περιποιῆσαί μιν περὶ πλείστου ἐποιήσαντο, σμύρνῃσί τε ἰώμενοι τὰ ἕλκεα καὶ σινδόνος βυσσίνης τελαμῶσι[492] κατειλίσσοντες· καί μιν, ὡς ὀπίσω ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ ἑωυτῶν στρατόπεδον, ἐπεδείκνυσαν ἐκπαγλεόμενοι πάσῃ τῇ στρατιῇ, περιέποντες εὖ· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους τοὺς ἔλαβον ἐν τῇ νηῒ ταύτῃ περιεῖπον ὡς ἀνδράποδα. Αἱ μὲν δὴ δύο τῶν νεῶν οὕτω ἐχειρώθησαν· ἡ δὲ τρίτη, 182
τῆς ἐτριηράρχεε Φόρμος, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, φεύγουσα ἐξοκέλλει ἐς τὰς ἐσβολὰς τοῦ Πηνειοῦ[493]· καὶ τοῦ μὲν σκάφεος ἐκράτησαν οἱ βάρβαροι τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν οὔ· ὡς γὰρ δὴ τάχιστα ἐπώκειλαν τὴν νέα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀποθορόντες, κατὰ Θεσσαλίην πορευόμενοι ἐκομίσθησαν ἐς Ἀθήνας. ταῦτα οἱ Ἕλληνες οἱ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ στρατοπεδευόμενοι πυνθάνονται παρὰ πυρσῶν ἐκ Σκιάθου· πυθόμενοι δὲ καὶ καταρρωδήσαντες, ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου μετωρμίζοντο ἐς Χαλκίδα, φυλάξοντες μὲν τὸν Εὔριπον, λείποντες δὲ ἡμεροσκόπους περὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ τῆς Εὐβοίης. Τῶν δὲ δέκα νεῶν τῶν βαρ- 183
βάρων τρεῖς ἐπέλασαν περὶ τὸ ἕρμα τὸ μεταξὺ ἐὸν Σκιάθου τε καὶ Μαγνησίης, καλεόμενον δὲ Μύρμηκα. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπειδὴ στήλην λίθου ἐπέθηκαν κομίσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἕρμα, ὁρμηθέντες αὐτοὶ ἐκ Θέρμης, ὥς σφι τὸ ἐμποδὼν ἐγεγόνεε καθαρόν, ἐπέπλεον πάσῃσι τῇσι νηυσί, ἕνδεκα ἡμέρας παρέντες μετὰ τὴν βασιλέος ἐξέλασιν ἐκ Θέρμης· τὸ δὲ ἕρμα σφι κατηγήσατο[494], ἐὸν ἐν πόρῳ μάλιστα, Πάμμων Σκύριος· πανημερὸν δὲ πλώοντες[495] οἱ βάρβαροι ἐξα-

But the crew of one of the three escapes by beaching their ship at the mouth of the Peneus.

Three of the ten Persian ships strike on the *Ant* shoal; and the whole navy moves southward to the Magnesian shore.

[492] σινδόνος βυσσίνης τελαμῶσι. This phrase has been used before (ii. 86) of the bandages in which the mummies were swathed in Egypt.

[493] ἐς τὰς ἐσβολὰς τοῦ Πηνειοῦ. It is impossible that the Athenian galley should have taken such a course in order to escape the enemy's ships, unless these had come upon Sciathus *from the seaward*, so as to be, when descried, farther from the main than the Hellenic vessel was; and in order so to make Sciathus, they must have stood out a long way from the main. See above, note 488 on § 179. Several of the MSS have ἐμβολὰς instead of ἐσβολάς.

[494] κατηγήσατο, "pointed out," no doubt while sailing with them as a pilot. See note 141 on ii. 49. STRABO mentions an individual named *Salganeus*, employed by the Persians to take the fleet along the coast on this occasion. His tomb stood by the side of the Euripus on the Chalcidian shore, and the story ran that he was put to death by his employers while they were under the erroneous impression that there was no passage; and that while pretending to carry them through a strait, he was really running their ships on shore at the head of a gulf. On the Sicilian promontory there was a "tomb of *Pelorus*," to which a similar legend attached (i. c. 1, p. 15).

[495] πανημερὸν πλώοντες. The distance from Therme would be about ninety geographical miles, or 900 *stades*. Elsewhere Herodotus makes 700 stades a long

νύουσι τῆς Μαγνησίης χώρης ἐπὶ Σηπιάδα τε καὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν μεταξὺ Κασθαναίης τε πόλιος ἐόντα καὶ Σηπιάδος ἀκτῆς.

184 Μέχρι μέν νυν τούτου τοῦ χώρου καὶ Θερμοπυλέων, ἀπαθής τε κακῶν ἦν ὁ στρατὸς, καὶ πλῆθος ἦν τηνικαῦτα ἔτι, ὡς ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος εὑρίσκω, τόσον· τῶν μὲν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἐουσέων ἑπτὰ καὶ διηκοσιέων καὶ χιλιέων, τὸν μὲν ἀρχαῖον ἑκάστων τῶν ἐθνέων ἐόντα ὅμιλον τέσσερας καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας, καὶ πρὸς, χιλιάδα τε καὶ τετρακοσίους, ὡς ἀνὰ διηκοσίους ἄνδρας λογιζομένοισι ἐν ἑκάστῃ νηΐ· ἐπεβάτευον δὲ ἐπὶ τουτέων τῶν νεῶν, χωρὶς ἑκάστων τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἐπιβατέων [496] Περσέων τε καὶ Μήδων καὶ Σακέων τριήκοντα ἄνδρες· οὗτος ἄλλος ὅμιλος γίνεται τρισμύριοι καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι, καὶ πρὸς, διηκόσιοί τε καὶ δέκα· προσθήσω δ' ἔτι τούτῳ καὶ τῷ προτέρῳ ἀριθμῷ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, ποιήσας [497], ὅ τι πλέον ἦν αὐτέων ἢ ἔλασσον, ἀν' ὀγδώκοντα ἄνδρας ἐνεῖναι· συνελέχθη δὲ ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἰρέθη, τρισχίλια· ἤδη ὦν ἄνδρες ἂν εἶεν ἐν αὐτοῖσι τέσσερες μυριάδες καὶ εἴκοσι. τοῦτο μέν νυν τὸ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ναυτικὸν ἦν, σύμπαν ἐὸν πεντήκοντα μυριάδες καὶ μία, χιλιάδες τε ἔπεισι ἐπὶ ταύτῃσι ἑπτὰ, καὶ πρὸς, ἑκατοντάδες ἓξ, καὶ δεκάς. τοῦ δὲ πεζοῦ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδες ἐγίνοντο· τῶν δὲ ἱππέων ὀκτὼ μυριάδες· προσθήσω δ' ἔτι τούτοισι τὰς καμήλους τοὺς ἐλαύνοντας Ἀραβίους, καὶ τοὺς τὰ ἅρματα Λίβυας, πλῆθος ποιήσας δισμυρίους ἄνδρας. καὶ δὴ τό τε ἐκ τῶν νεῶν καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ πλῆθος συντιθέμενον γίνεται διηκόσιαί τε μυριάδες καὶ τριήκοντα

Estimate of the numbers of the Persians brought into service at Sepias and Thermopylæ.

The contingent from Asia amounted to 517,610 on board the fleet, and 1,800,000 land troops,

day's run for a vessel (iv. 86). But here he is apparently speaking of war-galleys, not, as in the other case, of merchantmen, whose rate of progress would be much slower than that of a trireme.

[496] ἐπιβατέων. Gaisford puts the comma after this word. But ἐπιβάται are "marines,"—not "crews" (see above, § 96: ἐπεβάτευον δὲ ἐπὶ πασέων τῶν νεῶν Πέρσαι καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ Σάκαι); and it is impossible to suppose that this service was performed by the nations who supplied the crews, in addition to the thirty Persians whose special duty it was. In each of the Attic galleys which fought at Salamis the number of marines was only eighteen,—four archers and fourteen hoplites. (PLUTARCH, *Themist.* § 14.) Moreover, the calculated sum total does not allow for more than 230 in each ship. There is no doubt an inelegance in the expression ἐπεβάτευον τριήκοντα ἄνδρες ἐπιβατέων, but not such as to give offence in this writer.

[497] ποιήσας. The word ποιεῖν is here used as the Latin *facere* often is,—in the sense of "to suppose for the sake of argument." CICERO, *Tusc. Disp.* iii. 18: "Fac sane esse summum bonum non dolere." See below, § 186: καὶ δή σφεας ποιέω ἴσους ἐκείνοις εἶναι. DEMOSTHENES, *Lept.* p. 279: εἰσὶ τῶν ξένων ἀτελεῖς, δέκα θήσω· . . . . καὶ μὴν τῶν γε πολιτῶν οὐκ εἰσὶ πέντε ἢ ἕξ· οὐκοῦν ἀμφοτέρων ἑκκαίδεκα; ποιήσωμεν αὐτοὺς εἴκοσιν.

καὶ μία, καὶ πρὸς, χιλιάδες ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑκατοντάδες ἓξ καὶ δεκάς. τοῦτο μὲν τὸ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς Ἀσίης στράτευμα ἐξαναχθὲν εἴρηται, ἄνευ τε τῆς θεραπηΐης τῆς ἑπομένης καὶ τῶν σιταγωγῶν πλοίων,
καὶ ὅσοι ἐνέπλεον τούτοισι. τὸ δὲ δὴ ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀγόμενον 185
στράτευμα ἔτι προσλογιστέα τούτῳ παντὶ τῷ ἐξηριθμημένῳ[498]*· δόκησιν δὲ δεῖ λέγειν*[499]*· νέας μέν νυν οἱ ἀπὸ Θρηΐκης Ἕλληνες, καὶ ἐκ τῶν νήσων τῶν ἐπικειμένων τῇ Θρηΐκῃ, παρείχοντο εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν· ἐκ μέν νυν τουτέων τῶν νεῶν ἄνδρες τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ δισμύριοι*[500] *γίνονται. πεζοῦ δὲ, τὸν Θρήϊκες παρείχοντο, καὶ Παίονες, καὶ Ἐορδοὶ, καὶ Βοττιαῖοι, καὶ τὸ Χαλκιδικὸν γένος*[501]*, καὶ Βρύγοι*[502]*, καὶ Πίερες, καὶ Μακεδόνες, καὶ Περραιβοὶ, καὶ Ἐνιῆνες*[503]*, καὶ Δόλοπες, καὶ Μάγνητες, καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ, καὶ ὅσοι τῆς Θρηΐκης τὴν παραλίην νέμονται, τούτων τῶν ἐθνέων τριήκοντα μυριάδας δοκέω γενέσθαι· αὗται ὧν αἱ μυριάδες κείνῃσι προστεθεῖσαι τῇσι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης γίνονται αἱ πᾶσαι ἀνδρῶν αἱ μάχιμοι μυριάδες διηκόσιαι καὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ τέσσερες*[504]*, ἔπεισι δὲ ταύτῃσι*
ἑκατοντάδες ἑκκαίδεκα[505] *καὶ δεκάς. Τοῦ μαχίμου δὲ τούτου ἐόντος* 186
ἀριθμὸν τοσοῦτον, τὴν θεραπηΐην τὴν ἑπομένην τούτοισι, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖσι σιταγωγοῖσι ἀκάτοισι ἐόντας, καὶ μάλα ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι πλοίοισι τοῖσι ἅμα πλέουσι τῇ στρατιῇ, τούτους τῶν μαχίμων ἀνδρῶν οὐ δοκέω εἶναι ἐλάσσονας, ἀλλὰ πλεῦνας· καὶ δή σφεας ποιέω ἴσους ἐκείνοισι εἶναι, καὶ οὔτε πλεῦνας, οὔτε ἐλάσσονας οὐδέν· ἐξισούμενοι δὲ οὗτοι τῷ μαχίμῳ, ἐκπληροῦσι τὰς ἴσας μυριάδας ἐκείνῃσι· οὕτω πεντηκοσίας τε μυριάδας καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ὀκτὼ, καὶ χιλιάδας τρεῖς, καὶ ἑκατοντάδας δύο, καὶ δεκάδας δύο ἀνδρῶν ἤγαγε Ξέρξης[506] *ὁ Δαρείου μέχρι Σηπιάδος καὶ Θερμοπυ-*

In addition to the European Hellenes, 24,000 in number, afloat, and the Thracian auxiliaries, probably 300,000.

The commissariat was at least as numerous,

[498] τὸ δὲ δὴ ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης . . . ἐξηριθμημένῳ, "but *now* there is the army brought from Europe still to be added to all this number which has been calculated." See note 6 on i. 1.

[499] δόκησιν δὲ δεῖ λέγειν. The manuscript P has δόκησιν δὲ δὴ λέγειν, and M, δόκησιν δὲ δὴ δεῖ λέγειν, which is probably an union of two variants. Sophocles uses the expression δόκησιν εἰπεῖν in opposition to ἐξακριβῶσαι λόγον. (*Trachiniæ*, 432.)

[500] δισμύριοι. S and *b* have τρισμύριοι, and F μύριοι.

[501] τὸ Χαλκιδικὸν γένος. See note on viii. 127: τῷ Χαλκιδικῷ γένεϊ.

[502] Βρύγοι. See the note 113 on vi. 45, and 231 on § 73, above.

[503] Ἐνιῆνες. One manuscript (S) has Αἰνιῆνες.

[504] τέσσερες. S has πέντε.

[505] ἑκατοντάδες ἑκκαίδεκα. S has χιλιὰς καὶ ἑκατοντάδες ἕξ..

[506] οὕτω πεντηκοσίας . . ἤγαγε Ξέρξης. The manuscript S has for these words: ὡς συμβαίνειν γίνεσθαι πάντα τὸν στρατὸν μυριάδας πεντακοσίας καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ χιλιάδας τρεῖς καὶ ἑκατοντάδας δύο καὶ δεκάδας δύο ἀνδρῶν, τὸν ἤγαγεν ὁ Ξέρξης.

187 λέων. Οὗτος μὲν δὴ τοῦ συνάπαντος τοῦ Ξέρξεω στρατεύματος ἀριθμός· γυναικῶν δὲ σιτοποιέων, καὶ παλλακέων, καὶ εὐνούχων, οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴποι ἀτρεκέα ἀριθμόν· οὐδ' αὖ ὑποζυγίων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κτηνέων τῶν ἀχθοφόρων· καὶ κυνῶν Ἰνδικῶν τῶν ἑπομένων [507], οὐδ' ἂν τούτων ὑπὸ πλήθεος οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴποι ἀριθμόν. ὥστε οὐδέν μοι θῶμα παρίσταται προδοῦναι τὰ ῥέεθρα τῶν ποταμῶν ἔστι τῶν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὅκως τὰ σιτία ἀντέχρησε, θῶμά μοι, μυριάσι τοσαύτῃσι· εὑρίσκω γὰρ συμβαλλόμενος, εἰ χοίνικα πυρῶν ἕκαστος τῆς ἡμέρης ἐλάμβανε καὶ μηδὲν πλέον, ἕνδεκα μυριάδας μεδίμνων τελεομένας ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἑκάστῃ, καὶ πρὸς, τριηκοσίους τε ἄλλους μεδίμνους καὶ τεσσεράκοντα [508]· γυναιξὶ δὲ καὶ εὐνούχοισι καὶ ὑποζυγίοισι καὶ κυσὶ, οὐ λογίζομαι. ἀνδρῶν δ' ἐουσέων τοσουτέων μυριαδέων, κάλλεός τε εἵνεκα καὶ μεγάθεος οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἀξιονικότερος ἦν αὐτοῦ Ξέρξεω ἔχειν τοῦτο τὸ κράτος.

and besides all these, there are to be reckoned a large number of females and eunuchs.

Their daily consumption of corn may be calculated at 111,340 medimni. Xerxes himself was the handsomest man in the whole host.

188 Ὁ δὲ δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἐπεί τε ὁρμηθεὶς ἔπλεε, καὶ κατέσχε τῆς Μαγνησίης χώρης ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν μεταξὺ Κασθαναίης τε πόλιος ἐόντα καὶ Σηπιάδος ἀκτῆς, αἱ μὲν δὴ πρῶται τῶν νεῶν ὅρμεον πρὸς γῇ, ἄλλαι δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνῃσι ἐπ' ἀγκυρέων· ἅτε γὰρ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἐόντος οὐ μεγάλου, πρόκροσσαι ὁρμέοντο ἐς πόντον, καὶ ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ νέας [509]. ταύτην μὲν τὴν εὐφρόνην οὕτω· ἅμα δὲ ὄρθρῳ, ἐξ αἰθρίης τε καὶ νηνεμίης τῆς θαλάσσης ζεσάσης, ἐπέπεσέ σφι χειμών τε μέγας καὶ πολλὸς ἄνεμος ἀπηλιώτης, τὸν δὴ Ἑλλησποντίην καλέουσι οἱ περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία οἰκημένοι. ὅσοι μέν νυν

The fleet, while riding off Sepias, is terribly crippled by a storm,

507 κυνῶν Ἰνδικῶν τῶν ἑπομένων. See note 347 on § 124, above.

508 ἕνδεκα μυριάδας . . . τεσσεράκοντα. This quantity of corn, reckoning the *medimnus* at 48 *chœnices*, would give 5,296,320 rations daily, which is 13,100 more than the numbers adopted in the text require. It seems hopeless to attempt to discover the source of the miscalculation,—which likewise occurs in several other instances in which numbers are concerned in the course of the work.

509 πρόκροσσαι ὁρμέοντο ἐς πόντον, καὶ ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ νέας, "they rode at anchor head out seaward, and eight ships deep." The word πρόκροσσος has occasioned a good deal of discussion; but the derivation of it from πρὸ and κόρση (= κεφαλὴ) seems to give a sufficient clue to its meaning. The griffin-heads which encircled the bronze bowl in the Heræum at Samos (iv. 152) stood out *in relief* (the VENETIAN SCHOLIAST on *Iliad.* xii. 258, says that some of the commentators explained κρόσσας as τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πύργοις ἐξέχοντας λίθους); and the expression of AGATHOCLES (*ap. Athen.* i. p. 30), relative to the Cyzicenes (that they ἐβοηδρόμουν, πρόκροσσοι φερόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν κίνδυνον), seems exactly to answer to the English "rushing *headlong* into the thick of the battle." That the vessels should be arranged with alternate intervals is indeed very likely from the nature of the case, but it does not appear to be implied in the word πρόκροσσαι. See note 520 on iv. 203, and note 409, above. See also *Iliad.* xiv. 35: προκρόσσας ἔρυσαν.

αὐτῶν αὐξόμενον ἔμαθον τὸν ἄνεμον καὶ τοῖσι οὕτω εἶχε ὅρμου, οἱ δ' ἔφθησαν τὸν χειμῶνα ἀνασπάσαντες τὰς νέας, καὶ αὐτοί τε περιῆσαν καὶ αἱ νέες αὐτῶν· ὅσας δὲ τῶν νεῶν μεταρσίας ἔλαβε, τὰς μὲν ἐξέφερε πρὸς Ἰπνοὺς [510] καλεομένους τοὺς ἐν Πηλίῳ, τὰς δὲ ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν· αἱ δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Σηπιάδα περιέπιπτον, αἱ δὲ ἐς Μελίβοιαν πόλιν, αἱ δὲ ἐς Κασθαναίην ἐξεβράσσοντο· ἦν τε τοῦ χειμῶνος χρῆμα ἀφόρητον. Λέγεται δὲ λόγος, ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι 189 τὸν Βορῆν ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἐπεκαλέσαντο, ἐλθόντος σφι ἄλλου χρηστηρίου τὸν γαμβρὸν [511] ἐπίκουρον καλέσασθαι· Βορῆς δὲ, κατὰ τὸν Ἑλλήνων λόγον, ἔχει γυναῖκα Ἀττικὴν Ὠρείθυιαν τὴν Ἐρεχθέος· κατὰ δὴ τὸ κῆδος τοῦτο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὡς φάτις ὥρμηται, συμβαλλόμενοί σφι τὸν Βορῆν γαμβρὸν εἶναι, ναυλοχέοντες τῆς Εὐβοίης ἐν Χαλκίδι, ὡς ἔμαθον αὐξόμενον τὸν χειμῶνα, (ἢ καὶ πρὸ τούτου,) ἐθύοντό τε καὶ ἐπεκαλέοντο τόν τε Βορῆν καὶ τὴν Ὠρείθυιαν, τιμωρῆσαί σφι καὶ διαφθεῖραι τῶν βαρβάρων τὰς νέας, ὡς καὶ πρότερον περὶ Ἄθων. εἰ μέν νυν διὰ ταῦτα τοῖσι βαρβάροισι ὁρμέουσι ὁ βορῆς ἐπέπεσε, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν· οἱ δ' ὦν Ἀθηναῖοί σφι λέγουσι βοηθήσαντα τὸν Βορῆν πρότερον, καὶ τότε ἐκεῖνα κατεργάσασθαι· καὶ ἱρὸν ἀπελθόντες Βορέω ἱδρύσαντο παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἰλισσόν [512].

Which is, in a tradition, connected with an oracle given to the Athenians.

Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ νέας οἳ ἐλαχίστας λέγουσι διαφθαρῆναι, 190 τετρακοσιέων οὐκ ἐλάσσονας ἄνδρας τε ἀναριθμήτους, χρημάτων τε πλῆθος ἄφθονον· ὥστε Ἀμεινοκλέϊ τῷ Κρητίνεω ἀνδρὶ Μάγνητι, γηοχέοντι περὶ Σηπιάδα, μεγάλως ἡ ναυηγίη ἐγένετο χρηστή· ὃς πολλὰ μὲν χρύσεα ποτήρια ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ ἐκβρασσόμενα ἀνείλετο, πολλὰ δὲ ἀργύρεα· θησαυρούς τε τῶν Περσέων εὗρε, ἄλλα τε χρύσεα ἄφατα χρήματα περιεβάλλετο. (ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν

Four hundred galleys at least perished in the gale, and a vast amount of property.

[510] πρὸς Ἰπνούς. One manuscript (V) has πρὸς Ὕπνους, and in some MSS of STRABO (ix. c. 5, p. 316) the reading πρὸς Ἰπνοῦντα has a variant, πρὸς Ὑπνοῦντα. But the reading in the text is apparently the only genuine one.

[511] τὸν γαμβρόν. This word is used in the general sense of κηδεστὴν, "connexion by marriage."

[512] παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἰλισσόν. PLATO makes Socrates, in his conversation with Phædrus, speak of an *altar* set up to Boreas in this spot, where, according to the tradition, the damsel was carried off. (*Phædrus*, § 6.) On the other side of the river there was a *spot* called Ἄγρα (or Ἄγραι), and a fane of Artemis Agrotera (PAUSANIAS, i. 19. 6), to which, in the time of Pausanias, the legend attached, that in that spot the goddess first commenced hunting on her arrival from Delos, and the image was therefore represented with a bow in the hand. But Socrates speaks of Ἄγρα as the name of the goddess herself. Another Athenian legend made Orithyia carried off from the Areopagus. (*Phædrus*, § 7.)

τἄλλα οὐκ εὐτυχέων, εὑρήμασι μέγα πλούσιος ἐγένετο· ἦν γάρ τις
191 καὶ τοῦτον ἄχαρις συμφορὴ λυπεῦσα παιδοφόνος [513].) Σιταγωγῶν δὲ ὁλκάδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλοίων διαφθειρομένων οὐκ ἐπῆν ἀριθμός· ὥστε δείσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ μή σφι κεκακωμένοισι ἐπιθέωνται οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ, ἕρκος ὑψηλὸν ἐκ τῶν ναυηγίων περιεβάλοντο· ἡμέρας γὰρ δὴ ἐχείμαζε [514] τρεῖς· τέλος δὲ, ἔντομά τε ποιεῦντες καὶ καταείδοντες γόησι [515] τῷ ἀνέμῳ οἱ Μάγοι, πρός τε τούτοισι, καὶ τῇ Θέτι καὶ τῇσι Νηρηΐσι θύοντες, ἔπαυσαν τετάρτῃ ἡμέρῃ· ἢ ἄλλως κως αὐτὸς ἐθέλων ἐκόπασε· τῇ δὲ Θέτι ἔθυον, πυθόμενοι παρὰ τῶν Ἰώνων τὸν λόγον, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ χώρου τούτου ἁρπασθείη ὑπὸ Πηλέος, εἴη τε ἅπασα ἡ ἀκτὴ ἡ Σηπιὰς ἐκείνης τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Νηρηΐδων· ὁ μὲν δὴ τετάρτῃ
192 ἡμέρῃ ἐπέπαυτο. Τοῖσι δὲ Ἕλλησι οἱ ἡμεροσκόποι ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων τῶν Εὐβοϊκῶν καταδραμόντες δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπ' ἧς ὁ χειμὼν ὁ πρῶτος ἐγένετο, ἐσήμαινον πάντα τὰ γενόμενα περὶ τὴν ναυηγίην· οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐπύθοντο, Ποσειδέωνι Σωτῆρι εὐξάμενοι, καὶ σπονδὰς προχέαντες, τὴν ταχίστην ὀπίσω ἠπείγοντο ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον· ἐλπίσαντες ὀλίγας τινάς σφι ἀντιξόους ἔσεσθαι νέας. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸ δεύτερον ἐλθόντες, περὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐναυλόχεον, Ποσειδέωνος Σωτῆρος ἐπωνυμίην ἀπὸ τούτου ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε νομίζοντες.

Of transports, the number lost is not known.

The storm lasts for three days.

On hearing of the enemy's loss, the allied fleet moves to *Artemisium.* The surname *Preserver* is from this time given to Poseidon.

193 Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι, ὡς ἐπαύσατό τε ὁ ἄνεμος καὶ τὸ κῦμα ἔστρωτο, κατασπάσαντες τὰς νῆας ἔπλεον παρὰ τὴν ἤπειρον· κάμψαντες δὲ τὴν ἄκρην τῆς Μαγνησίης, ἰθεῖαν ἔπλεον ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν ἐπὶ Παγασέων φέροντα. ἔστι δὲ χῶρος ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τούτῳ τῆς Μαγνησίης, ἔνθα λέγεται τὸν Ἡρακλέα καταλειφθῆναι ὑπὸ Ἰήσονός τε καὶ τῶν συνεταίρων ἐκ τῆς Ἀργοῦς ἐπ' ὕδωρ πεμφθέντα, εὖτ' ἐπὶ τὸ κῶας ἔπλεον ἐς Αἶαν τὴν Κολχίδα· ἐνθεῦτεν γὰρ ἔμελλον ὑδρευσάμενοι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀφήσειν· ἐπὶ

The Persian fleet sails to *Aphetæ*, in the Pelasgian gulf,

513 συμφορὴ . . παιδοφόνος, "a misfortune by which a child of his was killed;" —not however necessarily by himself, as some both in ancient and modern times have assumed.

514 ἐχείμαζε, "there was stormy weather." See notes on viii. 113 and 133 for the use of this word, and of χειμερίζειν, by Herodotus.

515 καταείδοντες γόησι. If this reading is sound, the expression must be interpreted, "laying the wind by means of chants of sorcerers," the Magians not themselves reciting the sacred spells, but employing other subordinate functionaries for this purpose. Reiske proposed to read χοῇσι for γόησι, and Bekker γοῇσι in the sense of γόοισι.

τούτου δὲ τῷ χώρῳ οὔνομα γέγονε Ἀφέται. ἐν τούτῳ ὦν ὅρμον οἱ Ξέρξεω ἐποιεῦντο.

Πεντεκαίδεκα δὲ τῶν νηῶν τουτέων ἔτυχόν τε ὕσταται πολλὸν ἐξαναχθεῖσαι, καί κως κατεῖδον τὰς ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νῆας, ἔδοξάν τε δὴ τὰς σφετέρας εἶναι οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ πλέοντες ἐσέπεσον ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους· τῶν ἐστρατήγεε ὁ ἀπὸ Κύμης τῆς Αἰολίδος ὕπαρχος Σανδώκης ὁ Θαμασίου· τὸν δὴ πρότερον τούτων βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος, ἐπ' αἰτίῃ τοιῇδε λαβὼν ἀνεσταύρωσε, ἐόντα τῶν βασιληΐων δικαστέων[516]. ὁ Σανδώκης ἐπὶ χρήμασι ἄδικον δίκην ἐδίκασε· ἀνακρεμασθέντος ὦν αὐτοῦ, λογιζόμενος ὁ Δαρεῖος εὗρέ οἱ πλέω ἀγαθὰ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων πεποιημένα[517] ἐς οἶκον τὸν βασιλήϊον· εὑρὼν δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Δαρεῖος, καὶ γνοὺς ὡς ταχύτερα αὐτὸς ἢ σοφώτερα ἐργασμένος εἴη, ἔλυσε. βασιλέα μὲν δὴ Δαρεῖον οὕτω διαφυγὼν μὴ ἀπολέσθαι, περιῆν· τότε δὲ ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας καταπλώσας, ἔμελλε οὐ τὸ δεύτερον διαφυγὼν ἔσεσθαι· ὡς γάρ σφεας εἶδον προσπλέοντας οἱ Ἕλληνες, μαθόντες αὐτῶν τὴν γινομένην ἁμαρτάδα, ἐπαναχθέντες, εὐπετέως σφέας εἷλον. 194

with the exception of fifteen vessels, which were captured by the allies at Artemisium.

Anecdote of Sandoces.

Ἐν τουτέων μιῇ Ἀρίδωλις πλέων ἤλω, τύραννος Ἀλαβάνδων τῶν ἐν Καρίῃ· ἐν ἑτέρῃ δὲ, ὁ Πάφιος στρατηγὸς Πενθύλος ὁ Δημονόου, ὃς ἦγε μὲν δυώδεκα νῆας ἐκ Πάφου, ἀποβαλὼν δέ σφεων τὰς ἕνδεκα τῷ χειμῶνι τῷ γενομένῳ κατὰ Σηπιάδα, μιῇ τῇ περιγενομένῃ καταπλέων ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον ἤλω. τούτους οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐξιστορήσαντες τὰ ἐβούλοντο πυθέσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς Ξέρξεω στρατιῆς, ἀποπέμπουσι δεδεμένους ἐς τὸν Κορινθίων Ἰσθμόν. 195

Ὁ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς ὁ τῶν βαρβάρων στρατὸς, πάρεξ τῶν πεντεκαίδεκα νεῶν τῶν εἶπον Σανδώκεα στρατηγέειν, ἀπίκετο ἐς Ἀφέτας. Ξέρξης δὲ καὶ ὁ πεζὸς, πορευθεὶς διὰ Θεσσαλίης καὶ Ἀχαιΐης, ἐσβεβληκὼς ἦν καὶ δὴ τριταῖος ἐς Μηλιέας· ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ μὲν ἅμιλλαν ποιησάμενος ἵππων τῶν ἑωυτοῦ, ἀποπειρώμενος καὶ τῆς Θεσσαλίης ἵππου, πυθόμενος ὡς ἀρίστη εἴη τῶν ἐν Ἕλλησι· ἔνθα δὴ αἱ Ἑλληνίδες ἵπποι ἐλίποντο πολλόν. τῶν μέν νυν ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ ποταμῶν, Ὀνόχωνος μοῦνος οὐκ ἀπέχρησε τῇ στρατιῇ 196

Xerxes arrives, after a march of three days through Thessaly and Achæa, in Melis. He finds th Thessalian cavalry very inferior to his own.

516 *τῶν βασιληΐων δικαστέων.* Of these functionaries, answering pretty nearly to the *Ulemah* of the modern Turkish monarchy, see iii. 31, above.

517 *εὗρέ οἱ πλέω ἀγαθὰ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων πεποιημένα.* See note 421 on iii. 154.

τὸ ῥέεθρον, πινόμενος· τῶν δὲ ἐν Ἀχαιΐῃ ποταμῶν ῥεόντων, οὐδὲ ὅστις ὁ μέγιστος αὐτῶν ἐστὶ Ἠπιδανὸς, οὐδὲ οὗτος ἀντέσχε, εἰ μὴ φλαύρως.

197 Ἐς Ἄλον δὲ τῆς Ἀχαιΐης ἀπικομένῳ Ξέρξῃ, οἱ κατηγεμόνες τῆς ὁδοῦ βουλόμενοι τὸ πᾶν ἐξηγέεσθαι[518], ἔλεγόν οἱ ἐπιχώριον λόγον, τὰ περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦ Λαφυστίου[519] Διός· ὡς Ἀθάμας ὁ Αἰόλου ἐμηχανήσατο Φρίξῳ μόρον, σὺν Ἰνοῖ βουλεύσας· μετέπειτα δὲ, ὡς ἐκ θεοπροπίου Ἀχαιοὶ προτιθεῖσι τοῖσι ἐκείνου ἀπογόνοισι ἀέθλους τοιούσδε· ὃς ἂν ᾖ τοῦ γένεος τούτου πρεσβύτατος, τούτῳ ἐπιτάξαντες ἔργεσθαι τοῦ πρυτανηΐου, αὐτοὶ φυλακὰς ἔχουσι· (λήϊτον δὲ καλέουσι τὸ πρυτανήϊον οἱ Ἀχαιοί·) ἢν δὲ ἐσέλθῃ, οὐκ ἔστι ὅκως ἔξεισι πρὶν ἢ θύσεσθαι μέλλῃ. ὥστε ἔτι πρὸς τούτοισι, πολλοὶ ἤδη τῶν μελλόντων τούτων θύσεσθαι, δείσαντες, οἴχοντο ἀποδράντες ἐς ἄλλην χώρην· χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος ὀπίσω κατελθόντες, ἢν ἁλίσκωνται ἐσελθόντες ἐς τὸ πρυτανήϊον, ὡς θύεταί τε, ἐξηγέοντο, στέμμασι πᾶς πυκασθεὶς[520] καὶ ὡς σὺν πομπῇ ἐξαχθείς· ταῦτα δὲ πάσχουσι οἱ Κυτισσώρου τοῦ Φρίξου παιδὸς ἀπόγονοι, διότι καθαρμὸν τῆς χώρης ποιευμένων[521] Ἀχαιῶν ἐκ θεοπροπίου Ἀθάμαντα τὸν Αἰόλου, καὶ μελλόντων μιν θύειν, ἀπικόμενος οὗτος ὁ Κυτίσσωρος[522] ἐξ Αἴης τῆς Κολχίδος ἐρρύσατο· ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο, τοῖσι ἐπιγενομένοισι ἐξ ἑωυτοῦ μῆνιν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνέβαλε[523]. Ξέρξης δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας, ὡς κατὰ

Local legend respecting the temple of *Zeus Laphystius* told to Xerxes.

518 *οἱ κατηγεμόνες . . . . . ἐξηγέεσθαι.* These words are omitted in S.

519 *Λαφυστίου*: Some of the MSS have the form Ἀφλυστίου.

520 *στέμμασι πᾶς πυκασθείς.* This was an essential part of the particular ritual, with which the Athenians were so familiarized through Sophocles's play of *Athamas*, as to suggest the allusion in Aristophanes:—

ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ. *κάθιζε τοίνυν ἐπὶ τὸν ἱερὸν σκίμποδα.*
ΣΤΡΕΨΙΑΔΗΣ. *ἰδοὺ κάθημαι.* ΣΩΚ. *τουτονὶ τοίνυν λαβὲ*
τὸν στέφανον. ΣΤΡΕΨ. *ἐπὶ τί στέφανον; οἴμοι, Σώκρατες,*
ὥσπερ με τὸν Ἀθάμανθ' ὅπως μὴ θύσετε. (*Clouds*, 256.)

The Scholiast on this passage says that Sophocles represented Athamas as sitting crowned and ready to be sacrificed at the altar, and saved by Heracles just as the fatal blow was about to be given.

521 *καθαρμὸν . . . ποιευμένων.* He was to be slain for the purpose of removing the plague of drought which had been brought upon the land by his injurious treatment of *Nephele*, the mother of his children Phrixus and Helle. (Scholiast on *Aristoph. Nub.* 256.)

522 *ὁ Κυτίσσωρος.* This personage appears in the local legend to take the part filled by Heracles in Sophocles's play.

523 *μῆνιν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνέβαλε.* He brought upon himself the anger of the deity by interrupting the course of vengeance. At *Psyllis* or *Phyllis* in Bithynia, the legend prevailed that Phrixus first landed there with the ram, and there also sacrificed him on the altar of *Zeus Laphystius.* (Scholiast on *Apollonius Rhodius*, ii. 652.) The Scholiast adds: *καὶ μέχρι νῦν νόμος εἰσελθόντα εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἕνα*

τὸ ἄλσος ἐγένετο, αὐτός τε ἔργετο αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ πάσῃ παρήγγειλε· τῶν τε Ἀθάμαντος ἀπογόνων τὴν οἰκίην ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ τέμενος ἐσέβετο.

198 Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἀχαιΐῃ· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν χώρων ἤϊε ἐς τὴν Μηλίδα παρὰ κόλπον θαλάσσης, ἐν τῷ ἄμπωτίς τε καὶ ῥηχίη ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην γίνεται· περὶ δὲ τὸν κόλπον τοῦτόν ἐστι χῶρος πεδινὸς, τῇ μὲν εὐρὺς, τῇ δὲ καὶ κάρτα στεινός· περὶ δὲ τὸν χῶρον οὔρεα ὑψηλὰ καὶ ἄβατα περικληΐει πᾶσαν τὴν Μηλίδα γῆν, Τρηχίνιαι πέτραι καλεόμεναι. πρώτη μέν νυν πόλις ἐστὶ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ ἰόντι ἀπὸ Ἀχαιΐης, Ἀντικύρη· παρ' ἣν ποταμὸς Σπερχήϊος ῥέων ἐξ Ἐνιήνων ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῖ· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου, διὰ εἴκοσί κου σταδίων, ἄλλος ποταμὸς, τῷ οὔνομα κεῖται Δύρας, τὸν βοηθέοντα τῷ Ἡρακλέϊ καιομένῳ λόγος ἐστὶ ἀναφανῆναι· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου, δι' ἄλλων εἴκοσι σταδίων, ἄλλος ποταμός ἐστι, ὃς καλέεται Μέλας. Τρηχὶς δὲ πόλις ἀπὸ 199
τοῦ Μέλανος τούτου ποταμοῦ πέντε στάδια ἀπέχει· ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ εὐρύτατόν ἐστι πάσης τῆς χώρης ταύτης ἐκ τῶν οὐρέων ἐς θάλασσαν, κατ' ἃ Τρηχὶς πεπόλισται· δισχίλιά τε γὰρ καὶ δισμύρια πλέθρα τοῦ πεδίου ἐστί· τοῦ δὲ οὔρεος τὸ περικληΐει τὴν γῆν τὴν Τρηχινίην, ἔστι διασφὰξ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην Τρηχῖνος· διὰ δὲ τῆς διασφάγος Ἀσωπὸς ποταμὸς ῥέει παρὰ τὴν ὑπωρέην τοῦ οὔρεος.

Topography of the coast of the Melian bay.

Anticyra on the brook *Spercheus*; twenty stades further, the brook *Dyras*; twenty stades further, the *Blackwater*; five stades beyond which is *Trachis*, in the widest part of the plain.

200 Ἔστι δὲ ἄλλος Φοίνιξ ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας, πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ· ὃς ἐκ τῶν οὐρέων τούτων ῥέων, ἐς τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ἐκδιδοῖ. κατὰ δὲ τὸν Φοίνικα ποταμὸν στεινότατόν ἐστι· ἁμαξιτὸς γὰρ μία μούνη δέδμηται· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Φοίνικος ποταμοῦ πεντεκαίδεκα στάδιά ἐστι ἐς Θερμοπύλας· ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ Φοίνικος ποταμοῦ καὶ Θερμοπυλέων κώμη τέ ἐστι, τῇ οὔνομα Ἀνθήλη κεῖται, παρ' ἣν δὴ παραρρέων ὁ Ἀσωπὸς ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῖ, καὶ χῶρος περὶ αὐτὴν εὐρὺς, ἐν τῷ Δήμητρός τε ἱρὸν Ἀμφικτυονίδος ἵδρυται, καὶ ἕδραι εἰσὶ Ἀμφικτυόσι, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀμφικτυόνος ἱρόν.

Gorge of the *Asopus*, to the south of Trachis. South of the Asopus is the *Phœnix*; and fifteen stades south of the Phœnix, *Thermopylæ*; between which and the

τῶν Φρίξου ἀπογόνων θύειν τῷ εἰρημένῳ Διΐ. The ETYMOLOGICUM MAGNUM gives Λαφύστιος as a name of Dionysus. This must have been the Dionysus ὠμηστὴς or ὠμάδιος, to whom in ancient times a man used to be offered as a victim in Chios and Tenedos, the mode of sacrifice being the tearing him in pieces (PORPHYRY, *de Abstinentiâ*, ii. 55); and to whom Themistocles was said to have immolated three nephews of Xerxes immediately before the action at Salamis. (PHANIAS, *ap. Plutarch. Themist.* § 13.) The ritual of Ζεὺς Λυκαῖος in Arcadia was of the same kind with that mentioned in the text, and is coupled with it in the pseudoplatonic dialogue *Minos*, § 5.

201 Βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Ξέρξης ἐστρατοπεδεύετο τῆς Μηλίδος ἐν τῇ Τρηχινίῃ· οἱ δὲ δὴ Ἕλληνες, ἐν τῇ διόδῳ· (καλέεται δὲ ὁ χῶρος οὗτος ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πλεόνων Ἑλλήνων Θερμοπύλαι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καὶ περιοίκων Πύλαι.) ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο μέν νυν ἑκάτεροι ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι χωρίοισι· ἐπεκράτεε δὲ ὁ μὲν τῶν πρὸς βορῆν ἄνεμον ἐχόντων πάντων μέχρι Τρηχῖνος, οἱ δὲ τῶν πρὸς νότον καὶ μεσαμβρίην φερόντων, τὸ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ἠπείρου.

Phœnix is the village *Anthele*, and the temple of *Demeter Amphictyonis*. Position of the Persians and Greeks.

202 Ἦσαν δὲ οἵδε Ἑλλήνων οἱ ὑπομένοντες τὸν Πέρσην ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ· Σπαρτιητέων τε τριηκόσιοι ὁπλῖται, καὶ Τεγεητέων καὶ Μαντινέων χίλιοι, ἡμίσεες ἑκατέρων· ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ τε τῆς Ἀρκαδίης εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς λοιπῆς Ἀρκαδίης χίλιοι. τοσοῦτοι μὲν Ἀρκάδων· ἀπὸ δὲ Κορίνθου τετρακόσιοι· καὶ ἀπὸ Φλιοῦντος διηκόσιοι· καὶ Μυκηναίων ὀγδώκοντα. οὗτοι μὲν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου παρῆσαν· ἀπὸ δὲ Βοιωτῶν, Θεσπιέων τε ἑπτα-
203 κόσιοι καὶ Θηβαίων τετρακόσιοι. Πρὸς τούτοισι ἐπίκλητοι ἐγένοντο [524] Λοκροί τε οἱ Ὀπούντιοι πανστρατιῇ, καὶ Φωκέων χίλιοι. αὐτοὶ γάρ σφεας ἐπεκαλέσαντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, λέγοντες δι' ἀγγέλων ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν ἥκοιεν πρόδρομοι τῶν ἄλλων, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων προσδόκιμοι πᾶσαν εἶεν ἡμέρην· ἡ θάλασσά τέ σφι εἴη ἐν φυλακῇ, ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων τε φρουρεομένη καὶ Αἰγινητέων καὶ τῶν ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντων, καί σφι εἴη δεινὸν οὐδέν· οὐ γὰρ θεὸν εἶναι τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπον· εἶναι δὲ θνητὸν οὐδένα, οὐδὲ ἔσεσθαι, τῷ κακὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γινομένῳ οὐ συνεμίχθη· τοῖσι δὲ μεγίστοισι αὐτῶν μέγιστα· ὀφείλειν ὦν καὶ τὸν ἐπελαύνοντα, ὡς ἐόντα θνητὸν, ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης πεσέειν ἄν· οἱ δὲ ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι ἐβοήθεον ἐς τὴν Τρηχῖνα.

Roll of the troops assembled at Thermopylæ,

204 Τούτοισι ἦσαν μέν νυν καὶ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ κατὰ πόλιας ἑκάστων· ὁ δὲ θωμαζόμενος μάλιστα καὶ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος ἡγεόμενος Λακεδαιμόνιος ἦν Λεωνίδης ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδεω, τοῦ Λέοντος, τοῦ Εὐρυκρατίδεω, τοῦ Ἀναξάνδρου, τοῦ Εὐρυκράτεος, τοῦ Πολυδώρου, τοῦ Ἀλκαμένεος [525], τοῦ Τηλέκλου, τοῦ Ἀρχέλεω, τοῦ Ἡγησίλεω, τοῦ Δορύσσου [526], τοῦ Λεωβότεω, τοῦ Ἐχεστράτου [527],

under *Leonidas*, son of Anaxandrides, king of Lacedæmon. His pedigree up to Heracles.

[524] ἐπίκλητοι ἐγένοντο. See note 201 on v. 75.

[525] τοῦ Πολυδώρου, τοῦ Ἀλκαμένεος. These two names are omitted in S.

[526] Δορύσσου. Some of the MSS have Δορυάγου.

[527] Ἐχεστράτου. One manuscript (*b*) has Ἀρχεστράτου.

τοῦ Ἥγιος[528], τοῦ Εὐρυσθένεος, τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου, τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου, τοῦ Κλεοδαίου, τοῦ Ὕλλου, τοῦ Ἡρακλέος, κτησάμενος τὴν βασιληΐην ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου. Διξῶν γάρ οἱ ἐόντων 205
πρεσβυτέρων ἀδελφεῶν, Κλεομένεός τε καὶ Δωριέος, ἀπελήλατο τῆς φροντίδος περὶ τῆς βασιληΐης· ἀποθανόντος δὲ Κλεομένεος ἄπαιδος ἔρσενος γόνου, Δωριέος τε οὐκέτι ἐόντος ἀλλὰ τελευτήσαντος καὶ τούτου ἐν Σικελίῃ[529], οὕτω δὴ ἐς Λεωνίδην ἀνέβαινε ἡ βασιληΐη· καὶ διότι πρότερος ἐγεγόνεε Κλεομβρότου, (οὗτος γὰρ ἦν νεώτατος Ἀναξανδρίδεω παῖς,) καὶ δὴ καὶ εἶχε Κλεομένεος θυγατέρα[530]· ὃς τότε ἤϊε ἐς Θερμοπύλας, ἐπιλεξάμενος ἄνδρας τε τοὺς κατεστεῶτας τριηκοσίους[531] καὶ τοῖσι ἐτύγχανον παῖδες ἐόντες· παραλαβὼν δὲ ἀπίκετο καὶ Θηβαίων τοὺς ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν λογισάμενος εἶπον, τῶν ἐστρατήγεε Λεοντιάδης ὁ Εὐρυμάχου[532]. τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκα τούτους σπουδὴν ἐποιήσατο Λεωνίδης μούνους Ἑλλήνων παραλαβεῖν, ὅτι σφέων μεγάλως κατηγόρητο μηδίζειν[533]· παρεκάλεε ὦν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, θέλων εἰδέναι εἴτε συμπέμψουσι, εἴτε καὶ ἀπερέουσι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος τὴν Ἑλλήνων συμμαχίην· οἱ δὲ ἀλλοφρονέοντες ἔπεμπον.

His succession to the kingdom was unexpected, and occasioned by the death of two elder brothers, and a marriage with the daughter and heiress of one of them.

Τούτους μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην πρώτους ἀπέπεμψαν Σπαρ- 206

528 Ἥγιος. S and some other MSS have Ἡγήσιος.

529 τελευτήσαντος καὶ τούτου ἐν Σικελίῃ. See v. 42—46.

530 καὶ δὴ καὶ εἶχε Κλεομένεος θυγατέρα. By marrying the daughter, the only surviving child (v. 48) of his half-brother, Leonidas doubtless conciliated the party to which the family of his father's second wife belonged. If he were, as some accounts stated (v. 41), born a twin with his brother Cleombrotus, this marriage would decisively turn the scale in his favour. The importance of the fact is suggested by the particles *καὶ δὴ καί*. (See note 6 on i. 1.) Although the author here distinctly states that Cleombrotus was the youngest of the brothers, it is remarkable that where he mentions the report of the twins, he puts him *before* Leonidas. It seems therefore not improbable that Leonidas, when asserted to be a twin at all, was represented as the last born. His absence from Lacedæmon at the time of the festival of the *Carnea* (see note 534, below) was perhaps not an unwelcome compliment to the Achæan party.

531 ἐπιλεξάμενος ἄνδρας τε τοὺς κατεστεῶτας τριηκοσίους. The guard of honour for a Lacedæmonian king seems to have been three hundred; and while acting in this capacity they were probably called his *knights*. See viii. 124, and compare THUCYDIDES, v. 72, where they form the body guard of the king Agis. What Leonidas appears to have done on this occasion was, to select his "regular guard" (ἄνδρας τοὺς καθεστεῶτας), to the number of three hundred, taking none for the purpose but men who had children. See note 130, *a*, on vi. 56.

532 Λεοντιάδης ὁ Εὐρυμάχου. PLUTARCH (*de Malign. Herodoti*, § 33) states on the authority of Aristophanes, the Alexandrine grammarian, that the commander of the Theban detachment was named, not *Leontiades*, but *Anaxander*. This he does simply for the purpose of shaking the credit of Herodotus in what he says of the temper of the Thebans.

533 ὅτι σφέων μεγάλως κατηγόρητο μηδίζειν, "because strong charges of sympathy with Median interests had been brought against them."

Cause assigned why only a small force was sent forward under *Leonidas.*

τιῆται, ἵνα τούτους ὁρῶντες οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι στρατεύωνται· μηδὲ καὶ οὗτοι μηδίσωσι, ἢν αὐτοὺς πυνθάνωνται ὑπερβαλλομένους· μετὰ δὲ, Κάρνεια γάρ σφι ἦν ἐμποδὼν[534], ἔμελλον ὁρτάσαντες καὶ φυλακὰς λιπόντες ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ, κατὰ τάχος βοηθέειν πανδημεί. ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἐνενῶντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ποιήσειν· ἦν γὰρ κατὰ τὠυτὸ Ὀλυμπιὰς[535] τούτοισι τοῖσι πρήγμασι συμπεσοῦσα· οὔκων δοκέοντες κατὰ τάχος οὕτω διακριθήσεσθαι τὸν ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι πόλεμον, ἔπεμπον τοὺς προδρόμους.

207 Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ οὕτω διενενῶντο ποιήσειν· οἱ δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι Ἕλληνες, ἐπειδὴ πέλας ἐγένετο τῆς ἐσβολῆς ὁ Πέρσης, καταρρωδέοντες, ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς· τοῖσι μέν νυν ἄλλοισι Πελοποννησίοισι ἐδόκεε, ἐλθοῦσι ἐς Πελοπόννησον τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἔχειν ἐν φυλακῇ· Λεωνίδης δὲ, Φωκέων καὶ Λοκρῶν περισπερχεόντων τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ[536], αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἐψηφίζετο πέμπειν τε ἀγγέλους ἐς τὰς πόλιας κελεύοντάς σφι ἐπιβοηθέειν, ὡς ἐόντων αὐτῶν ὀλίγων στρατὸν τῶν Μήδων ἀλέξασθαι.

A horseman sent by Xerxes to reconnoitre finds the Lacedæmonians exercising, and combing their hair in front of their lines.

208 Ταῦτα βουλευομένων σφέων, ἔπεμπε Ξέρξης κατάσκοπον ἱππέα, ἰδέσθαι ὁκόσοι τέ εἰσι καὶ ὅ τι ποιέοιεν; ἀκηκόεε δὲ ἔτι ἐὼν ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ, ὡς ἁλισμένη εἴη ταύτῃ στρατιὴ ὀλίγη, καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ὡς εἴησαν Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ Λεωνίδης ἐὼν γένος Ἡρακλείδης· ὡς δὲ προσέλασε ὁ ἱππεὺς πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐθηεῖτό τε καὶ κατώρα πᾶν μὲν οὐ τὸ στρατόπεδον· τοὺς γὰρ ἔσω τεταγμένους τοῦ τείχεος, τὸ ἀνορθώσαντες εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, οὐκ οἷά τε ἦν κατιδέσθαι· ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἔξω ἐμάνθανε τοῖσι πρὸ τοῦ τείχεος τὰ ὅπλα ἔκειτο· ἔτυχον δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔξω τεταγ-

[534] Κάρνεια γάρ σφι ἦν ἐμποδών. There was an especial reason why this festival should not have been interrupted. In it Apollo was celebrated under the title of "Leader of the army" (ἡγήτωρ), with a particular reference to the voyage from Naupactus to the Peloponnese on the occasion of the great invasion. To cut short the ritual of a deity viewed in such a relation would be more than an act of irreverence; it would be in itself an *ill omen* for the very expedition about to be undertaken. And for the extreme importance of this point, see notes on viii. 132 and ix. 92. But the absence of *Leonidas* from this festival was possibly not undesigned in the existing crisis. See note 530, above, and note 555, below.

[535] ἦν γὰρ κατὰ τὠυτὸ Ὀλυμπιάς. Hence the answer of the Arcadian refugees, below, viii. 26.

[536] περισπερχεόντων τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ. Valcknaer proposes to read περισπερχθέντων, ЄO being substituted for ΘЄ by the negligence of the copyist, on the ground of the active form σπέρχω being no where used by Herodotus, but always the passive σπέρχεσθαι. Thus: ἐσπέρχετο τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ (v. 33). Κροῖσος δὲ σπερχθεὶς εἶπε (i. 32). SUIDAS says: σπερχθεὶς παρ' Ἡροδότῳ ἀντὶ τοῦ ταραχθεὶς, θυμωθείς.

μένοι· τοὺς μὲν δὴ ὥρα γυμναζομένους τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τοὺς δὲ τὰς κόμας κτενιζομένους· ταῦτα δὴ θεώμενος ἐθώμαζε, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐμάνθανε, μαθὼν δὲ πάντα ἀτρεκέως ἀπήλαυνε ὀπίσω κατ' ἡσυχίην· οὔτε γάρ τις ἐδίωκε ἀλογίης τε ἐνεκύρησε[537] πολλῆς· ἀπελθὼν δὲ ἔλεγε πρὸς Ξέρξεα τάπερ ὀπώπεε πάντα. Ἀκούων 209 δὲ Ξέρξης οὐκ εἶχε συμβαλέσθαι τὸ ἐόν, ὅτι παρασκευάζοιντο ὡς ἀπολεύμενοί τε καὶ ἀπολέοντες κατὰ δύναμιν· ἀλλ' αὐτῷ γελοῖα γὰρ ἐφαίνοντο ποιέειν, μετεπέμψατο Δημάρητον τὸν Ἀρίστωνος ἐόντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ· ἀπικόμενον δέ μιν εἰρώτα Ξέρξης ἕκαστα τούτων, ἐθέλων μαθέειν τὸ ποιεύμενον πρὸς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων· ὁ δὲ εἶπε· "ἤκουσας μέν μευ καὶ πρότερον, εὖτε ὁρμῶμεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων· ἀκούσας δέ, γέλωτά με ἔθευ[538] λέγοντα τάπερ ὥρων ἐκβησόμενα πρήγματα ταῦτα· ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὴν ἀληθηΐην ἀσκέειν ἀντία σεῦ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀγὼν μέγιστός ἐστι· ἄκουσον δὲ καὶ νῦν· οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι ἀπίκαται μαχεσόμενοι ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς ἐσόδου, καὶ ταῦτα παρασκευάζονται· νόμος γάρ σφι οὕτω ἔχων ἐστί· ἐπεὰν μέλλωσι κινδυνεύειν τῇ ψυχῇ, τότε τὰς κεφαλὰς κοσμέονται· ἐπίσταο δέ, εἰ τούτους τε καὶ τὸ ὑπομένον ἐν Σπάρτῃ καταστρέψεαι, ἔστι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων τὸ σέ, βασιλεῦ, ὑπομενέει χεῖρας ἀνταειρόμενον· νῦν γὰρ πρὸς βασιληΐην τε καὶ καλλίστην πόλιν τῶν ἐν Ἕλλησι προσφέρεαι, καὶ ἄνδρας ἀρίστους." κάρτα τε δὴ ἄπιστα Ξέρξῃ ἐφαίνετο τὰ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ δεύτερα ἐπειρώτα ὅντινα τρόπον τοσοῦτοι ἐόντες τῇ ἑωυτοῦ στρατιῇ μαχέσονται; ὁ δὲ εἶπε· "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐμοὶ χρᾶσθαι ὡς ἀνδρὶ ψεύστῃ[539], ἢν μὴ ταῦτά τοι ταύτῃ ἐκβῇ τῇ ἐγὼ λέγω."

Conversation between Xerxes and Demaratus on the subject of the Spartan character.

Ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Ξέρξεα· τέσσερας μὲν δὴ παρ- 210 εξῆκε[540] ἡμέρας, ἐλπίζων αἰεί σφεας ἀποδρήσεσθαι· πέμπτῃ δέ,

Xerxes, after four

[537] ἐνεκύρησε. The use of the compound verb ἐγκύρειν in the regimen of the simple verb κυρεῖν is not easily explained. Perhaps the preposition has the force of the English "withal," as it sometimes does when used without a case, in the manner of a conjunction. See note 63 on vi. 23, above. Bekker reads ἐκύρησε from conjecture.

[538] γέλωτά με ἔθευ. Compare iii. 29: ἀτάρ τοι ὑμεῖς γε οὐ χαίροντες γέλωτα ἐμὲ θήσεσθε.

[539] ὡς ἀνδρὶ ψεύστῃ. In the Persian view, falsehood was the lowest vice in the scale of depravity; so that the imprecation of the Spartan king on himself was as strong as if he had said ἀνοσιωτάτῳ. See i. 138: αἴσχιστον δὲ αὐτοῖσι τὸ ψεύδεσθαι νενόμισται· δεύτερα δὲ τὸ ὀφείλειν χρέος, πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων εἵνεκα, μάλιστα δὲ ἀναγκαίην φασὶ εἶναι τὸν ὀφείλοντα καί τι ψεῦδος λέγειν.

[540] παρεξῆκε. S and V have παρῆκεν.

days' delay, orders an attack on the pass,

ὡς οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, ἀλλά οἱ ἐφαίνοντο ἀναιδείῃ τε καὶ ἀβουλίῃ διαχρεώμενοι μένειν; πέμπει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Μήδους τε καὶ Κισσίους θυμωθεὶς, ἐντειλάμενός σφεας ζωγρήσαντας ἄγειν ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ· ὡς δ' ἐπέπεσον φερόμενοι ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας οἱ Μῆδοι, ἔπιπτον πολλοί· ἄλλοι δ' ἐπεσήϊσαν, καὶ οὐκ ἀπελαύνοντο καίπερ μεγάλως προσπταίοντες· δῆλον δ' ἐποίευν παντί τεῳ καὶ οὐκ ἥκιστα αὐτῷ βασιλέϊ, ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνθρωποι εἶεν ὀλίγοι δὲ

211 ἄνδρες. ἐγίνετο δὲ ἡ συμβολὴ δι' ἡμέρης. Ἐπεί τε δὲ οἱ Μῆδοι

which entirely fails

τρηχέως περιείποντο, ἐνθαῦτα οὗτοι μὲν ὑπεξήϊσαν, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐκδεξάμενοι ἐπήϊσαν τοὺς ἀθανάτους ἐκάλεε βασιλεὺς, τῶν ἦρχε Ὑδάρνης[541], ὡς δὴ οὗτοί γε εὐπετέως κατεργασόμενοι· ὡς δὲ καὶ οὗτοι συνέμισγον τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, οὐδὲν πλέον ἐφέροντο τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς Μηδικῆς ἀλλὰ τὰ αὐτὰ, ἅτε ἐν στεινοπόρῳ τε χώρῳ μαχόμενοι καὶ δόρασι βραχυτέροισι χρεώμενοι ἤπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες πλήθεϊ χρήσασθαι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως λόγου, ἄλλα τε ἀποδεικνύμενοι ἐν οὐκ ἐπισταμένοισι μάχεσθαι ἐξεπιστάμενοι, καὶ ὅκως ἐντρέψειαν τὰ νῶτα, ἀλέες φεύγεσκον δῆθεν· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ὁρέωντες φεύγοντας βοῇ τε καὶ πατάγῳ ἐπήϊσαν, οἱ δ' ἂν καταλαμβανόμενοι ὑπέστρεφον ἀντίοι εἶναι τοῖσι βαρβάροισι· μεταστρεφόμενοι δὲ κατέβαλλον πλήθεϊ ἀναριθμήτους τῶν Περσέων· ἔπιπτον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐνθαῦτα ὀλίγοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐδυνέατο παραλαβεῖν οἱ Πέρσαι τῆς ἐσόδου πειρεώμενοι, καὶ κατὰ τέλεα[542] καὶ παντοίως προσβάλλοντες, ἀπήλαυνον ὀπίσω. ἐν ταύτῃσι τῇσι προσόδοισι τῆς μάχης λέγεται βασιλέα θηεύμενον τρὶς ἀναδραμεῖν ἐκ τοῦ

212 θρόνου[543], δείσαντα περὶ τῇ στρατιῇ. Τότε μὲν οὕτω ἠγωνίσαντο· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίῃ οἱ βάρβαροι οὐδὲν ἄμεινον ἀέθλεον· ἅτε γὰρ ὀλίγων ἐόντων, ἐλπίσαντές σφεας κατατετρωματίσθαι τε καὶ οὐκ οἵους τε ἔσεσθαι ἔτι χεῖρας ἀνταείρασθαι, συνέβαλλον· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες κατὰ τάξις τε καὶ κατὰ ἔθνεα κεκοσμημένοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἐν μέρεϊ ἕκαστοι ἐμάχοντο, πλὴν Φωκέων· οὗτοι δὲ ἐς τὸ οὖρος ἐτάχθησαν

[541] Ὑδάρνης. See note 254 on § 83, above.

[542] κατὰ τέλεα, "by squadrons." See note on ix. 24, below.

[543] ἀναδραμεῖν ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου. This act expresses sudden consternation. So Darius is described as ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου ἀναπηδήσας when Zopyrus presents himself mutilated before him (iii. 155). With the grave orientals nothing could so completely indicate an all-engrossing feeling of fear or horror as a gesture of this kind.

φυλάξοντες τὴν ἀτραπόν· ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν εὕρισκον ἀλλοιότερον οἱ Πέρσαι ἢ τῇ προτεραίῃ ἐνώρων, ἀπήλαυνον.

for two whole days.

213 Ἀπορέοντος δὲ βασιλέος ὅ τι χρήσεται[544] τῷ παρεόντι πρήγματι, Ἐπιάλτης ὁ Εὐρυδήμου ἀνὴρ Μηλιεὺς ἦλθέ οἱ ἐς λόγους, ὡς μέγα τι παρὰ βασιλέος δοκέων οἴσεσθαι· ἔφρασέ τε τὴν ἀτραπὸν τὴν διὰ τοῦ οὔρεος φέρουσαν ἐς Θερμοπύλας, καὶ διέφθειρε τοὺς ταύτῃ ὑπομείναντας Ἑλλήνων· ὕστερον δὲ δείσας Λακεδαιμονίους ἔφυγε ἐς Θεσσαλίην· καί οἱ φυγόντι ὑπὸ τῶν Πυλαγόρων (τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐς τὴν Πυλαίην συλλεγομένων) ἀργύριον ἐπεκηρύχθη· χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον, κατῆλθε γὰρ ἐς Ἀντικύρην, ἀπέθανε ὑπὸ Ἀθηνάδεω ἀνδρὸς Τρηχινίου· ὁ δὲ Ἀθηνάδης οὗτος ἀπέκτεινε μὲν Ἐπιάλτεα δι' ἄλλην αἰτίην, τὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσι ὄπισθε λόγοισι[545] σημανέω· ἐτιμήθη μέντοι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων οὐδὲν ἧσσον. Ἐπιάλτης μὲν οὕτω ὕστερον τούτων ἀπέθανε.

The perplexity of Xerxes is put an end to by the treachery of a Melian, who shows him a path over the mountains.

214 Ἔστι δὲ ἕτερος λεγόμενος λόγος, ὡς Ὀνήτης τε ὁ Φαναγόρεω ἀνὴρ Καρύστιος καὶ Κορυδαλλὸς Ἀντικυρεύς εἰσι οἱ εἴπαντες πρὸς βασιλέα τούτους τοὺς λόγους, καὶ περιηγησάμενοι τὸ οὖρος τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι, οὐδαμῶς ἐμοί γε πιστός· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τῷδε χρὴ σταθμώσασθαι, ὅτι οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Πυλαγόροι ἐπεκήρυξαν οὐκ ἐπὶ Ὀνήτῃ τε καὶ Κορυδαλλῷ ἀργύριον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Ἐπιάλτῃ τῷ Τρηχινίῳ, πάντως κου τὸ ἀτρεκέστατον πυθόμενοι· τοῦτο δὲ, φεύγοντα τὸν Ἐπιάλτην ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην οἴδαμεν· εἰδείη μὲν γὰρ ἂν, καὶ ἐὼν μὴ Μηλιεὺς, ταύτην τὴν ἀτραπὸν Ὀνήτης εἰ τῇ χώρῃ πολλὰ ὡμιληκὼς εἴη· ἀλλ' Ἐπιάλτης γάρ ἐστι ὁ περιηγησάμενος τὸ οὖρος κατὰ τὴν ἀτραπὸν, τοῦτον αἴτιον γράφω.

215 Ξέρξης δὲ, ἐπεί οἱ ἤρεσε[546] τὰ ὑπέσχετο ὁ Ἐπιάλτης κατεργάσεσθαι, αὐτίκα περιχαρὴς γενόμενος ἔπεμπε Ὑδάρνεα, καὶ τῶν ἐστρατήγεε Ὑδάρνης· ὡρμέατο δὲ περὶ λύχνων ἁφὰς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. τὴν δὲ ἀτραπὸν ταύτην ἐξεῦρον μὲν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Μηλιέες, ἐξευρόντες δὲ Θεσσαλοῖσι κατηγήσαντο ἐπὶ Φωκέας τότε, ὅτε οἱ Φωκέες φράξαντες τείχεϊ τὴν ἐσβολὴν ἦσαν ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ

Hydarnes and his division are despatched with Ephialtes by the mountain pass.

544 χρήσεται. Gaisford has given this reading on the authority of one manuscript (S). The others are divided between χρήσηται and χρήσαιτο. See note 34 on v. 12.

545 ἐν τοῖσι ὄπισθε λόγοισι. Herodotus does not fulfil this promise. See note 620 on i. 184.

546 Ξέρξης δὲ, ἐπεί οἱ ἤρεσε. S has Ξέρξῃ δὲ ἐπεὶ ἤρεσε.

πολέμου[547]· ἔκ τε τόσου δὴ κατεδέδεκτο ἐοῦσα οὐδὲν χρηστὴ
216 Μηλιεῦσι[548]. Ἔχει δὲ ὧδε ἡ ἀτραπὸς αὕτη· ἄρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ διὰ τῆς διασφάγος ῥέοντος· οὔνομα δὲ τῷ οὔρεϊ τούτῳ καὶ τῇ ἀτραπῷ τὠυτὸ κεῖται Ἀνόπαια· τείνει δὲ ἡ Ἀνόπαια αὕτη κατὰ ῥάχιν τοῦ οὔρεος· λήγει δὴ κατά τε Ἀλπηνὸν πόλιν, πρώτην ἐοῦσαν τῶν Λοκρίδων πρὸς τῶν Μηλιέων, καὶ κατὰ Μελάμπυγόν τε καλεόμενον λίθον[549] καὶ κατὰ Κερκώπων ἕδρας· τῇ καὶ τὸ στεινότατόν ἐστι.

Description of it.

217 Κατὰ ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἀτραπὸν καὶ οὕτω ἔχουσαν οἱ Πέρσαι τὸν Ἀσωπὸν διαβάντες ἐπορεύοντο πᾶσαν τὴν νύκτα, ἐν δεξιῇ μὲν ἔχοντες οὔρεα τὰ Οἰταίων ἐν ἀριστερῇ δὲ τὰ Τρηχινίων· ἠώς τε δὴ διέφαινε[550], καὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπ' ἀκρωτηρίῳ τοῦ οὔρεος. κατὰ δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ οὔρεος ἐφύλασσον, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται, Φωκέων χίλιοι ὁπλῖται, ῥυόμενοί τε τὴν σφετέρην χώρην καὶ φρουρέοντες τὴν ἀτραπόν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ κάτω ἐσβολὴ ἐφυλάσσετο ὑπὸ τῶν εἴρηται· τὴν δὲ διὰ τοῦ οὔρεος ἀτραπὸν ἐθελονταὶ Φωκέες ὑποδεξάμενοι Λεωνίδῃ ἐφύλασσον.

They reach the top of the mountain at daybreak.

218 Ἔμαθον δέ σφεας οἱ Φωκέες ὧδε ἀναβεβηκότας· ἀναβαίνοντες γὰρ ἐλάνθανον οἱ Πέρσαι τὸ οὔρος πᾶν ἐὸν δρυῶν ἐπίπλεον· ἦν μὲν δὴ νηνεμίη, ψόφου δὲ γινομένου πολλοῦ ὡς οἰκὸς ἦν φύλλων ὑποκεχυμένων ὑπὸ τοῖσι ποσὶ, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον οἱ Φωκέες καὶ ἔδυντο τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ αὐτίκα οἱ βάρβαροι παρῆσαν[551]· ὡς δὲ εἶδον

547 ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ πολέμου. See note 487 on i. 143.

548 ἔκ τε τόσου . . . Μηλιεῦσι, "from so long back had the Melians been made aware of its capabilities for mischief." The euphemism of οὐδὲν χρηστὴ in the sense of "extremely pernicious" is very common. There seems no record of any particular occasion on which the Thessalians succeeded, by means of this path, in turning the position of the Phocians. It was doubtless in the very early times, when the Thessalian tribes came first into the region which they inhabited in the time of Herodotus (above, § 176). The wall, said to be built by the Phocians on that occasion, had fallen with age.

549 Μελάμπυγόν τε καλεόμενον λίθον. *Melampygus* seems to have been a surname of Heracles, who is represented as having in wrath slain two brothers called Cercopes for ridiculing him. The term κέρκωψ appears to have been the name of a kind of monkey (into which one version of the legend made the brothers to be metamorphosed: ZENOBIUS, *Proverb.* iv. 50), and hence the term is used both to denote a person of extreme cunning, and one who delights in mischievous annoyance. ÆSCHINES (*De falsâ legatione*, § 43) uses it in the former sense: ὅ τι μὲν οὖν ποθ' ὁ Κέρκωψ, ἢ τὸ καλούμενον παιπάλημα, ἢ τὸ παλίμβολον, ἢ τὰ τοιαῦτα ῥήματα, οὐκ ᾔδειν πρότερον. Another version of the legend made the brothers changed into stone, a form of the story which probably prevailed in the locality described in the text, although the catastrophe is laid in Lydia at the court of Omphale. (See Gaisford's PARŒMIOGRAPHI GRÆCI: *Bodleian Proverbs*, No. 537.)

550 ἠώς τε δὴ διέφαινε. This is the reading of the majority of the MSS. Gaisford, following P, F, and *b*, omits δή. S has ἠώς τε δὴ ἔφαινε.

551 ἀνά τε ἔδραμον . . . οἱ βάρβαροι παρῆσαν, "just as the Phocians got on the

ἄνδρας ἐνδυομένους ὅπλα, ἐν θώματι ἐγένοντο· ἐλπόμενοι γὰρ οὐδέν σφι φανήσεσθαι ἀντίξοον ἐνεκύρησαν στρατῷ· ἐνθαῦτα Ὑδάρνης καταρρωδήσας μὴ οἱ Φωκέες ἔωσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εἴρετο τὸν Ἐπιάλτεα ποδαπὸς εἴη ὁ στρατός; πυθόμενος δὲ ἀτρεκέως, διέτασσε τοὺς Πέρσας ὡς ἐς μάχην· οἱ δὲ Φωκέες, ὡς ἐβάλλοντο τοῖσι τοξεύμασι πολλοῖσί τε καὶ πυκνοῖσι, οἴχοντο φεύγοντες ἐπὶ τοῦ οὔρεος τὸν κόρυμβον, ἐπιστάμενοι ὡς ἐπὶ σφέας ὡρμήθησαν ἀρχὴν[552], καὶ παρεσκευάδατο ὡς ἀπολεόμενοι· οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐφρόνεον, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἐπιάλτεα καὶ Ὑδάρνεα Πέρσαι Φωκέων μὲν οὐδένα λόγον ἐποιεῦντο, οἱ δὲ κατέβαινον τὸ οὖρος κατὰ τάχος.

219 Τοῖσι δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐοῦσι Ἑλλήνων, πρῶτον μὲν ὁ μάντις Μεγιστίης ἐσιδὼν ἐς τὰ ἱρὰ ἔφρασε τὸν μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι ἅμα ἠοῖ σφι θάνατον· ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτόμολοι ἦϊσαν οἱ ἐξαγγείλαντες τῶν Περσέων τὴν περίοδον· οὗτοι μὲν ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐσήμηναν· τρίτοι δὲ οἱ ἡμεροσκόποι καταδραμόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων, ἤδη διαφαινούσης ἡμέρης. ἐνθαῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, καί σφεων ἐσχίζοντο αἱ γνῶμαι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔων τὴν τάξιν ἐκλιπεῖν, οἱ δὲ ἀντέτεινον· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο διακριθέντες, οἱ μὲν ἀπαλλάσσοντο καὶ διασκεδασθέντες κατὰ πόλις ἕκαστοι ἐτράποντο, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἅμα Λεωνίδῃ μένειν αὐτοῦ παρασκευάδατο.

The Greeks in the pass learn the passage of the mountain by the enemy

220 Λέγεται δὲ ὡς αὐτός σφεας ἀπέπεμψε Λεωνίδης, μὴ ἀπόλωνται κηδόμενος· αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ Σπαρτιητέων τοῖσι παρεοῦσι οὐκ ἔχειν εὐπρεπέως ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν ἐς τὴν ἦλθον φυλάξοντες ἀρχήν[553]. ταύτῃ καὶ μᾶλλον τῇ γνώμῃ πλεῖστός εἰμι[a], Λεωνίδην, ἐπεί τε ᾔσθετο τοὺς συμμάχους ἐόντας ἀπροθύμους καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντας συνδιακινδυνεύειν, κελεῦσαί σφεας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι· αὐτῷ δὲ ἀπιέναι οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν. μένοντι δὲ αὐτοῦ κλέος μέγα ἐλείπετο, καὶ ἡ Σπάρτης εὐδαιμονίη οὐκ ἐξη-

and Leonidas sends away most of his troops.

alert, and armed themselves, on that instant the barbarians were upon them." The synchronism of the two facts is indicated by the particles τε—καὶ, which connect the clauses; just as above: ἠώς τε δὴ διέφαινε καὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπ' ἀκρωτηρίῳ τοῦ οὔρεος, "just as day broke, now, they arrived on the summit of the mountain." See note 472 on iv. 181.

552 ὡς ἐπὶ σφέας ὡρμήθησαν ἀρχὴν, "that they were making an attack upon them in the first instance," *i.e.* that the crushing the Phocian force was the first object of the movement. See the next note.

553 ἐς τὴν ἦλθον φυλάξοντες ἀρχήν. The use of the word ἀρχὴν here and above (§ 218) is nearly, but not exactly, the same as that in i. 9; ii. 95, and iii. 39, which is illustrated in note 42 on i. 9. In these the English, "in the first instance," or "at all events," is an appropriate translation. Leonidas puts forward the duty of maintaining his post as the first thing which had to be done, whatever else might follow.

a ταύτῃ καὶ μᾶλλον τῇ γνώμῃ πλεῖστός εἰμι. Compare i. 120: καὶ αὐτὸς, ὦ μάγοι, ταύτῃ πλεῖστος γνώμην εἰμί.

λείφετο· ἐκέχρητο[554] γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίης τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτῃσι, χρεωμένοισι περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐγειρομένου, ἢ Λακεδαίμονα ἀνάστατον γενέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἢ τὸν βασιλέα σφεων ἀπολέεσθαι[555]. ταῦτα δέ σφι ἐν ἔπεσι ἑξαμέτροισι ἔχοντα χρᾷ, λέγοντα ὧδε·

Ὑμῖν δ', ὦ Σπάρτης οἰκήτορες εὐρυχόροιο,
ἢ μέγα ἄστυ 'ρικυδὲς ὑπ' ἀνδράσι Περσεΐδῃσι
πέρθεται· ἢ τὸ μὲν οὐχί, ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους δὲ γενέθλης
πενθήσει βασιλῆ φθίμενον Λακεδαίμονος οὖρος.
οὐ γὰρ τὸν ταύρων σχήσει μένος οὐδὲ λεόντων
ἀντιβίην· Ζηνὸς γὰρ ἔχει μένος· οὐδέ ἑ φημὶ
σχήσεσθαι, πρὶν τῶνδ' ἕτερον διὰ πάντα δάσηται.

ταῦτά τε δὴ ἐπιλεγόμενον Λεωνίδην, καὶ βουλόμενον κλέος καταθέσθαι μοῦνον[556] Σπαρτιητέων, ἀποπέμψαι τοὺς συμμάχους μᾶλλον, ἢ γνώμῃ διενεχθέντας οὕτω ἀκόσμως οἴχεσθαι τοὺς

[554] ἐκέχρητο. Here all the MSS, with scarcely an exception, have this form instead of the more usual ἐκέχρηστο. But see the note 437 on ii. 147.

[555] ἢ Λακεδαίμονα ἀνάστατον . . . ἀπολέεσθαι. The notion which gave rise to this oracle seems to be the one, that in a dire extremity the anger of the deity was only to be propitiated by a most costly offering. (See note 676 on i. 199.) Leonidas is the Hellenic Decius, who, as Livy describes it, seemed "sicut cœlo missus, piaculum omnis deorum iræ, qui pestem a suis aversam in hostes ferret." Compare the case of Hamilcar (above, § 167). It was no doubt this superstitious feeling, and not mere vanity (as some have interpreted the proceeding), which determined him to stay after his position was turned. Some of the stories which were current in after days proceed on the supposition that at the time he left Sparta he never expected to return. Plutarch, for instance, says that his wife asked instructions for her conduct in her widowhood from him; and that *funeral games* were performed, as over him, in his presence. (*De Malign. Herod.* § 32.) It may be observed that these human sacrifices belonged to a primeval system of religion, as may be seen by the formula with which the elder Decius devotes himself. (Livy, viii. 9.) Now the attachment of Leonidas's father-in-law and half-brother Cleomenes to this religious system has been above remarked. (See especially note 189 on v. 72, and notes 172, 177, 186, and 190 on Book vi.) And it is a curious circumstance, that to Leonidas it was allowed as a special favour by the Thebans to pass the night in their temple of Heracles, where he consulted the deity *by a dream.* (Plutarch, *Ibid.* § 31.) The mode of consultation proves that the religious ideas on which the service was originally founded belonged to the same system (see note 164 on i. 52), so that in the fact of the privilege conferred on Leonidas there is presumptive evidence that he shared the religious predilections of his half-brother, and on this account was perhaps allowed access to a temple which would have been otherwise closed against him. On the same principle we may perhaps account for his absence from the *Carnea*, the festival especially appropriate to the *Dorian* Apollo, and commemorative of the successful invasion of the Peloponnese. See notes 530 and 534, above.

[556] μοῦνον. Plutarch (*de Malign. H.* § 31) quotes this passage as if he found μούνων in his copy, and censures Herodotus for attributing such unworthy motives to his hero. But all the MSS have μοῦνον, and the sense afforded by that reading is more in accordance with the context. Leonidas wished the glorious story of the Spartan deed to remain pure and *unmixed* with any discordant incidents, such as those of flight or recusancy on the part of their companions.

221 *οἰχομένους. Μαρτύριον δέ μοι καὶ τόδε οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τούτου πέρι γέγονε· οὐ γὰρ μοῦνον τοὺς ἄλλους ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν μάντιν ὃς εἵπετο τῇ στρατιῇ ταύτῃ, Μεγιστίην τὸν Ἀκαρνῆνα λεγόμενον εἶναι τὰ ἀνέκαθεν ἀπὸ Μελάμποδος, τοῦτον εἴπαντα ἐκ τῶν ἱρῶν τὰ μέλλοντά σφι ἐκβαίνειν φανερός ἐστι Λεωνίδης ἀποπέμπων, ἵνα μὴ συναπόληταί σφι· ὁ δὲ ἀποπεμπόμενος αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἀπελίπετο, τὸν δὲ παῖδα συστρατευόμενον ἐόντα οἱ μουνογενέα ἀπέπεμψε.*

222 *Οἱ μέν νυν σύμμαχοι οἱ ἀποπεμπόμενοι οἴχοντό τε ἀπιόντες, καὶ ἐπείθοντο Λεωνίδῃ· Θεσπιέες δὲ καὶ Θηβαῖοι κατέμειναν μοῦνοι παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοισι· τούτων δὲ Θηβαῖοι μὲν ἀέκοντες ἔμενον, καὶ οὐ βουλόμενοι· κατεῖχε γάρ σφεας Λεωνίδης ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ ποιεύμενος· Θεσπιέες δὲ ἑκόντες μάλιστα*[557]*, οἳ οὐκ ἔφασαν ἀπολιπόντες Λεωνίδην καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀπαλλάξεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καταμείναντες συναπέθανον· ἐστρατήγεε δὲ αὐτῶν Δημόφιλος Διαδρόμεω.*

The *Thespiean* and *Theban* contingents alone remain with the Spartans under Leonidas.

223 *Ξέρξης δὲ ἐπεὶ ἡλίου ἀνατείλαντος σπονδὰς ἐποιήσατο, ἐπισχὼν χρόνον, ἐς ἀγορῆς κου μάλιστα πληθώρην πρόσοδον ἐποιέετο· καὶ γὰρ ἐπέσταλτο ἐξ Ἐπιάλτεω οὕτω· ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ οὔρεος ἡ κατάβασις συντομωτέρη τέ ἐστι, καὶ βραχύτερος ὁ χῶρος πολλὸν, ἤπερ ἡ περίοδός τε καὶ ἀνάβασις. οἵ τε δὴ βάρβαροι οἱ ἀμφὶ Ξέρξεα προσήϊσαν, καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην Ἕλληνες, ὡς τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἔξοδον ποιεύμενοι, ἤδη πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐπεξήϊσαν ἐς τὸ εὐρύτερον τοῦ αὐχένος· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔρυμα τοῦ τείχεος ἐφυλάσσετο, οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ τὰς προτέρας ἡμέρας ὑπεξιόντες ἐς τὰ στεινόπορα ἐμάχοντο. τότε δὴ συμμίσγοντες ἔξω τῶν στεινῶν, ἔπιπτον πλήθεϊ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων· ὄπισθε γὰρ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν τελέων ἔχοντες μάστιγας, ἐῤῥάπιζον πάντα ἄνδρα αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσω ἐποτρύνοντες. πολλοὶ μὲν δὴ ἐσέπιπτον αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ διεφθείροντο· πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνες κατεπατέοντο*

The defenders of the pass sell their lives dearly,

[557] *Θεσπιέες δὲ ἑκόντες μάλιστα.* In later times the credit of a share in the action was attributed at Athens, not to the Thespieans, but the *Platæans.* The author of the *Oration against Neæra* says of these: *μόνοι τῶν ἄλλων Βοιωτῶν . . . . μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Λεωνίδου ἐν Θερμοπύλαις παραταξάμενοι τῷ βαρβάρῳ ἐπιόντι συναπώλοντο.* Half of the adult citizens, according to the orator, perished in the pass; the other half embarked on board the Athenian galleys, and fought at Artemisium and Salamis (§ 125). Compare equally varying statements of facts which must have been notorious, in note 213 on i. 63, and 138 on iii. 47. PAUSANIAS, possibly by a slip of the memory, makes, instead of the Thespieans, eighty *Mycenians* participators in Leonidas's exploit (x. 20. 1).

ζωοὶ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων· ἦν δὲ λόγος οὐδεὶς τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου. ἅτε γὰρ
ἐπιστάμενοι τὸν μέλλοντά σφι ἔσεσθαι θάνατον ἐκ τῶν περιϊόντων
τὸ οὖρος, ἀπεδείκνυντο ῥώμης ὅσον εἶχον μέγιστον ἐς τοὺς βαρ-
βάρους, παραχρεώμενοί τε καὶ ἀτέοντες [558]. Δόρατα μέν νυν τοῖσι
224 πλεόνεσιν αὐτῶν τηνικαῦτα ἤδη ἐτύγχανε κατεηγότα, οἱ δὲ τοῖσι
ξίφεσι διεργάζοντο τοὺς Πέρσας· καὶ Λεωνίδης τε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ
πόνῳ πίπτει, ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἄριστος, καὶ ἕτεροι μετ' αὐτοῦ ὀνομα-
στοὶ Σπαρτιητέων, τῶν ἐγὼ ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἀξίων γενομένων ἐπυθόμην
τὰ οὐνόματα· ἐπυθόμην δὲ καὶ ἁπάντων τῶν τριηκοσίων [559]· καὶ
δὴ καὶ Περσέων πίπτουσι ἐνθαῦτα ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ ὀνομαστοί,
ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Δαρείου δύο παῖδες, Ἀβροκόμης τε καὶ Ὑπεράνθης [560],
ἐκ τῆς Ἀρτάνεω θυγατρὸς Φραταγούνης γεγονότες Δαρείῳ· ὁ δὲ
Ἀρτάνης [561] Δαρείου μὲν τοῦ βασιλέος ἦν ἀδελφεός, Ὑστάσπεος
δὲ τοῦ Ἀρσάμεω παῖς· ὃς καὶ ἐκδιδοὺς τὴν θυγατέρα Δαρείῳ, τὸν
οἶκον πάντα τὸν ἑωυτοῦ ἐπέδωκε, ὡς μούνου οἱ ἐούσης ταύτης
τέκνου. Ξέρξεώ τε δὴ δύο ἀδελφεοὶ [562] ἐνθαῦτα πίπτουσι μαχεό-
225 μενοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ νεκροῦ τοῦ Λεωνίδεω· Περσέων τε καὶ Λακεδαι-

558 ἀτέοντες. The meaning of this word appears to be something like "frantic," *i.e.* acting as if possessed by an ἄτη, a spirit of self-destruction. The true reading of *Iliad.* xx. 332 is probably ἀτέοντα, used in this sense. So too παραχρᾶσθαι is to act as having no care about the result: ἐκ παρέργου χρᾶσθαι. It is applied to the Egyptian soldiers, who, never having come into contact with Hellenes, thought they could overwhelm them without any difficulty (iv. 159), and to the conduct of the Lacedæmonians in not scrupling to force a dynastic form of government on their allies, although in their own case they would shrink from such a thing: παραχρᾶσθε ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους (v. 92).

559 ἁπάντων τῶν τριηκοσίων. In the time of PAUSANIAS there was a column standing at Sparta on which the names of all the combatants, together with those of their fathers, were inscribed (iii. 14. 1). This can hardly have existed in the time of Herodotus, or he would not have mentioned his knowledge of the names in the way he does. According to Pausanias (l. c.) the bones of Leonidas were brought to Sparta forty years after he fell at Thermopylæ.

560 Ἀβροκόμης τε καὶ Ὑπεράνθης. These names, like *Phædime* (iii. 88), are obviously of Hellenic origin. The former of them is the name of the hero in the novel of XENOPHON OF EPHESUS. It is however just possible that they may be the translation of Persian names or surnames.

561 Ἀρτάνης. Some of the MSS have Ἀτάρνης. In § 66, above, three of the MSS have Ἀρτάνης in the place of Ἀζάνης, which is the reading of the rest.

562 Ξέρξεώ τε δὴ δύο ἀδελφεοί. These "brothers" of Xerxes cannot be brothers by both parents; for of the *four* sons of Atossa (vii. 2), Masistes was put to death by Xerxes after his return to Susa (ix. 113), and Achæmenes was killed by Inarus in Egypt at a much later period (iii. 12). Yet the way in which they are mentioned seems to indicate that in the mind of the narrator they were regarded as different persons from Abrocomas and Hyperanthes; and if so, it seems strange that they should not be described, like those, as *sons of Darius*, rather than simply as *brothers of Xerxes*. It is not impossible that Herodotus is here uniting, without suspecting the fact, two different versions of the same story. For the complete pedigree of the family of Darius according to Herodotus, see *Excursus*.

μονίων ὠθισμὸς ἐγένετο πολλός· ἐς ὃ τοῦτόν τε ἀρετῇ οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑπεξείρυσαν, καὶ ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς ἐναντίους τετράκις. τοῦτο δὲ συνεστήκεε μέχρι οὗ οἱ σὺν Ἐπιάλτῃ παρεγένοντο· ὡς δὲ τούτους ἥκειν ἐπύθοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ἑτεροιοῦτο τὸ νεῖκος[563]. *ἔς τε γὰρ τὸ στεινὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀνεχώρεον ὀπίσω, καὶ παραμειψάμενοι τὸ τεῖχος ἐλθόντες ἵζοντο ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν πάντες ἀλέες οἱ ἄλλοι, πλὴν Θηβαίων· ὁ δὲ κολωνός ἐστι ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ ὅκου νῦν ὁ λίθινος λέων ἕστηκε ἐπὶ Λεωνίδῃ· ἐν τούτῳ σφέας τῷ χώρῳ*[564] *ἀλεξομένους μαχαίρῃσι, τοῖσι αὐτῶν ἐτύγχανον ἔτι περιεοῦσαι, καὶ χερσὶ καὶ στόμασι, κατέχωσαν οἱ βάρβαροι βάλλοντες, οἱ μὲν ἐξ ἐναντίης ἐπισπόμενοι καὶ τὸ ἔρυμα τοῦ τείχεος συγχώσαντες, οἱ δὲ περιελθόντες πάντοθε περισταδόν.*

and are all slain.

226 *Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ Θεσπιέων τοιούτων γενομένων, ὅμως λέγεται ἀνὴρ ἄριστος γενέσθαι Σπαρτιήτης Διηνέκης· τὸν τόδε φασὶ εἶπαι τὸ ἔπος πρὶν ἢ συμμῖξαι σφέας τοῖσι Μήδοισι, πυθόμενον πρός τευ τῶν Τρηχινίων ὡς ἐπεὰν οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπιέωσι τὰ τοξεύματα, τὸν ἥλιον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθεος τῶν ὀϊστῶν ἀποκρύπτουσι· τοσοῦτό τι πλῆθος αὐτῶν εἶναι· τὸν δὲ οὐκ ἐκπλαγέντα τούτοισι, εἰπεῖν, ἐν ἀλογίῃ ποιεύμενον τὸ τῶν Μήδων πλῆθος, ὡς πάντα σφι ἀγαθὰ ὁ Τρηχίνιος ξεῖνος ἀγγέλλοι, εἰ ἀποκρυπτόντων τῶν Μήδων τὸν ἥλιον ὑπὸ σκιῇ ἔσοιτο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἡ μάχη, καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἡλίῳ. ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἄλλα τοιουτότροπα ἔπεά φασι Διηνέκεα τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον λιπέσθαι μνημόσυνα.* 227 *Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἀριστεῦσαι λέγονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι δύο ἀδελφεοί, Ἀλφεός τε καὶ Μάρων, Ὀρσιφάντου παῖδες. Θεσπιέων δὲ εὐδοκίμεε μάλιστα τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Διθύραμβος Ἁρματίδεω.*

Anecdote of *Dieneces*, the bravest of the three hundred, who was remarkable for his good sayings.

[563] *ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ἑτεροιοῦτο τὸ νεῖκος.* Similarly below, ix. 102: *ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ἑτεροιοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα.*

[564] *ἐν τούτῳ σφέας τῷ χώρῳ.* Diodorus (xi. 9) and Plutarch (*de Malign. H.* § 32) give an entirely different account of the particulars of the death of the Greeks. According to them, they, on finding themselves taken in the rear, broke up from their lines at night and advanced into the midst of the Persian camp, hoping to reach the quarters of the Persian king and to slay him. It is plain that such a proceeding is incompatible with the circumstances of time as given by Herodotus. But all the details of the affair must necessarily have been very uncertain if really none survived; and it is only to be expected that they should be varied in the current accounts. A parallel instance, singularly instructive as showing how the kernel of a true story remains while almost every particular is altered, is afforded by the heroic feat of the centurion, who alone preserved his fidelity to Galba at the time when he was assassinated. The accounts given by Tacitus (*Hist.* i. 43) and Plutarch (*Galb.* § 26) both seem to rest on the authority of actual eye-witnesses; and yet they differ remarkably from each other.

228 Θαφθεῖσι δέ σφι αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ τῇπερ ἔπεσον[565], καὶ τοῖσι πρότερον τελευτήσασι ἢ ὑπὸ Λεωνίδεω ἀποπεμφθέντας οἴχεσθαι, ἐπιγέγραπται γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε·

Inscriptions over the dead.

Μυριάσιν ποτὲ τῇδε τριηκοσίαις ἐμάχοντο
ἐκ Πελοποννάσου χιλιάδες τέτορες[566].

ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖσι πᾶσι ἐπιγέγραπται· τοῖσι δὲ Σπαρτιήτῃσι ἰδίῃ·

Ὦ ξεῖν', ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτι τῇδε
κείμεθα τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι.

Λακεδαιμονίοισι μὲν δὴ τοῦτο· τῷ δὲ μάντι, τόδε·

Μνῆμα τόδε κλεινοῖο Μεγιστία, ὅν ποτε Μῆδοι
Σπερχειὸν ποταμὸν κτεῖναν ἀμειψάμενοι,
μάντιος, ὃς τότε κῆρας ἐπερχομένας σάφα εἰδὼς,
οὐκ ἔτλη Σπάρτης ἡγεμόνας προλιπεῖν.

ἐπιγράμμασι μέν νυν καὶ στήλῃσι, ἔξω ἢ τὸ τοῦ μάντιος ἐπίγραμμα, Ἀμφικτυόνες εἰσί σφέας οἱ ἐπικοσμήσαντες· τὸ δὲ τοῦ μάντιος Μεγιστίεω, Σιμωνίδης ὁ Λεωπρέπεός ἐστι κατὰ ξεινίην ὁ ἐπιγράψας.

229 Δύο δὲ τούτων τῶν τριηκοσίων λέγεται Εὔρυτόν τε καὶ Ἀριστόδημον, παρεὸν αὐτοῖσι ἀμφοτέροισι κοινῷ λόγῳ χρησαμένοισι, ἢ ἀποσωθῆναι ὁμοῦ ἐς Σπάρτην, ὡς μεμετιμένοι[567] τε ἦσαν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὑπὸ Λεωνίδεω, καὶ κατεκέατο ἐν Ἀλπηνοῖσι ὀφθαλμιῶντες ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον· ἤ, εἴγε μὴ ἐβούλοντο νοστῆσαι, ἀποθανέειν ἅμα τοῖσι ἄλλοισι· παρεόν σφι τούτων τὰ ἕτερα ποιέειν, οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι ὁμοφρονέειν· ἀλλὰ γνώμῃ διενειχθέντας, Εὔρυτον μὲν πυθόμενον τῶν Περσέων τὴν περίοδον, αἰτήσαντά τε τὰ ὅπλα καὶ ἐνδύντα, ἄγειν αὐτὸν κελεῦσαι τὸν εἵλωτα ἐς τοὺς μαχομένους· ὅκως δὲ αὐτὸν ἤγαγε, τὸν μὲν ἀγαγόντα οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα, τὸν δὲ ἐσπεσόντα ἐς τὸν ὅμιλον διαφθαρῆναι· Ἀριστόδημον δὲ λειποψυχέοντα[568] λειφθῆναι. εἰ μέν νυν ἦν μοῦνον Ἀριστόδημον

Story of two individuals among the three hundred Spartans.

565 αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ τῇπερ ἔπεσον. The bones of Leonidas were carried to Sparta forty years afterwards. See above, note 559.

566 χιλιάδες τέτορες. See viii. 25, below.

567 μεμετιμένοι. See note 309 on v. 108.

568 λειποψυχέοντα. This word appears to be used in the sense of "failing in courage," not in its usual meaning of "fainting" from physical exhaustion.

ἀλγήσαντα ἀπονοστῆσαι ἐς Σπάρτην ἢ καὶ ὁμοῦ σφέων ἀμφοτέρων τὴν κομιδὴν γενέσθαι, δοκέειν ἐμοὶ, οὐκ ἄν σφι Σπαρτιήτας μῆνιν οὐδεμίαν προσθέσθαι· νυνὶ δὲ, τοῦ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπολομένου, τοῦ δὲ τῆς μὲν αὐτῆς ἐχομένου προφάσιος οὐκ ἐθελήσαντος δὲ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἀναγκαίως σφι ἔχειν μηνίσαι μεγάλως Ἀριστοδήμῳ.
Οἱ μέν νυν οὕτω σωθῆναι λέγουσι Ἀριστόδημον ἐς Σπάρτην, καὶ 230
διὰ πρόφασιν τοιήνδε· οἱ δὲ ἄγγελον πεμφθέντα[569] ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ἐξεὸν αὐτῷ καταλαβεῖν τὴν μάχην γινομένην, οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι ἀλλ' ὑπομείναντα ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ περιγενέσθαι· τὸν δὲ συνάγγελον αὐτοῦ ἀπικόμενον ἐς τὴν μάχην ἀποθανεῖν. Ἀπονοστήσας δὲ ἐς 231
Λακεδαίμονα ὁ Ἀριστόδημος ὄνειδός τε εἶχε καὶ ἀτιμίην, πάσχων δὲ τοιάδε ἠτίμωτο· οὔτε οἱ πῦρ οὐδεὶς ἔναυε[570] Σπαρτιητέων οὔτε διελέγετο, ὄνειδός τε εἶχε ὁ τρέσας Ἀριστόδημος καλεύμενος· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι μάχῃ ἀνέλαβε πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπενεχθεῖσάν οἱ αἰτίην[571]. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἀποπεμφθέντα ἄγγελον ἐς 232
Θεσσαλίην τῶν τριηκοσίων τούτων περιγενέσθαι, τῷ οὔνομα εἶναι Παντίτην· νοστήσαντα δὲ τοῦτον ἐς Σπάρτην, ὡς ἠτίμωτο, ἀπάγξασθαι.

Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι, τῶν ὁ Λεοντιάδης ἐστρατήγεε, τέως μὲν μετὰ 233
τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐόντες ἐμάχοντο ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης ἐχόμενοι πρὸς τὴν βασιλέος στρατιήν· ὡς δὲ εἶδον κατυπέρτερα τῶν Περσέων γινόμενα τὰ πρήγματα, οὕτω δὴ τῶν σὺν Λεωνίδῃ Ἑλλήνων ἐπειγομένων ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν, ἀποσχισθέντες τούτων, χεῖράς τε προέτεινον καὶ ἤϊσαν ἆσσον τῶν βαρβάρων, λέγοντες τὸν ἀληθέστατον τῶν λόγων, ὡς καὶ μηδίζουσι καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐν

Fate of the Thebans who were with Leonidas.

569 ἄγγελον πεμφθέντα. PLUTARCH (l. c.) relates that Leonidas, desirous of saving the lives of two persons of his own family who were with him, ordered them to take a report home of the state of things. The one answered that his office was that of a soldier, not a courier; the other took his arms, saying that the facts would report themselves. The ethopœic character of these stories is obvious. Who survived to report them?

570 οὔτε οἱ πῦρ οὐδεὶς ἔναυε. This act symbolized the cutting him off from the people. (See note 187 on v. 72.) To refuse fire or water, or to show the right road to one who had lost it, or to pass by a dead body without aiding to bury it, were offences against which a commination (attributed to a primeval legislator, Buzyges,) was formally pronounced at Athens.

571 ἀνέλαβε πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπενεχθεῖσάν οἱ αἰτίην. This expression is analogous to τοῦτο τὸ τρῶμα ἀνέλαβον (v. 121), and ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν προτέρην κακότητα (viii. 109). The metaphor is taken from a person who recals that which he has said, or takes up again what has been laid down. Such an act undoes that which has been done. Translate: "he did away with the whole of the blame which had been imputed to him."

πρώτοισι ἔδοσαν βασιλέϊ, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀναγκαίης ἐχόμενοι ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἀπικοίατο, καὶ ἀναίτιοι εἶεν τοῦ τρώματος τοῦ γεγονότος βασιλέϊ· ὥστε ταῦτα λέγοντες, περιεγίνοντο· εἶχον γὰρ καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς τῶν λόγων τούτων μάρτυρας· οὐ μέντοι τά γε πάντα εὐτύχησαν· ὡς γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἔλαβον οἱ βάρβαροι ἐλθόντας, τοὺς μέν τινας καὶ ἀπέκτειναν προσιόντας, τοὺς δὲ πλεῦνας αὐτῶν, κελεύσαντος Ξέρξεω, ἔστιζον στίγματα βασιλήϊα[572], ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Λεοντιάδεω· τοῦ τὸν παῖδα Εὐρύμαχον χρόνῳ μετέπειτα ἐφόνευσαν Πλαταιέες, στρατηγήσαντα ἀνδρῶν Θηβαίων τετρακοσίων καὶ σχόντα τὸ ἄστυ τὸ Πλαταιέων[573].

234 Οἱ μὲν δὴ περὶ Θερμοπύλας Ἕλληνες οὕτω ἠγωνίσαντο· Ξέρξης δὲ καλέσας Δημάρητον, εἰρώτα ἀρξάμενος ἐνθένδε· "Δημάρητε, ἀνὴρ εἶς ἀγαθός· τεκμαίρομαι δὲ τῇ ἀληθηΐῃ· ὅσα γὰρ εἶπας, ἅπαντα ἀπέβη οὕτω· νῦν δέ μοι εἰπὲ, κόσοι τινές εἰσι οἱ λοιποὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ τούτων ὁκόσοι τοιοῦτοι τὰ πολέμια, εἴτε καὶ ἅπαντες;" ὁ δ' εἶπε· "ὦ βασιλεῦ, πλῆθος μὲν πάντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πολλὸν καὶ πόλις πολλαὶ, τὸ δὲ θέλεις ἐκμαθέειν εἰδήσεις· ἔστι ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι Σπάρτη, πόλις ἀνδρῶν ὀκτακισχιλίων μάλιστά κῃ· οὗτοι πάντες εἰσὶ ὁμοῖοι τοῖσι ἐνθάδε μαχεσαμένοισι· οἵ γε μὲν ἄλλοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι τούτοισι μὲν οὐκ ὁμοῖοι, ἀγαθοὶ δέ." εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα Ξέρξης· "Δημάρητε, τέῳ τρόπῳ ἀπονητότατα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων ἐπικρατήσομεν; ἴθι ἐξηγέο· σὺ γὰρ ἔχεις αὐτῶν τὰς διεξόδους τῶν βουλευμάτων[574],

Xerxes much struck with the bravery of the Spartans, has another conversation with Demaratus,

572 ἔστιζον στίγματα βασιλήϊα. The tatowing of slaves to indicate the property in them probably originated in those cases in which they were dedicated to some deity. See note 319 on ii. 113. The Persian sovereign would however in the time of Xerxes be regarded as sacro-sanct; and hence a mark would be set upon his slaves,—or those who were considered as such. I do not imagine that private individuals ever put their mark upon their serfs. Plutarch (*de Malign. Her.* § 33) adduces this statement of Herodotus as a presumptive proof of the falsehood of his story of the Theban disloyalty. The brand of Xerxes would, he considers, never have been set upon members of a state well affected to Persian interests.

573 σχόντα τὸ ἄστυ τὸ Πλαταιέων. This expression refers to that surprise of Platæa by the Thebans, which was the first overt act of the Peloponnesian war, and which Thucydides describes at length (ii. 2, *seqq.*).

574 σὺ γὰρ ἔχεις αὐτῶν τὰς διεξόδους τῶν βουλευμάτων. The same expression is used above, iii. 156. Translate: "for you are master of the ins and outs of their plans." The words διέξοδοι, διεξελθεῖν, and διεξοδεύω all rest on the same fundamental notion of a complicated system of paths leading to a given end,—such, for instance, as those in the labyrinth described ii. 148. Hence διεξελθεῖν is the proper phrase for telling a story where there are several points to be taken up one after another, all bearing upon the main one, or for going through a scientific exposition of a theory; διεξοδεύειν, that for communicating knowledge *discursively*,

οἷα βασιλεὺς γενόμενος." Ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο· "ὦ βασιλεῦ, εἰ μὲν 235
δὴ συμβουλεύεαί μοι προθύμως, δίκαιόν μέ σοί ἐστι φράζειν τὸ ἄριστον. εἰ τῆς ναυτικῆς στρατιῆς νέας τριηκοσίας ἀποστείλειας ἐπὶ τὴν Λάκαιναν χώρην· ἔστι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῇ νῆσος ἐπικειμένη τῇ οὔνομά ἐστι Κύθηρα, τὴν Χίλων, ἀνὴρ παρ' ἡμῖν σοφώτατος γενόμενος, κέρδος μέζον, ἔφη, εἶναι Σπαρτιήτῃσι κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης καταδεδυκέναι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπερέχειν, αἰεί τι προσδοκῶν ἀπ' αὐτῆς τοιοῦτο ἔσεσθαι οἷόν τι ἐγὼ ἐξηγέομαι· οὔτι τὸν σὸν στόλον προειδὼς, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμοίως φοβεόμενος ἀνδρῶν στόλον· ἐκ ταύτης ὦν τῆς νήσου ὁρμεώμενοι [575], φοβεόντων [576] τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους· παροίκου δὲ πολέμου σφι ἐόντος οἰκηΐου, οὐδὲν δεινοὶ ἔσονταί τοι, μὴ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἁλισκομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ πεζοῦ βοηθέωσι ταύτῃ· καταδουλωθείσης δὲ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος, ἀσθενὲς ἤδη τὸ Λακωνικὸν μοῦνον λείπεται. ἢν δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιῇς, τάδε τοι προσδόκα ἔσεσθαι· ἔστι τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἰσθμὸς στεινός· ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ πάντων Πελοποννησίων συνομοσάντων ἐπὶ σοὶ, μάχας ἰσχυροτέρας ἄλλας τῶν γενομένων προσδέκεο ἔσεσθαί τοι· ἐκεῖνο δὲ ποιήσαντι ἀμαχητὶ ὅ τε ἰσθμὸς οὗτος καὶ αἱ πόλις προσχωρήσουσι." Λέγει μετὰ τοῦτον Ἀχαι- 236
μένης, ἀδελφεός τε ἐὼν Ξέρξεω [577] καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ στρατηγὸς, παρατυχών τε τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ δείσας μὴ ἀναγνωσθῇ Ξέρξης ποιέειν ταῦτα· "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὁρέω σε ἀνδρὸς ἐνδεκόμενον λόγους ὃς φθονέει τοι εὖ πρήσσοντι, ἢ καὶ προδιδοῖ πρήγματα τὰ σά· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τρόποισι τοιούτοισι χρεώμενοι οἱ Ἕλληνες χαίρουσι· τοῦ τε εὐτυχέειν φθονέουσι καὶ τὸ κρέσσον στυγέουσι. εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τῇσι παρεούσῃσι τύχῃσι, τῶν νέες νεναυηγήκασι τετρακόσιαι, ἄλλας ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τριηκοσίας ἀποπέμψεις περι-

who advises him to occupy Cythera,

but is opposed by Achæmenes,

—carrying the learner on through one path after another, hither and thither, till at last he finds himself master of the subject,—teaching διὰ μεθόδου and not δι' ἐνδείξεως, by direct manifestation. Thus CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS uses the term διέξοδος for a chain of logical reasoning, leading step by step to a conclusion. (*Strom.* iv. 25.)

[575] ἐκ ταύτης ὦν τῆς νήσου ὁρμεώμενοι. The Athenians fulfilled the apprehensions of Chilon in the eighth year of the Peloponnesian war by capturing the island. It was the more important to the Lacedæmonians as being exactly in the run from Libya or Egypt to Laconia. (THUCYDIDES, iv. 53.)

[576] φοβεόντων. Compare λεγόντων (i. 89).

[577] ἀδελφεός τε ἐὼν Ξέρξεω. Achæmenes was the son of Atossa as well as of Darius, and therefore *whole* brother of Xerxes (vii. 97).

πλώειν[578] Πελοπόννησον, ἀξιόμαχοί τοι γίνονται οἱ ἀντίπαλοι· ἁλὴς δὲ ἐὼν ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς δυσμεταχείριστός τε αὐτοῖσι γίνεται, καὶ ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοί τοι ἔσονται· καὶ πᾶς ὁ ναυτικὸς τῷ πεζῷ ἀρήξει καὶ ὁ πεζὸς τῷ ναυτικῷ, ὁμοῦ πορευόμενος· εἰ δὲ διασπάσεις, οὔτε σὺ ἔσεαι κείνοισι χρήσιμος οὔτε κεῖνοι σοί. τὰ σεωυτοῦ δὲ τιθέμενος εὖ, γνώμην ἔχε τὰ τῶν ἀντιπολέμων[579] μὴ ἐπιλέγεσθαι πρήγματα, τῇ τε στήσονται τὸν πόλεμον, τά τε ποιήσουσι, ὅσοι τε πλῆθός εἰσι· ἱκανοὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοί γε αὐτοὶ ἑωυτῶν πέρι φροντίζειν εἰσί, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἡμέων ὡσαύτως. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἢν ἴωσι ἀντία Πέρσῃσι ἐς μάχην, οὐδὲ ἓν τὸ παρεὸν

237 τρῶμα ἀνιεῦνται." Ἀμείβεται Ξέρξης τοῖσδε· "Ἀχαίμενες, εὖ τέ μοι δοκέεις λέγειν, καὶ ποιήσω ταῦτα. Δημάρητος δὲ λέγει μὲν τὰ ἄριστα ἔλπεται εἶναι ἐμοί, γνώμῃ μέντοι ἑσσοῦται ὑπὸ σεῦ· οὐ γὰρ δὴ κεῖνό γε ἐνδέξομαι, ὅκως οὐκ εὐνοέει τοῖσι ἐμοῖσι πρήγμασι, τοῖσί τε λεγομένοισι πρότερον ἐκ τούτου σταθμώμενος, καὶ τῷ ἐόντι, ὅτι πολιήτης μὲν πολιήτῃ εὖ πρήσσοντι φθονέει, καὶ ἔστι δυσμενὴς τῇ σιγῇ· οὐδ᾽ ἄν, συμβουλευομένου τοῦ ἀστοῦ, πολιήτης ἀνὴρ τὰ ἄριστά οἱ δοκέοντα εἶναι ὑποθέοιτο, εἰ μὴ πρόσω ἀρετῆς ἀνήκοι· σπάνιοι δ᾽ εἰσὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι· ξεῖνος δὲ ξείνῳ εὖ πρήσσοντί ἐστι εὐμενέστατον πάντων, συμβουλευομένου τε ἂν συμβουλεύσειε τὰ ἄριστα· οὕτω ὦν κακολογίης πέρι τῆς ἐς Δημάρητον, ἐόντος ἐμοὶ ξείνου, ἔχεσθαί τινα τοῦ λοιποῦ κελεύω."

whose advice is followed.

238 Ταῦτα εἴπας Ξέρξης διεξήϊε διὰ τῶν νεκρῶν· καὶ Λεωνίδεω, ἀκηκοὼς ὅτι βασιλεύς τε ἦν καὶ στρατηγὸς Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐκέλευσε ἀποταμόντας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνασταυρῶσαι[580]. δῆλά μοι πολλοῖσι μὲν καὶ ἄλλοισι τεκμηρίοισι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῷδε οὐκ ἥκιστα γέγονε, ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης πάντων δὴ μάλιστα ἀνδρῶν ἐθυμώθη ζώοντι Λεωνίδῃ· οὐ γὰρ ἄν κοτε ἐς τὸν νεκρὸν ταῦτα παρενόμησε· ἐπεὶ τιμᾶν μάλιστα νομίζουσι τῶν ἐγὼ οἶδα ἀνθρώ-

Xerxes orders the dead body of Leonidas to be decapitated.

578 περιπλώειν. S, V, K, F, and *a* have the common form περιπλέειν.

579 τῶν ἀντιπολέμων. See note 364 on iv. 140.

580 ἀποταμόντας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνασταυρῶσαι, "to cut off the head and set it on a pole." The practice of treating the bodies of conquered enemies in this way seems to have been common to every nation of antiquity except the Hellenes. And it must be remembered how very recently even in England portions of the body of a rebel were placed on the gates of the principal cities. Xerxes, asserting a claim to universal sovereignty, would of course treat all resistance to this as a case of rebellion.

πων Πέρσαι ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐποίευν τοῖσι ἐπετέτακτο ποιέειν.

239 Ἄνειμι δὲ ἐκεῖσε τοῦ λόγου, τῇ μοι τὸ πρότερον ἐξέλιπε. ἐπύθοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅτι βασιλεὺς στέλλοιτο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, πρῶτοι· καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπέπεμψαν, ἔνθα δή σφι ἐχρήσθη τὰ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον εἶπον [581]· ἐπύθοντο δὲ τρόπῳ θωμασίῳ· Δημάρητος γὰρ ὁ Ἀρίστωνος φυγὼν ἐς Μήδους, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκέω καὶ τὸ οἰκὸς ἐμοὶ συμμάχεται, οὐκ ἦν εὔνοος Λακεδαιμονίοισι [582]· πάρεστι δὲ εἰκάζειν, εἴτε εὐνοίῃ ταῦτα ἐποίησε εἴτε καὶ καταχαίρων· ἐπεί τε γὰρ Ξέρξῃ ἔδοξε στρατηλατέειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐὼν ἐν Σούσοισι ὁ Δημάρητος [583] καὶ πυθόμενος ταῦτα, ἠθέλησε Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἐξαγγεῖλαι. ἄλλως μὲν δὴ οὐκ εἶχε σημῆναι· ἐπικίνδυνον γὰρ ἦν μὴ λαμφθείη· ὁ δὲ μηχανᾶται τοιάδε· δελτίον δίπτυχον λαβὼν τὸν κηρὸν αὐτοῦ ἐξέκνησε, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ τοῦ δελτίου ἔγραψε τὴν βασιλέος γνώμην· ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ὀπίσω ἐπέτηξε τὸν κηρὸν ἐπὶ τὰ γράμματα, ἵνα φερόμενον κεινὸν τὸ δελτίον μηδὲν πρῆγμα παρέχοι οἱ πρὸς τῶν ὁδοφυλάκων· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, οὐκ εἶχον συμβαλέσθαι οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πρίν γε δή σφι, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, Κλεομένεος μὲν θυγάτηρ Λεωνίδεω δὲ γυνή, Γοργώ, ὑπέθετο, ἐπιφρασθεῖσα αὐτή, τὸν κηρὸν κνᾶν κελεύουσα, καὶ εὑρήσειν σφέας γράμματα ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ· πειθόμενοι δὲ εὗρον καὶ ἐπελέξαντο, ἔπειτα δὲ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἕλλησι ἐπέστειλαν. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω λέγεται γενέσθαι.

The Spartans had the earliest intelligence of the intended expedition of Xerxes against Hellas by means of a device of Demaratus, which was discovered through the ingenuity of Gorgo.

581 τὰ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον εἶπον. This seems a reference to the oracle which is given above (§ 220).

582 οὐκ ἦν εὔνοος Λακεδαιμονίοισι. CTESIAS seems to have represented him more favourably. See the citation from *Photius* in note 134 on vii. 37.

583 ἐὼν ἐν Σούσοισι ὁ Δημάρητος. See note 162 on vi. 70.

ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ Ζ΄.

EXCURSUS ON VII. 225.

Ξέρξεώ τε δὴ δύο ἀδελφεοὶ ἐνθαῦτα πίπτουσι.

THE following tables show the pedigree of the royal family of Darius, exclusively according to the traditions embodied in the narrative of Herodotus.

HYSTASPES (an Achæmenid, i. 209).

DARIUS, eldest son of Hystaspes, twenty years old at the time of Cyrus's fatal expedition against the Massagetæ (i. 209).	*Artanes,* whose only child and heiress, *Phrataguna,* married her uncle Darius (vii. 224).	*Artabanus* (iv. 33. 143), who had issue	*Otanes,* who had a son *Smerdomenes* or *Smerdones* (vii. 82); [another, *Anaphes* or Anaphanes (vii. 62); and a daughter, *Amestris,* sultana of XERXES (vii. 61)[1].]	*Artaphernes,* half-brother only to Darius (v. 25), satrap of Sardis (vi. 42), who had a son *Artaphernes,* the colleague of Datis at Marathon (vi. 94).	*A daughter,* wife of Gobryas, by whom she had issue *Mardonius,* son-in-law of Darius (vii. 5).	*Another daughter,* wife of Teispes (iv. 43).

Issue of *Artabanus*:

Tritantæchmes (vii. 82).	[*Tigranes* (viii. 26, according to all the MSS except S, which has *Tritantæchmes*).]	[*Artyphius* (vii. 66, 67, called *Artybius* by S, V, and *d*).]	*Ariomardus* (vii. 67).	[*Bassaces* or *Bagasaces* (vii. 75).]

Hystaspes had also a brother, whose name is not given, but who had a son *Megabates* (v. 32). The *Megabazus* of vii. 97, is probably the son of this Megabates.

[1] Where the connexion is not positively established, brackets are used. It is not *certain* that the *Otanes* who was the father of *Amestris,* or the *Artabanus* who was the father of *Artyphius, Bassaces,* and *Tigranes* (or *Tritantæchmes* of viii. 26) are identical with the sons of Hystaspes who bore these names.

Darius, before his accession to the imperial throne, married *a daughter of Gobryas*, by whom he had issue—

(1) *Artabazanes* (vii. 2).

(2) *Ariabignes* (vii. 97).

(3) *A son*, perhaps named *Arsamenes* (vii. 68).

After his accession he married—

First, Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, who had been before sultana of Cambyses, and of the Pseudo-Smerdis (iii. 88), and who was at the time immediately before his death (36 years afterwards), all-powerful (vii. 3, 4).

By her he had issue—

(1) Xerxes, his successor in the empire (vii. 2. 4).

(2) *Hystaspes* (vii. 64).

(3) *Masistes* (vii. 82), put to death by his brother Xerxes (ix. 107).

(4) *Achæmenes*, satrap of Egypt (vii. 7), and commander of the Egyptian naval contingent in the expedition against Hellas (vii. 97), subsequently destroyed by Inarus at the time of the revolt of Egypt (iii. 12).

(5) *Artazostra*, who married her cousin Mardonius, son of Gobryas (vii. 5), a young man five years before the battle of Marathon (vi. 43).

Secondly, *Artystone*, daughter of Cyrus (iii. 88), his favourite wife (vii. 69); by whom he had issue—

(1) *Arsames* (vii. 69).

(2) *Gobryas* (vii. 72).

Thirdly, *Parmys*, daughter of the true Smerdis (iii. 88), by whom he had issue—

(1) *Ariomardus* (vii. 78).

Fourthly, *Phædime*, daughter of Otanes (son of Pharnaspes) the conspirator, previously an inmate of the harem of the Pseudo-Smerdis (iii. 88), by whom it does not appear from Herodotus whether he had, or had not, issue.

He also married, either before or after his accession, his niece *Phrataguna*, heiress of his brother Artanes, by whom he had issue two sons, *Abrocomas* and *Hyperanthes*, who fell at Thermopylæ (vii. 224).

Besides the above-named, he had a daughter married to *Daurises*

(v. 116), another to *Hymeas* (v. 116), a third to *Otanes* (v. 116), a fourth to *Arsamenes* (vii. 68), a fifth to *Artochmes* (vii. 73), and some others to some other officers in high command (v. 116); but there are no *data* for identifying the mothers of these with one another, or with any of the individuals who are more particularly specified.

The pedigree of the family down to HYSTASPES is given in vii. 11, and is explained in note 59 on that passage. If that explanation be well grounded, *Atossa* and *Artystone* will appear to have been second cousins of Hystaspes.

ʽΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ

ʽΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΟΓΔΟΗ.

ΟΥΡΑΝΙΑ.

ΟΙ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες ἦσαν οἵδε· 1
Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν, νέας παρεχόμενοι ἑπτὰ[1] καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν· ὑπὸ δὲ ἀρετῆς τε καὶ προθυμίης Πλαταιέες, ἄπειροι τῆς ναυτικῆς ἐόντες, συνεπλήρουν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι τὰς νέας· Κορίνθιοι δὲ τεσσεράκοντα νέας παρείχοντο· Μεγαρέες δὲ εἴκοσι· καὶ Χαλκιδέες[2] ἐπλήρουν εἴκοσι, Ἀθηναίων σφι παρεχόντων τὰς νέας· Αἰγινῆται δὲ ὀκτωκαίδεκα· Σικυώνιοι δὲ δυώδεκα· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ δέκα· Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ ὀκτώ· Ἐρετριέες δὲ ἑπτά· Τροιζήνιοι δὲ πέντε· Στυρέες[3] δὲ δύο· καὶ Κεῖοι δύο τε νέας καὶ πεντηκοντέ-

Roll of the naval force of the Hellenic confederates

[1] ἑπτά. One of the manuscripts (*d*) has ὀκτώ.

[2] Χαλκιδέες. These will no doubt be the Athenian settlers established upon the Chalcidian land (v. 77). Their number (four thousand) would give the exact complement for twenty gallies, at the rate at which the author reckons (vii. 184). They had retreated from Eubœa at the time of the invasion by Datis and Artaphernes (vi. 100), and there is no account of their having returned to the island, although they probably did so. But at the time of the former invasion they seem to have been regarded in the light of outlying Athenians; for when the Eretrians demanded aid *from Athens*, the Athenians οὐκ ἀπείπαντο τὴν ἐπικουρίην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους κληρουχέοντας τῶν ἱπποβοτέων Χαλκιδέων τὴν χώρην, τούτους σφι διδοῦσι τιμωρούς (vi. 100). The notice of Diodorus Siculus (xv. 78), where he makes Epaminondas speak of the *two hundred* vessels furnished by the Athenians in the war against Xerxes, and the boast of Themistocles (§ 61, below), will be brought into exact harmony with the account of Herodotus by reckoning these Chalcidians as Athenians; for their whole contingent will then be 127 + 20 + 53 (see § 14, below).

[3] Στυρέες. Styra is a small town in the immediate neighbourhood of Carystus (Stephanus Byzantinus, *sub v.*). A little island belonging to the inhabitants

ρους δύο· Λοκροὶ δέ σφι οἱ Ὀπούντιοι ἐπεβώθεον⁴, πεντηκοντέρους ἔχοντες ἑπτά.

2 Ἦσαν μὲν ὦν οὗτοι οἱ στρατευόμενοι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον· εἴρηται δέ μοι καὶ ὡς τὸ πλῆθος ἕκαστοι τῶν νεῶν παρείχοντο· ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῶν συλλεχθεισέων νεῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον ἦν, πάρεξ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, μία καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ διηκόσιαι. τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν τὸν τὸ μέγιστον κράτος ἔχοντα παρείχοντο Σπαρτιῆται, Εὐρυβιάδεα τὸν Εὐρυκλείδεω. οἱ γὰρ σύμμαχοι οὐκ ἔφασαν, ἢν μὴ ὁ Λάκων ἡγεμονεύῃ, Ἀθηναίοισι ἕψεσθαι ἡγεομένοισι, ἀλλὰ λύσειν τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι στράτευμα.

who mustered at Artemisium, in all 271 ships under Eurybiades the Spartan,

3 Ἐγένετο γὰρ κατ' ἀρχὰς λόγος, πρὶν ἢ καὶ ἐς Σικελίην πέμπειν⁵ ἐπὶ συμμαχίην, ὡς τὸ ναυτικὸν Ἀθηναίοισι χρεὸν εἴη ἐπιτρέπειν· ἀντιβάντων δὲ τῶν συμμάχων, εἶκον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, μέγα πεποιημένοι περιεῖναι τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ γνόντες εἰ στασιάσουσι περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίης ὡς ἀπολέεται ἡ Ἑλλάς, ὀρθὰ νοεῦντες. [στάσις γὰρ ἔμφυλος πολέμου ὁμοφρονέοντος τοσούτῳ κάκιόν ἐστι, ὅσῳ πόλεμος εἰρήνης⁶.] ἐπιστάμενοι ὦν αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οὐκ ἀντέτεινον, ἀλλ' εἶκον μέχρι ὅσου⁷ κάρτα ἐδέοντο αὐτῶν, ὡς διέδεξαν· ὡς γὰρ δὴ ὠσάμενοι τὸν Πέρσεα περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἤδη τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῦντο, πρόφασιν τὴν Παυσανίεω ὕβριν προϊσχόμενοι⁸, ἀπείλοντο τὴν ἡγεμονίην τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο.

the confederates having rejected the proposal that the navy should be under Athenian command.

called Ægilea, had served as a dépôt for the Eretrian captives during the time that the Persian fleet made the attempt on Attica (vi. 107).

⁴ ἐπεβώθεον. Gaisford prints this form on the authority of S, but the great majority of the MSS have the common form ἐπεβοήθεον. In § 72, below, the same MS has the common form βοηθήσαντες, and Gaisford retains it without the note of any variation whatever. In ix. 23, S and V have ἐβώθεε (which Gaisford adopts), but all the other MSS ἐπεβοήθεε, and in the same section, all, without exception, have the common form ἐπεβοήθησαν.

⁵ πρὶν ἢ καὶ ἐς Σικελίην πέμπειν. This is the embassy to Gelon related below (vii. 157—162).

⁶ [στάσις γὰρ .... πόλεμος εἰρήνης]. I have placed this sentence in brackets, believing it to be an interpolation of a rhetorical common place. The στάσις περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίης was not an ἔμφυλος στάσις, for the contending parties would never have been regarded as ὁμοφύλιοι.

⁷ μέχρι ὅσου, "until." So Gaisford prints on the authority of several MSS. But some have μέχρι οὗ or μέχρις οὗ, and others μέχρι ὅσον.

⁸ πρόφασιν τὴν Παυσανίεω ὕβριν προϊσχόμενοι. THUCYDIDES agrees with the author in making the offensive conduct of Pausanias the moving cause for the allies rejecting the supremacy of Sparta: παραλαβόντες [οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι] τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἑκόντων τῶν ξυμμάχων διὰ τὸ Παυσανίου μῖσος (i. 96). In *later* times the worth of Aristides was represented as having influenced them to the step even more than the faults of the Spartan general. (DIODORUS, xi. 44. NEPOS, *Aristid.* c. 2.) But there is no trace of such a tribute to virtue in the contemporary records.

4 Τότε δὲ οὗτοι οἱ καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον Ἑλλήνων ἀπικόμενοι, ὡς εἶδον νέας τε πολλὰς καταχθείσας ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας καὶ στρατιῆς ἅπαντα πλέα, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖσι παρὰ δόξαν τὰ πρήγματα τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπέβαινε ἢ ὡς αὐτοὶ κατεδόκεον, καταρρωδήσαντες, δρησμὸν ἐβούλευον ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου ἔσω ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα· γνόντες δέ σφεας οἱ Εὐβοέες ταῦτα βουλευομένους, ἐδέοντο Εὐρυβιάδεω προσμεῖναι χρόνον ὀλίγον, ἔστ' ἂν αὐτοὶ τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας ὑπεκθέωνται[9]· ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθον, μεταβάντες τὸν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸν πείθουσι Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπὶ μισθῷ τριήκοντα ταλάντοισι, ἐπ' ᾧ τε καταμείναντες πρὸ τῆς Εὐβοίης ποιήσονται τὴν ναυμαχίην.

The allies at Artemisium are intimidated by the amount of the Persian force, and prepare to retire.

5 Ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλέης τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπισχεῖν ὧδε ποιέει· Εὐρυβιάδῃ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων μεταδιδοῖ πέντε τάλαντα, ὡς παρ' ἑωυτοῦ δῆθεν διδούς· ὡς δέ οἱ οὗτος ἀνεπέπειστο, (Ἀδείμαντος γὰρ ὁ Ὠκύτου, Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς, τῶν λοιπῶν ἤσπαιρε μοῦνος[10], φάμενος ἀποπλώσεσθαί[11] τε ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου καὶ οὐ παραμενέειν,) πρὸς δὴ τοῦτον εἶπε ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ἐπομόσας· "οὐ σύ γε ἡμέας ἀπολείψεις, ἐπεί τοι ἐγὼ μέζω δῶρα δώσω ἢ βασιλεὺς ἄν τοι ὁ Μήδων πέμψειε ἀπολιπόντι τοὺς συμμάχους·" ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἠγόρευε, καὶ πέμπει ἐπὶ τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀδειμάντου τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τρία. οὗτοί τε δὴ πληγέντες δώροισι[12] ἀναπεπεισμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ τοῖσι Εὐβοέεσι ἐκεχάριστο· αὐτός τε ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ἐκέρδηνε, ἐλάνθανε δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔχων·

Themistocles, under the influence of a bribe, detains the fleet for a time, buying off the opposition of Eurybiades and Adimantus with a part of it.

[9] ὑπεκθέωνται. Compare v. 65: ὑπεκτιθέμενοι γὰρ ἔξω τῆς χώρης οἱ παῖδες τῶν Πεισιστρατιδέων ἥλωσαν, and § 41, below: ἔσπευσαν δὲ ταῦτα ὑπεκθέσθαι. The word ὑπεκκομίζεσθαι is used in the same sense, ix. 6: οὕτω δὴ ὑπεξεκομίσαντό τε πάντα καὶ αὐτοὶ διέβησαν ἐς Σαλαμῖνα. The correlative of ὑπεκτίθεσθαι is ὑπεκκεῖσθαι, which is used below, § 60: Σαλαμὶς περιγίνεται, ἐς τὴν ἡμῖν ὑπέκκειται τέκνα τε καὶ γυναῖκες.

[10] Ἀδείμαντος γὰρ ὁ Ὠκύτου .... ἤσπαιρε μοῦνος. While the reputation of Themistocles as a successful manager of secret service money seems to have been universally allowed, the details of the transaction were variously reported. Plutarch, following the authority of PHANEAS OF LESBOS, represents a countryman of Themistocles (one Architeles) who commanded the sacred ship Salaminia, as the principal obstacle to the plan of remaining. His crew dissatisfied at not getting their pay, assaulted him at supper-time and took his provisions. Themistocles sent him a fresh supply in a box which had a talent at the bottom, and bade him make a good supper and pay his men the next day, menacing him with a false accusation if he did not take the hint. (*Themist.* § 7.) Of this story there is nothing in Herodotus; while, on the other hand, Plutarch does not mention Adimantus.

[11] ἀποπλώσεσθαι. This is the reading of S and V. All the other MSS have the common form ἀποπλεύσεσθαι. See note 409 on iv. 156.

[12] πληγέντες δώροισι. This expression is a very strange one, and without any parallel in the classical times. The later writers have something like it. PLUTARCH (*Demosth.* § 25) has πληγεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς δωροδοκίας, and THEMISTIUS (ii. p. 26), ταλάντοις οὐκ ἔτρωσε.

ἀλλ' ἠπιστέατο οἱ μεταλαβόντες τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ τὰ χρήματα.

The Persians detach a squadron of 200 ships from Aphetæ to circumnavigate Eubœa and take the Hellenic fleet in the rear.

6 Οὕτω δὴ κατέμειναν τε ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίῃ, καὶ ἐναυμάχησαν. ἐγένετο δὲ ὧδε· ἐπεί τε δὴ ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας περὶ δείλην πρωΐην[13] γινομένην ἀπίκατο οἱ βάρβαροι, πυθόμενοι μὲν ἔτι καὶ πρότερον περὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ναυλοχέειν νέας Ἑλληνίδας ὀλίγας, τότε δὲ αὐτοὶ ἰδόντες, πρόθυμοι ἦσαν ἐπιχειρέειν, εἴ κως ἕλοιεν αὐτάς. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἀντίης προσπλώειν οὔκω σφι ἐδόκεε τῶνδε εἵνεκα, μή κως ἰδόντες οἱ Ἕλληνες προσπλώοντας ἐς φυγὴν ὁρμήσειαν, φεύγοντάς τε εὐφρόνη καταλάβοι· καὶ ἔμελλον δῆθεν ἐκφεύξεσθαι[14], ἔδει δὲ μηδὲ πυρφόρον, τῷ ἐκείνων λόγῳ, ἐκφυγόντα
7 περιγενέσθαι[15]. πρὸς ταῦτα ὦν τάδε ἐμηχανέοντο· τῶν νεῶν ἁπασέων ἀποκρίναντες διηκοσίας περιέπεμπον ἔξωθεν Σκιάθου, ὡς ἂν μὴ ὀφθέωσι[16] ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων περιπλώουσαι Εὔβοιαν, κατά τε Καφηρέα καὶ περὶ Γεραιστὸν, ἐς τὸν Εὔριπον· ἵνα δὴ περιλάβοιεν, οἱ μὲν ταύτῃ ἀπικόμενοι καὶ φράξαντες αὐτῶν τὴν ὀπίσω φέρουσαν ὁδὸν, σφεῖς δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι ἐξ ἐναντίης· ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι ἀπέπεμπον τῶν νεῶν τὰς ταχθείσας, αὐτοὶ οὐκ

[13] *περὶ δείλην πρωΐην*, "in the early part of the afternoon." See note on § 10, below.

[14] *ἔμελλον δῆθεν ἐκφεύξεσθαι.* The employment of the word *δῆθεν* indicates a sort of irony in the writer, smiling at the fact which he is relating. See iii. 74: *ταῦτα δὲ οὕτω ἐνετέλλοντο, ὡς πιστοτάτῳ δῆθεν ἐόντος αὐτοῦ ἐν Πέρσῃσι.* And in the last section: *ὡς παρ' ἑωυτοῦ δῆθεν διδούς.* It is used pretty much in the same way as the expression "si diis placet" by the Latin writers.

[15] *μηδὲ πυρφόρον περιγενέσθαι*, "not even a torch-bearer should escape." This proverbial expression is explained by the proverb collectors (Diogenianus vii. 15. Zenobius v. 34) as originating in the practice of each army to be preceded by a seer with a wreath of laurel and a fillet on his head. He was considered under all circumstances as having a claim to quarter. The Scholiast *on Euripides' Phœn.* 1386 gives another account of the matter. He says that anciently the signal to engage was given by torch-bearers throwing down a flambeau between the armies; and that the persons so employed were regarded as sacred to Ares, and consequently spared even when all others were put to death. These explanations appear to me doubtful. There are many instances of seers perishing with their army, without any thing to intimate that such a catastrophe was a violation of the law of nations; and it seems more likely that the proverb arose from the fact, that the *πυρφόρος*, only having to carry fire, would, from the nature of the case, be less mixed up in the fray than any others; and not being encumbered with armour, would be more likely to save himself by flight than one of the rank and file. The duty of this functionary in the Lacedæmonian armies was to carry a light kindled at the altar of Zeus in Sparta along with the army. From this fire the pile was kindled on which the sacrifices were burnt. (Xenophon, *Rep. Lac.* xiii. 3.)

[16] *ὀφθέωσι.* The MSS appear to be nearly equally divided between this reading and the optative *ὀφθείησαν*. See note 40 on i. 8. The detachment rounded Sciathus in order to avoid the observation of the *ἡμεροσκόποι* of the allies, who, from the high points of the north end of Eubœa, would have been able to signal their movements if they had taken the direct course.

ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρης τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἐπιθήσεσθαι, οὐδὲ πρότερον ἢ τὸ σύνθημά σφι ἔμελλε φανήσεσθαι[17] παρὰ τῶν περιπλωόντων ὡς ἡκόντων. ταύτας μὲν δὴ περιέπεμπον· τῶν δὲ λοιπέων νεῶν ἐν τῇσι Ἀφέτῃσι ἐποιεῦντο ἀριθμόν.

Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἐν ᾧ οὗτοι ἀριθμὸν ἐποιεῦντο τῶν νεῶν, 8
ἦν γὰρ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τούτῳ Σκυλλίης Σκιωναῖος, δύτης τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἄριστος· ὃς καὶ ἐν τῇ ναυηγίῃ τῇ κατὰ τὸ Πήλιον γενομένῃ πολλὰ μὲν ἔσωσε τῶν χρημάτων τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι[18], πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς περιεβάλετο· οὗτος ὁ Σκυλλίης ἐν νόῳ μὲν εἶχε ἄρα καὶ πρότερον αὐτομολήσειν ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ οἱ παρέσχε ὡς τότε· ὅτεῳ μὲν δὴ τρόπῳ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη[19] ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι ἀτρεκέως· θωμάζω δὲ εἰ τὰ λεγόμενά ἐστι ἀληθέα· λέγεται γὰρ ὡς ἐξ Ἀφετέων δὺς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, οὐ πρότερον ἀνέσχε πρὶν ἢ ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, σταδίους μάλιστά κῃ τούτους[20] ἐς ὀγδώκοντα διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης διεξελθών. λέγεται μέν νυν καὶ ἄλλα ψευδέσι εἴκελα περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου· τὰ δὲ μετεξέτερα ἀληθέα· περὶ μέντοι τούτου γνώμη μοι ἀποδεδέχθω, πλοίῳ μιν ἀπικέσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον· ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο, αὐτίκα ἐσήμηνε τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι τήν τε ναυηγίην ὡς γένοιτο, καὶ τὰς περιπεμφθείσας τῶν νεῶν περὶ Εὔβοιαν.

Scyllias, a celebrated diver, brings information of the enemy's design and of his severe loss by the storm.

Τοῦτο δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἕλληνες, λόγον σφίσι 9
αὐτοῖσι ἐδίδοσαν· πολλῶν δὲ λεχθέντων, ἐνίκα, τὴν ἡμέρην ἐκείνην αὐτοῦ μείναντάς τε καὶ αὐλισθέντας, μετέπειτα νύκτα μέσην παρέντας, πορεύεσθαι, καὶ ἀπαντᾶν τῇσι περιπλωούσῃσι τῶν νεῶν· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, ὡς οὐδείς σφι ἐπέπλωε[21], δείλην

The confederates resolve to make a retrograde movement by night, but finding

[17] πρότερον ἢ τὸ σύνθημά σφι ἔμελλε φανήσεσθαι. A similar combination of movements appears to have been attempted in Cyprus. See note 317 on v. 13.

[18] πολλὰ μὲν ἔσωσε τῶν χρημάτων τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι. In the time of PAUSANIAS, a statue of this person existed at Delphi, set up by the Amphictyons,—probably on account of the service rendered to the Hellenic cause by the information he conveyed. But Pausanias, no doubt following the prevalent tradition of *his* time, says that the services thus rewarded were those performed by himself and his daughter *Hydna* (whom he had taught to dive) in assisting the destruction of the Persian vessels during the storm off Pelium, by loosening the anchors and other holdfasts! The statue of Hydna had been carried off to Rome by Nero. Pausanias adds, that the power of diving is possessed by females who continue virgins, but by no others (x. 19. 2).

[19] ἤδη. Some MSS have ἔτι instead of this word, and one or two omit both.

[20] τούτους. This word is omitted in S and V.

[21] ὡς οὐδείς σφι ἐπέπλωε. The adversaries whose advance they had expected were the two hundred gallies, which they learnt on the preceding afternoon had been sent on round Eubœa. It is not, however, to be assumed that the allies actually made a retrograde movement to such an extent as themselves to reconnoitre the whole

the detachment is not near,
ὀψίην[22] γινομένην τῆς ἡμέρης φυλάξαντες, αὐτοὶ ἐπανέπλωον ἐπὶ
τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἀπόπειραν αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι βουλόμενοι τῆς τε
10 μάχης καὶ τοῦ διεκπλόου. Ὁρέοντες δέ σφεας οἵ τε ἄλλοι
attack the enemy in front,
στρατιῶται οἱ Ξέρξεω καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐπιπλώοντας νηυσὶ ὀλίγῃσι, πάγχυ σφι μανίην ἐπενείκαντες, ἀνῆγον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς νέας ἐλπίσαντές σφεας εὐπετέως αἱρήσειν· οἰκότα κάρτα ἐλπίσαντες τὰς μέν γε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁρέοντες ὀλίγας νέας, τὰς δὲ ἑωυτῶν πλήθεΐ τε πολλαπλασίας καὶ ἄμεινον πλωούσας· καταφρονήσαντες ταῦτα, ἐκυκλοῦντο αὐτοὺς ἐς μέσον· ὅσοι μέν νυν τῶν Ἰώνων ἦσαν εὔνοοι τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἀέκοντές τε ἐστρατεύοντο συμφορήν τε ἐποιεῦντο μεγάλην, ὁρέοντες περιεχομένους αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπιστάμενοι ὡς οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἀπονοστήσει· οὕτω ἀσθενέα σφι ἐφαίνετο εἶναι τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα· ὅσοισι δὲ καὶ ἡδομένοισι ἦν τὸ γινόμενον[23], ἅμιλλαν ἐποιεῦντο ὅκως αὐτὸς ἕκαστος πρῶτος νέα Ἀττικὴν ἑλὼν παρὰ βασιλέος δῶρα λάμψεται· Ἀθηναίων γὰρ αὐτοῖσι λόγος ἦν πλεῖστος ἀνὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα.
11 Τοῖσι δὲ Ἕλλησι ὡς ἐσήμηνε, πρῶτα μέν, ἀντίπρωροι τοῖσι
in which skirmish
βαρβάροισι γενόμενοι ἐς τὸ μέσον τὰς πρύμνας συνήγαγον[24].

channel north of Chalcis: for the words of the text are compatible with the view, that the intelligence of the enemy not being in sight was telegraphed to them. See note 16, above. On the other supposition, the exhaustion from rowing so far would have quite disqualified them for fighting in the evening. LEAKE (*Appendix* II. *to Athens and the Demi of Attica*, p. 245) maintains that these words apply to the Persian fleet at Aphetæ, and supposes that the engagement took place on the day on which the council was held. But there is nothing in the text to imply, or to justify, a change of opinion on the part of the allies. When they formed their plan, they could not possibly have expected the squadron at Aphetæ to attack them *the same day;* and consequently could not have changed their plan (which Leake's interpretation assumes) on finding that it did not. Leake's view is also irreconcileable with the position of the Persian detachment at the time the storm caught them. See note 36, below.

22 δείλην ὀψίην. Larcher considers this expression to mean "three o'clock in the afternoon." But it is an error to interpret such expressions as these as if the limits of the time denoted were at all definitely fixed. The divisions of the day which πρωΐ, ἑσπέρα, μεσημβρία, δείλη, and the like indicate, are such as strike the sense of the common man, not certain portions of an artificial period. The confederates watched the time when it became *late in the afternoon*, i. e. when the descent of the sun became obvious. It should not be overlooked, that one effect of the time selected would be, that the sun would shine in the eyes of the steerers of the Persian ships.

23 ὅσοισι δὲ καὶ ἡδομένοισι ἦν τὸ γινόμενον. The same construction is used below (§ 14): ὡς σφι ἀσμένοισι ἡμέρη ἐπέλαμψε, and (ix. 461): ἐπεὶ δ' ὦν . . . ἡδομένοισι ἡμῖν οἱ λόγοι γεγόνασι. So too TACITUS (*Agricola*, § 18): "quibus autem bellum volentibus erat."

24 ἐς τὸ μέσον τὰς πρύμνας συνήγαγον. The operation denoted by these words seems to have been the backing the gallies in a direction which would have made their sterns (had the proceeding been continued) converge in a single point, the centre (τὸ μέσον) of the circle of which they occupied a segment while retreating with their beaks turned upon the advancing enemy. But when they changed this movement for a charge, it must not

δεύτερα δὲ σημήναντος, ἔργου εἴχοντο, ἐν ὀλίγῳ περ ἀπολαμφθέντες καὶ κατὰ στόμα. ἐνθαῦτα τριήκοντα νέας αἱρέουσι τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τὸν Γόργου τοῦ Σαλαμινίων βασιλέος ἀδελφεὸν[25], Φιλάονα τὸν Χέρσιος, λόγιμον ἐόντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἄνδρα. πρῶτος δὲ Ἑλλήνων νέα τῶν πολεμίων εἷλε ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος Λυκομήδης[26] Αἰσχρέου, καὶ τὸ ἀριστήϊον ἔλαβε οὗτος. τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ταύτῃ ἑτεραλκέως[27] ἀγωνιζομένους νὺξ ἐπελθοῦσα διέλυσε· οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἀπέπλωον, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας πολλὸν παρὰ δόξαν ἀγωνισάμενοι. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ Ἀντίδωρος Λήμνιος, μοῦνος τῶν σὺν βασιλέϊ Ἑλλήνων ἐόντων, αὐτομολέει ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας· καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ χῶρον ἐν Σαλαμῖνι.

they take thirty gallies and make a prisoner of a man of consequence.

Ὡς δὲ εὐφρόνη ἐγεγόνεε, ἦν μὲν τῆς ὥρης μέσον θέρος, ἐγίνετο 12
δὲ ὕδωρ τε ἄπλετον διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ σκληραὶ βρονταὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πηλίου· οἱ δὲ νεκροὶ καὶ τὰ ναυήγια ἐξεφορέοντο ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας, καὶ περί τε τὰς πρώρας τῶν νεῶν εἰλέοντο καὶ ἐτάρασσον τοὺς ταρσοὺς τῶν κωπέων. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται οἱ ταύτῃ ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἐς φόβον κατιστέατο, ἐλπίζοντες πάγχυ ἀπολέεσθαι, ἐς οἷα κακὰ ἧκον· πρὶν γὰρ ἢ καὶ ἀναπνεῦσαί σφεας ἔκ τε τῆς ναυηγίης καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος τοῦ γενομένου κατὰ Πήλιον, ὑπέλαβε ναυμαχίη

A storm of rain and thunder sets in with nightfall and alarms the Persians.

be supposed that they diverged, "like rays," from the same centre; but that they moved in comparatively close order parallel to one another, and thus overwhelmed the small portion of the enemy opposed to them. The Persian line of battle had been greatly extended in order to surround the Greeks; and the effect of the movement of the latter was to render its flanks useless through their position in the circumference of too large a circle. Before the mistake could be remedied, a direct charge (κατὰ στόμα) upon the central ships had overwhelmed them. Leake's notion of the Hellenic force forming a *complete circle*, and actually surrounded by the Persian ships, is to me inconceivable.

[25] Γόργου τοῦ Σαλαμινίων βασιλέος ἀδελφεόν. See v. 115. Possibly Philaon, if captured alive, may be the original source of the narrative which the author has given of the proceedings in Cyprus (v. 108—115).

[26] Λυκομήδης. Plutarch considers that Themistocles was connected by blood with the family to which persons of this name belonged, arguing from the circumstance that a τελεστήριον in Phylæ which belonged to them, and was burnt by Xerxes, had been restored and decorated with paintings by him,—a fact recorded by Simonides (*Themist.* § 1). He also makes this Lycomedes sink the first ship of the enemy in the engagement at *Salamis* (§ 15). Of course it is *possible* to suppose that he gained this distinction in both engagements; but it is not likely that, if this were the case, Herodotus should only mention the one, and Plutarch only the other. See note 185 on i. 57.

[27] ἑτεραλκέως. This is the reading of *all* the MSS here; but in ix. 103: ὡς εἶδον αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς γινομένην ἑτεραλκέα τὴν μάχην, S and V have ὑπεραλκέα. It has been interpreted to mean, "with doubtful issue;" but this sense seems an unsatisfactory one for a case where the one side loses thirty gallies and the other, so far as appears, none at all.

καρτερή· ἐκ δὲ τῆς ναυμαχίης, ὄμβρος τε λάβρος καὶ ῥεύματα ἰσχυρὰ ἐς θάλασσαν ὡρμημένα, βρονταί τε σκληραί. καὶ τούτοισι

13 μὲν τοιαύτη νὺξ ἐγίνετο. Τοῖσι δὲ ταχθεῖσι αὐτῶν περιπλώειν Εὔβοιαν ἡ αὐτή περ ἐοῦσα νὺξ πολλὸν ἦν ἔτι ἀγριωτέρη, τοσούτῳ ὅσῳ ἐν πελάγεϊ φερομένοισι ἐπέπιπτε. καὶ τὸ τέλος σφι ἐγένετο ἄχαρι[28]· ὡς γὰρ δὴ πλώουσι[29] αὐτοῖσι χειμών τε καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπεγίνετο, ἐοῦσι κατὰ τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίης, φερόμενοι τῷ πνεύματι καὶ οὐκ εἰδότες τῇ ἐφέροντο, ἐξέπιπτον πρὸς τὰς πέτρας. ἐποιέετό τε πᾶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅκως ἂν ἐξισωθείη τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ τὸ Περσικὸν, μηδὲ πολλῷ πλέον εἴη.

The detachment despatched round Eubœa is totally destroyed.

14 Οὗτοι μέν νυν περὶ τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίης[30] διεφθείροντο· οἱ δ' ἐν Ἀφέτῃσι βάρβαροι, ὥς σφι ἀσμένοισι ἡμέρη ἐπέλαμψε, ἀτρέμας τε εἶχον τὰς νέας, καί σφι ἀπεχρέετο κακῶς πρήσσουσι ἡσυχίην ἄγειν ἐν τῷ παρέοντι· τοῖσι δὲ Ἕλλησι ἐπεβώθεον[31] νέες τρεῖς καὶ πεντήκοντα Ἀττικαί. αὗταί τε δή σφεας ἐπέρρωσαν ἀπικόμεναι, καὶ ἅμα ἀγγελίη ἐλθοῦσα ὡς τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ περιπλώοντες τὴν Εὔβοιαν πάντες εἴησαν διεφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ γενομένου χειμῶνος· φυλάξαντες δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ὥρην, πλώοντες ἐπέπεσον νηυσὶ Κιλίσσῃσι[32]· ταύτας δὲ διαφθείραντες, ὡς εὐφρόνη ἐγένετο, ἀπέπλωον ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον.

The next day the allies are reinforced by fifty-three Attic ships, and make a successful attack on the Cilician squadron.

15 Τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ, δεινόν τι ποιησάμενοι οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων νέας οὕτω σφι ὀλίγας λυμαίνεσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Ξέρξεω δειμαίνοντες, οὐκ ἀνέμειναν ἔτι τοὺς Ἕλληνας μάχης ἄρξαι, ἀλλὰ παρακελευσάμενοι κατὰ μέσον ἡμέρης ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας· συν-

On the third day the invading fleet makes the attack,

[28] τὸ τέλος σφι ἐγένετο ἄχαρι. Compare i. 41 : συμφορῇ πεπληγμένον ἀχάρι, and vii. 190: ἦν γάρ τις καὶ τοῦτον ἄχαρις συμφορὴ λυπεῦσα παιδοφόνος.

[29] πλώουσι. Gaisford prints this form on the sole authority of S and V, all the other MSS having the common form πλέουσι.

[30] τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίης. This is the part of the coast between the promontories of Caphareus and Geræstus. It is this bay of which EURIPIDES speaks (*Troad.* 84) : πλῆσον δὲ νεκρῶν κοῖλον Εὐβοίας μυχόν. It may be observed with reference to the interpretation of Leake, discussed in note 21, above, that it is physically impossible for ships detached from Aphetæ in the afternoon to have gone round Sciathus and arrived off this part of Eubœa in the course of *the same night.* Twenty-four hours later they would naturally be there. Caphareus obtained the name of Ξυλοφάγος (plank-swallower) from the number of ships wrecked upon it. (TZETZES, *ad Lycophron.* 373.) The current from the Dardanelles sets on to it. But even the s.w. shores of the island are extremely dangerous. See note 227 on vi. 99.

[31] ἐπεβώθεον. So Gaisford prints on the authority of S and V, although the majority of MSS have ἐπεβοήθεον.

[32] νηυσὶ Κιλίσσῃσι. The Cilician contingent consisted of no less than a hundred gallies. It can hardly be supposed that the whole, or any thing like the whole, of them can be meant, as the author seems to represent them as being annihilated by the allied fleet.

ἔπιπτε δὲ ὥστε ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις τάς τε ναυμαχίας γίνεσθαι ταύτας καὶ τὰς πεζομαχίας τὰς ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι· ἦν δὲ πᾶς ὁ ἀγὼν τοῖσι κατὰ θάλασσαν περὶ τοῦ Εὐρίπου, ὥσπερ τοῖσι ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδεα τὴν ἐσβολὴν φυλάσσειν· οἱ μὲν δὴ παρεκελεύοντο, ὅκως μὴ παρήσουσι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοὺς βαρβάρους· οἱ δ', ὅκως τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν στράτευμα διαφθείραντες, τοῦ πόρου κρατήσουσι.

Ὡς δὲ ταξάμενοι οἱ Ξέρξεω ἐπέπλωον, οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀτρέμας 16
εἶχον πρὸς τῷ Ἀρτεμισίῳ· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι μηνοειδὲς ποιήσαντες τῶν νεῶν, ἐκυκλέοντο ὡς περιλάβοιεν αὐτούς· ἐνθεῦτεν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπανέπλωόν τε καὶ συνέμισγον. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ παραπλήσιοι ἀλλήλοισι ἐγίνοντο[33]· ὁ γὰρ Ξέρξεω στρατὸς ὑπὸ μεγάθεός τε καὶ πλήθεος αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἑωυτοῦ ἔπιπτε, ταρασσομενέων τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ περιπιπτουσέων περὶ ἀλλήλας· ὅμως μέντοι ἀντεῖχε καὶ οὐκ εἶκε· δεινὸν γὰρ χρῆμα ἐποιεῦντο ὑπὸ νεῶν ὀλίγων ἐς φυγὴν τραπέσθαι. πολλαὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νέες διεφθείροντο, πολλοὶ δὲ ἄνδρες· πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνες νέες τε τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ ἄνδρες. οὕτω δὲ ἀγωνιζόμενοι διέστησαν χωρὶς ἑκάτεροι.

which issues in great loss to both sides.

Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν τῶν Ξέρξεω στρατιωτέων 17
ἠρίστευσαν[34]· οἳ ἄλλα τε μεγάλα ἔργα ἀπεδέξαντο, καὶ νέας αὐτοῖσι ἀνδράσι εἷλον Ἑλληνίδας πέντε· τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην ἠρίστευσαν Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ Ἀθηναίων Κλεινίης ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδεω, ὃς δαπάνην οἰκηίην παρεχόμενος ἐστρατεύετο ἀνδράσι τε διηκοσίοισι καὶ οἰκηίῃ νηΐ.

The *Egyptians* in the invading fleet highly distinguish themselves, and so do the Athenians.

[33] *παραπλήσιοι ἀλλήλοισι ἐγίνοντο.* Not "they had equal forces," but "they came to be on an equal footing;" i. e. the invaders were so confused by their own numbers that they could not bring a superior force to bear upon their enemies. On the other hand, the same circumstance prevented the Greeks from availing themselves of their superior skill. They were hemmed in before they had made a sufficient offing to be able to manœuvre.

[34] *Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν τῶν Ξέρξεω στρατιωτέων ἠρίστευσαν.* Diodorus (xi. 13), in relating this action, makes not the *Egyptians* but the *Sidonians* distinguish themselves above all others in the invading fleet. Possibly this is a confusion on his part with the distinction which they obtained at the Hellespont (vii. 44), but it is more probable that he is following a distinct authority. From the description which is given of the armament of the crews of the Egyptian gallies (vii. 89), it is likely that in a mêlée (*ταρασσομενέων τῶν νεῶν καὶ περιπιπτουσέων περὶ ἀλλήλας*) they would have a great advantage. And if the ships, although manned by Egyptians, were of Sidonian build, and possibly commanded by a Sidonian chief (see notes 262 and 288 on vii. 89. 98), the statement of Diodorus is readily explained, and in its turn confirms the conjecture put forward in the notes referred to, as to the cause of the divergency of Æschylus and Herodotus in the numbers of the Persian fleet.

The allies, having suffered severely, determine to retreat. Themistocles's plan to keep up the spirits of the men.

18 Ὡς δὲ διέστησαν[35], ἄσμενοι ἑκάτεροι ἐς ὅρμον ἠπείγοντο· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, ὡς διακριθέντες ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίης ἀπηλλάχθησαν, τῶν μὲν νεκρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυηγίων ἐπεκράτεον· τρηχέως δὲ περιεφθέντες, καὶ οὐκ ἥκιστα Ἀθηναῖοι τῶν αἱ ἡμίσεαι τῶν νεῶν τετρωμέναι
19 ἦσαν[36], δρησμὸν δὴ ἐβούλευον ἔσω ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Νόῳ δὲ λαβὼν ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης, ὡς, εἰ ἀπορραγείη ἀπὸ τοῦ βαρβάρου τό τε Ἰωνικὸν φῦλον καὶ τὸ Καρικὸν, οἷοί τε εἴησαν τῶν λοιπῶν κατύπερθε γενέσθαι, ἐλαυνόντων τῶν Εὐβοέων πρόβατα ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, ταύτῃ συλλέξας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, ἔλεγέ σφι ὡς δοκέοι ἔχειν τινὰ παλάμην τῇ ἐλπίζοι τῶν βασιλέος συμμάχων ἀποστήσειν τοὺς ἀρίστους· ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἐς τοσοῦτο παρεγύμνου· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι τάδε ποιητέα σφι εἶναι ἔλεγε· τῶν τε προβάτων τῶν Εὐβοϊκῶν[37] καταθύειν ὅσα τις ἐθέλοι· (κρέσσον γὰρ εἶναι τὴν στρατιὴν ἔχειν ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους·) παραίνεέ τε προειπεῖν τοῖσι ἑωυτῶν ἑκάστους πῦρ ἀνακαίειν· κομιδῆς δὲ πέρι τὴν ὥρην αὐτῷ μελήσειν, ὥστε ἀσινέας ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ταῦτα ἤρεσέ σφι ποιέειν· καὶ αὐτίκα πῦρ ἀνακαυσάμενοι ἐτρά-
20 ποντο πρὸς τὰ πρόβατα. Οἱ γὰρ Εὐβοέες[38] παραχρησάμενοι τὸν Βάκιδος χρησμὸν ὡς οὐδὲν λέγοντα, οὔτε τι ἐξεκομίσαντο οὐδὲν οὔτε προεσάξαντο ὡς παρεσομένου σφι πολέμου, περιπετέα τε ἐποιήσαντο σφίσι αὐτοῖσι τὰ πρήγματα· Βάκιδι γὰρ ὧδε ἔχει περὶ τούτων ὁ χρησμός·

The Eubœans suffer for their want of foresight.

> Φράζεο βαρβαρόφωνον ὅταν ζυγὸν εἰς ἅλα βάλλῃ
> βύβλινον, Εὐβοΐης ἀπέχειν πολυμηκάδας αἶγας.

τούτοισι δὲ οὐδὲν τοῖσι ἔπεσι χρησαμένοισι ἐν τοῖσι τότε παρεοῦσι τε καὶ προσδοκίμοισι κακοῖσι, παρῆν σφι συμφορῇ χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὰ μέγιστα.

News is brought of the disaster at Thermo-

21 Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἔπρησσον, παρῆν δὲ ὁ ἐκ Τρηχῖνος κατάσκοπος. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ κατάσκοπος, Πολύας, γένος Ἀντικυρεὺς, τῷ προσετέτακτο, (καὶ εἶχε πλοῖον κατῆρες ἑτοῖμον,)

[35] ὡς δὲ διέστησαν. S and V have οἱ δὲ ὡς διέστασαν.

[36] τῶν αἱ ἡμίσεαι τῶν νεῶν τετρωμέναι ἦσαν. One cannot help suspecting considerable exaggeration here. The action off Salamis took place too soon afterwards to allow the supposition that there was time to refit their crippled vessels, and yet the Athenian contingent there was 180 strong at least.

[37] Εὐβοϊκῶν. Gaisford prints Εὐβοεικῶν, following the majority of MSS. But S and V have the form in the text, which is the reading of all in vii. 192.

[38] οἱ γὰρ Εὐβοέες, κ.τ.λ. Schweighäuser well remarks, that the proper place for this section appears to be immediately following § 4, above.

εἰ παλήσειε[39] ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς, σημαίνειν τοῖσι ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐοῦσι· ὡς δ' αὕτως ἦν Ἀβρώνυχος ὁ Λυσικλέος, Ἀθηναῖος, καὶ παρὰ Λεωνίδῃ ἑτοῖμος τοῖσι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐοῦσι ἀγγέλλειν τριηκοντέρῳ, ἤν τι καταλαμβάνῃ νεώτερον τὸν πεζόν. οὗτος ὦν ὁ Ἀβρώνυχος ἀπικόμενός σφι ἐσήμαινε τὰ γεγονότα περὶ Λεωνίδεα[40] καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ· οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα, οὐκέτι ἐς ἀναβολὰς ἐποιεῦντο τὴν ἀποχώρησιν· ἐκομίζοντο δὲ ὡς ἕκαστοι ἐτάχθησαν, Κορίνθιοι πρῶτοι ὕστατοι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι. *pylæ, and they make an orderly retreat.*

22 Ἀθηναίων δὲ νέας τὰς ἄριστα πλωούσας ἐπιλεξάμενος Θεμιστοκλέης ἐπορεύετο περὶ τὰ πότιμα ὕδατα, ἐντάμνων ἐν τοῖσι λίθοισι γράμματα[41], τὰ Ἴωνες ἐπελθόντες τῇ ὑστεραίῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐπελέξαντο· τὰ δὲ γράμματα τάδε ἔλεγε· "ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, οὐ ποιέετε δίκαια ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας στρατευόμενοι[42], καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καταδουλούμενοι· ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν πρὸς ἡμέων γίνεσθε[43]· εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν ἐστι τοῦτο μὴ δυνατὸν ποιῆσαι, ὑμέες δὲ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἡμῖν ἕζεσθε[44] καὶ αὐτοὶ, καὶ τῶν Καρῶν δέεσθε τὰ αὐτὰ ὑμῖν ποιέειν· εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων οἷόν τε γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης μέζονος κατέζευχθε[45] ἢ ὥστε ἀπίστασθαι, ὑμέες γε ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, ἐπεὰν συμμίσγωμεν, ἐθελοκακέετε, μεμνημένοι ὅτι ἀπ' ἡμέων γεγόνατε καὶ ὅτι ἀρχῆθεν ἡ ἔχθρη πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον ἀπ' ὑμέων ἡμῖν γέγονε." Θεμιστοκλέης δὲ *Device of Themistocles to sow dissension among the enemy's forces.*

[39] παλήσειε. HESYCHIUS explains this word by διαφθείρειε, where the true reading has been supposed to be διαφθαρείη. The word παλέω appears to be an Ionic form of παλαίω, used in that sense in which the word κάμνω is ordinarily found. Valcknaer doubtfully puts forward the conjecture ΤΙΠΤΑΙΣΕΙΕ (τι πταίσειε) for ΠΑΛΗΣΕΙΕ.

[40] Λεωνίδεα. F, both here and in § 15, above, has Λεωνίδην.

[41] ἐντάμνων ἐν τοῖσι λίθοισι γράμματα. Compare iv. 87: ἐνταμὼν γράμματα ἐς μὲν τὴν Ἀσσύρια ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἑλληνικά. Elsewhere the word ἐγκολάπτω is used in the same sense. i. 93: καί σφι γράμματα ἐνεκεκόλαπτο. 187: ἐνεκόλαψε δὲ ἐς τὸν τάφον γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε. The latter word is found in the SEPTUAGINT (3 *Maccab.* ii. 27) and elsewhere, but the former is peculiar to Herodotus.

[42] ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας στρατευόμενοι. See vii. 150: οὔτε ὦν ἡμέας οἰκὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους προγόνους ἐκστρατεύεσθαι. A similar plea on the part of the Phœnicians seems to have been allowed by Cambyses. (iii. 19.)

[43] γίνεσθε. S has ἔσεσθε, which is unquestionably no corruption, but a genuine variant.

[44] ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἡμῖν ἕζεσθε, "be neutral." Compare iii. 83: οὗτος μὲν δὴ σφι οὐκ ἐνηγωνίζετο, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ μέσου καθῆστο. iv. 118: ὑμεῖς ὦν μηδενὶ τρόπῳ ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατήμενοι περιΐδητε ἡμέας διαφθαρέντας, and below, § 73: αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλις ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἐκατέατο. For the use of ἡμῖν in combination with this phrase, see note 318 on ii. 113. It is not pleonastic, for the interests of the European Greeks were much affected by the neutrality of the Ionians.

[45] ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης μέζονος κατέζευχθε. This expression has a very poetical colouring. Compare ÆSCHYLUS (*Prometh.* 108: ἀνάγκαις ταῖσδ' ὑπέζευγμαι τάλας. SOPHOCLES (*Philoct.* 1025): κλοπῇ τε κἀνάγκῃ ζυγεὶς ἔπλεις ἅμ' αὐτοῖς.

ταῦτα ἔγραψε, δοκέειν ἐμοὶ, ἐπ' ἀμφότερα νοέων· ἵνα ἢ λαθόντα τὰ γράμματα βασιλέα Ἴωνας ποιήσῃ μεταβαλέειν καὶ γενέσθαι πρὸς ἑωυτῶν, ἢ, ἐπεί τε ἀνενειχθῇ καὶ διαβληθῇ πρὸς Ξέρξεα, ἀπίστους ποιήσῃ τοὺς Ἴωνας [46] καὶ τῶν ναυμαχιέων αὐτοὺς ἀπόσχῃ.

The next day the invading fleet advances as far as *Histiæa*, and overrun the hamlets on the coast.

23 Θεμιστοκλέης μὲν ταῦτα ἐνέγραψε· τοῖσι δὲ βαρβάροισι αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα πλοίῳ ἦλθε ἀνὴρ Ἱστιαιεὺς, ἀγγέλλων τὸν δρησμὸν τὸν ἀπ' Ἀρτεμισίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων. οἱ δ' ὑπ' ἀπιστίης τὸν μὲν ἀγγέλλοντα εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, νῆας δὲ ταχείας ἀπέστειλαν προκατοψομένας· ἀπαγγειλάντων δὲ τούτων τὰ ἦν, οὕτω δὴ [47] ἅμα ἡλίῳ σκιδναμένῳ [48] πᾶσα ἡ στρατιὴ ἔπλωε ἁλὴς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον· ἐπισχόντες δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ μέχρι μέσου ἡμέρης, τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου ἔπλωον ἐς Ἱστιαίην· ἀπικόμενοι δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἔσχον τῶν Ἱστιαιέων, καὶ τῆς Ἐλλοπίης μοίρης, γῆς δὲ τῆς Ἱστιαιήτιδος [49], τὰς παραθαλασσίας κώμας πάσας ἐπέδραμον.

Xerxes allows leave of absence to visit the field of Thermopylæ, after burying nineteen-twentieths of his own dead.

24 Ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τούτων ἐόντων, Ξέρξης ἑτοιμασάμενος τὰ περὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς, ἔπεμπε ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν κήρυκα· προετοιμάσατο δὲ τάδε· ὅσοι τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ ἦσαν νεκροὶ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ δύο μυριάδες· ὑπολιπόμενος τούτων ὡς χιλίους, τοὺς λοιποὺς, τάφρους ὀρυξάμενος, ἔθαψε, φυλλάδα τε ἐπιβαλὼν καὶ γῆν ἐπαμησάμενος, ἵνα μὴ ὀφθείησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ· ὡς δὲ διέβη ἐς τὴν Ἱστιαίην ὁ κήρυξ, σύλλογον ποιησάμενος παντὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔλεγε τάδε· "ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τῷ βουλομένῳ ὑμέων παραδίδωσι, ἐκλιπόντα τὴν τάξιν καὶ ἐλθόντα θεήσασθαι ὅκως μάχεται πρὸς τοὺς
ἀνοήτους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἳ ἤλπισαν τὴν βασιλέος δύναμιν ὑπερ-
25 βαλέεσθαι." Ταῦτα ἐπαγγειλαμένου, μετὰ ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἐγίνετο
πλοίων σπανιώτερον· οὕτω πολλοὶ ἤθελον θεήσεσθαι· διαπεραιωθέντες δὲ ἐθηεῦντο διεξιόντες τοὺς νεκρούς· πάντες δὲ ἠπιστέατο τοὺς κειμένους εἶναι πάντας Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ

[46] ἀπίστους ποιήσῃ τοὺς Ἴωνας. See note on ix. 98.

[47] οὕτω δὴ, "then, *at last*." See note 22 on i. 5.

[48] ἅμα ἡλίῳ σκιδναμένῳ. The metaphor is apparently the same as that which is expressed more fully by ÆSCHYLUS: πρὶν σκεδασθῆναι θεοῦ ἀκτῖνας (*Pers.* 502); and appears yet more distinctly in LUCRETIUS's "Sol lumine *conserit* arva," and MILTON's "Morn *sowing* the earth with orient pearl."

[49] Ἱστιαιήτιδος. So Gaisford prints on the authority of S and V, the other MSS having the form Ἱστιαιώτιδος. See note 63 on iv. 20.

Θεσπιέας, ὁρέοντες καὶ τοὺς εἵλωτας· οὐ μὲν οὐδ' ἐλάνθανε τοὺς διαβεβηκότας Ξέρξης ταῦτα πρήξας περὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς ἑωυτοῦ· καὶ γὰρ δὴ γελοῖον ἦν· τῶν μὲν χίλιοι ἐφαίνοντο νεκροὶ κείμενοι, οἱ δὲ, πάντες ἐκέατο ἀλέες συγκεκομισμένοι ἐς τὠυτὸ χωρίον, τέσσερες χιλιάδες [50]. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην πρὸς θέην ἐτράποντο· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίῃ οἱ μὲν ἀπέπλωον ἐς Ἱστιαίην ἐπὶ τὰς νῆας, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ξέρξεα ἐς ὁδὸν ὁρμέατο.

Ἧκον δέ σφι αὐτόμολοι ἄνδρες ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίης ὀλίγοι τινὲς, βίου 26
τε δεόμενοι καὶ ἐνεργοὶ βουλόμενοι εἶναι· ἄγοντες δὲ τούτους ἐς ὄψιν τὴν βασιλέος, ἐπυνθάνοντο οἱ Πέρσαι περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὰ ποιέοιεν· εἷς δέ τις πρὸ πάντων ἦν ὁ εἰρωτέων αὐτοὺς ταῦτα· οἱ δέ σφι ἔλεγον, ὡς Ὀλύμπια ἄγοιεν καὶ θεωρέοιεν ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν καὶ ἱππικόν· ὁ δὲ ἐπείρετο ὅ τι τὸ ἄεθλον εἴη σφι κείμενον περὶ ὅτευ ἀγωνίζονται; οἱ δ' εἶπον τῆς ἐλαίης τὸν διδόμενον στέφανον [51]. ἐνθαῦτα εἴπας γνώμην γενναιοτάτην Τριτανταίχμης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου [52], δειλίην ὦφλε πρὸς βασιλέος· πυνθανόμενος γὰρ τὸ ἄεθλον ἐὸν στέφανον, ἀλλ' οὐ χρήματα, οὔτε ἠνέσχετο σιγῶν εἶπέ τε ἐς πάντας τάδε· "παπαὶ, Μαρδόνιε, κοίους ἐπ' ἄνδρας ἤγαγες μαχησομένους ἡμέας, οἳ οὐ περὶ χρημάτων τὸν ἀγῶνα ποιεῦνται, ἀλλὰ περὶ ἀρετῆς." τούτῳ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα εἴρητο.

Anecdote of *Tritantæchmes* and his tribute of admiration to the Greeks on hearing from some Arcadian mercenaries what was at that time occupying their attention.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ διὰ μέσου χρόνῳ, ἐπεί τε τὸ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι τρῶμα 27
ἐγεγόνεε, αὐτίκα Θεσσαλοὶ πέμπουσι κήρυκα ἐς Φωκέας, ἅτε σφι ἐνέχοντες [53] αἰεὶ χόλον ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ὑστάτου τρώματος καὶ τὸ κάρτα· ἐσβαλόντες γὰρ πανστρατιῇ αὐτοί τε οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς Φωκέας, οὐ πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι πρότερον ταύτης τῆς βασιλέος στρατηλασίης, ἑσσώθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Φωκέων καὶ

The Thessalians, who at no long time back had suffered a severe loss from the Phocians

[50] τέσσερες χιλιάδες. It would seem from these numbers (which are the same as those of the inscription, vii. 228), that in the apprehension of the writer, the Spartans were attended by at least the full complement of Helots, seven to each hoplite; and also—a more difficult supposition—that these were animated by the same spirit as their masters.

[51] τῆς ἐλαίης τὸν διδόμενον στέφανον. The use of the articles is not to be overlooked, showing the notorious character of the prize. "He asked further, what the prize was which they staked? and they told him of *the* olive crown which is given. See note 490 on iv. 192.

[52] Τριτανταίχμης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου. See note 251 on vii. 82. But the MSS, with the exception of S, which is followed by Valla, have Τιγράνης. I have given the reading of Gaisford, although by no means convinced that it is to be preferred to that of the majority of MSS. See note 494 on ii. 160, and 367 on iv. 144.

[53] ἐνέχοντες. This is the reading of S and V, and is adopted by Gaisford. The other MSS have ἔχοντες. In vii. 119, all without exception have ἐνεῖχέ σφι δεινὸν χόλον. In i. 118 there is an equal unanimity for the anomalous form ἐνείχεε.

περιεφθησαν τρηχέως· ἐπεί τε γὰρ κατειλήθησαν ἐς τὸν Παρνησσὸν οἱ Φωκέες ἔχοντες μάντιν Τελλίην[54] τὸν Ἠλεῖον, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Τελλίης οὗτος σοφίζεται αὐτοῖσι τοιόνδε· γυψώσας[55] ἄνδρας ἑξακοσίους τῶν Φωκέων τοὺς ἀρίστους, αὐτούς τε τούτους καὶ τὰ ὅπλα αὐτῶν, νυκτὸς ἐπεθήκατο τοῖσι Θεσσαλοῖσι· προείπας αὐτοῖσι, τὸν ἂν μὴ λευκανθίζοντα ἴδωνται τοῦτον κτείνειν. τούτους ὦν αἵ τε φυλακαὶ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν πρῶται ἰδοῦσαι ἐφοβήθησαν δόξασαι ἄλλο τι εἶναι τέρας, καὶ μετὰ τὰς φυλακὰς αὐτὴ ἡ στρατιή, οὕτω ὥστε τετρακισχιλίων κρατῆσαι νεκρῶν καὶ ἀσπίδων Φωκέας· τῶν τὰς μὲν ἡμισέας ἐς Ἄβας[56] ἀνέθεσαν, τὰς δὲ ἐς Δελφούς· ἡ δὲ δεκάτη ἐγένετο τῶν χρημάτων ἐκ ταύτης τῆς μάχης οἱ μεγάλοι ἀνδριάντες οἱ περὶ τὸν τρίποδα συνεστεῶτες[57], ἔμπροσθε τοῦ νηοῦ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖσι· καὶ ἕτεροι τοιοῦτοι ἐν Ἄβῃσι ἀνακέαται.
28 (on two occasions) Ταῦτα μέν νυν τὸν πεζὸν ἐργάσαντο τῶν Θεσσαλῶν οἱ Φωκέες, πολιορκέοντας ἑωυτούς· ἐσβαλοῦσαν δὲ ἐς τὴν χώρην τὴν ἵππον αὐτῶν ἐλυμήναντο ἀνηκέστως· ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἐσβολῇ

54 Τελλίην. There appears to have been a family of *Telliadæ* at Elis, one of whom, Hegesistratus, was also a seer (ix. 37).

55 γυψώσας. It is an error to suppose that this device had *no other* object than that of terrifying the enemy. The instructions given: τὸν ἂν μὴ λευκανθίζοντα ἴδωνται τοῦτον κτείνειν, show plainly that the aim of Tellias was to give his troops the means of recognizing one another without using the watchword, which would have destroyed the *préstige* of their appearance.

56 ἐς Ἄβας. See note 141 on i. 46.

57 οἱ μεγάλοι ἀνδριάντες οἱ περὶ τὸν τρίποδα συνεστεῶτες. For the use of the article see note 490 on iv. 192. Pausanias describes two groups of figures set up at Delphi in commemoration of the successes of the Phocians over the Thessalians. The one of these was the work of Aristomedon the Argive (whom Sillig places in the 74th Olympiad). Its subject is not named by Pausanias, but he describes it as containing statues of Apollo and Tellias the seer, of the leaders of the Phocian force, and some of the ἥρωες ἐπιχώριοι (x. 1. 10). But the occasion on which this group was set up was not, according to Pausanias, the defeat described by Herodotus in the text. That, according to him, took place afterwards (x. 1. 11). In another passage he describes a second group, likewise set up by the Phocians in consequence of their success under Tellias. Apollo and Heracles are represented as contending for the tripod; while Athene is endeavouring to moderate the anger of Heracles, and Antemis and Leto that of Apollo. The figure of Athene was said to be the work of Chionis, the others of Diyllus and Amyclæus,—all three Corinthians (x. 13. 7). Sillig cannot with any certainty fix the dates of these three artists; but he assumes that the group was put up soon after the transaction. But if Herodotus had found *two* monuments of the *two* defeats, it is unlikely he should mention one, and only one. And if he only found one, it can scarcely have been any but the work of Aristomedon. (See note on ix. 81, below.) Supposing it to have been this, it will follow that between the time of Herodotus and that of Pausanias, the story of the Delphic *ciceroni* will have varied,—the same trophy being referred to different events. That such should be the case is very natural; but its likelihood is a matter often lost sight of in estimating the historical value of temple-traditions. See note 449 on ii. 148.

ᾗ ἐστι κατὰ Ὑάμπολιν[58], ἐν ταύτῃ τάφρον μεγάλην ὀρύξαντες, ἀμφορέας κεινοὺς ἐς αὐτὴν κατέθηκαν· χοῦν δὲ ἐπιφορήσαντες καὶ ὁμοιώσαντες τῷ ἄλλῳ χώρῳ, ἐδέκοντο τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἐσβάλλοντας· οἱ δὲ, ὡς ἀναρπασόμενοι τοὺς Φωκέας, φερόμενοι ἐσέπεσον ἐς τοὺς ἀμφορέας· ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἵπποι τὰ σκέλεα διεφθάρησαν.

29 Τούτων δή σφι ἀμφοτέρων ἔχοντες ἔγκοτον[59] οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ, πέμψαντες κήρυκα ἠγόρευον τάδε· "ὦ Φωκέες, ἤδη τι μᾶλλον γνωσιμαχέετε μὴ εἶναι ὁμοῖοι ἡμῖν· πρόσθεν τε γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ὅσον χρόνον ἐκεῖνα ἡμῖν ἥνδανε, πλέον αἰεί κοτε ὑμέων ἐφερόμεθα· νῦν τε παρὰ τῷ βαρβάρῳ τοσοῦτον δυνάμεθα, ὥστε ἐπ' ἡμῖν ἐστι τῆς γῆς τε ἐστερῆσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἠνδραποδίσθαι ὑμέας· ἡμέες μέντοι τὸ πᾶν ἔχοντες οὐ μνησικακέομεν· ἀλλ' ἡμῖν γενέσθω ἀντ' αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα τάλαντα ἀργυρίου, καὶ ὑμῖν ὑποδεκόμεθα τὰ ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην ἀποτρέψειν."

endeavour to extort a compensation of fifty talents from them.

30 Ταῦτά σφι ἐπαγγέλλοντο οἱ Θεσσαλοί· (οἱ γὰρ Φωκέες μοῦνοι τῶν ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐμήδιζον, κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν, ὡς ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος εὑρίσκω, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Θεσσαλῶν[60]· εἰ δὲ Θεσσαλοὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων ηὖξον, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ἐμήδιζον ἂν οἱ Φωκέες·) ταῦτα ἐπαγγελλομένων Θεσσαλῶν, οὔτε δώσειν ἔφασαν χρήματα παρέχειν τέ σφι Θεσσαλοῖσι ὁμοίως μηδίζειν, εἰ ἄλλως βουλοίατο· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔσεσθαι ἑκόντες εἶναι[61] προδόται τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

The Phocians refuse,

31 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνηνείχθησαν οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι, οὕτω δὴ οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ κεχολωμένοι τοῖσι Φωκεῦσι, ἐγένοντο ἡγεμόνες τῷ βαρβάρῳ τῆς ὁδοῦ· ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς Τρηχινίης ἐς τὴν Δωρίδα ἐσέβαλον· τῆς γὰρ Δωρίδος χώρης ποδεὼν στεινὸς[62] ταύτῃ κατατείνει, ὡς τριήκοντα σταδίων μάλιστά κῃ εὖρος, κείμενος μεταξὺ τῆς τε Μηλίδος

and the Thessalians lead the invading army from Trachis, through Doris and Phocis.

[58] ᾗ ἐστι κατὰ Ὑάμπολιν. This is the high road which led from *Opus* in Locris over the mountains to *Orchomenus* in Bœotia. There was a branch from it near Hyampolis which led to Abæ, lying at a short distance on the right hand. (PAUSANIAS x. 35. 1.)

[59] ἔχοντες ἔγκοτον. Exactly the same expression is used below (ix. 110): τῇ μὲν γυναικὶ ταύτῃ οὐκ εἶχε ἔγκοτον. The word ἔγκοτος is a substantive, exactly equivalent to κότος. See vi. 133: ἀτάρ τινα καὶ ἔγκοτον εἶχε τοῖσι Παρίοισι.

[60] κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Θεσσαλῶν, "in accordance with their hatred of the Thessalians." Compare ix. 37: κατὰ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων.

[61] ἑκόντες εἶναι. Compare ix. 7: οὐ μὲν οὐδ' ὁμολογήσομεν ἑκόντες εἶναι, and above (vii. 104 and 164), ἑκὼν εἶναι.

[62] ποδεὼν στεινὸς, "a narrow spur." The same word (ποδεὼν) is used of the protruding corners of the wineskins (ii. 121), which, being the legs of the animal whose skin is used, jut out from the body in the same way that the ridge on which the Doric Tetrapolis lay does from the main range.

καὶ τῆς Φωκίδος χώρης, ἥπερ ἦν τὸ παλαιὸν Δρυοπίς[63]· ἡ δὲ χώρη αὕτη ἐστὶ μητρόπολις Δωριέων[64] τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ. ταύτην ὦν τὴν Δωρίδα γῆν οὐκ ἐσίναντο ἐσβαλόντες οἱ βάρβαροι· ἐμήδιζόν τε γάρ, καὶ οὐκ ἐδόκεε Θεσσαλοῖσι.

32 'Ως δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δωρίδος ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα ἐσέβαλον, αὐτοὺς μὲν τοὺς Φωκέας οὐκ αἱρέουσι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Φωκέων ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ Παρνησσοῦ ἀνέβησαν· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπιτηδέη δέξασθαι ὅμιλον τοῦ Παρνησσοῦ ἡ κορυφὴ κατὰ Νέωνα πόλιν[a] κειμένη ἐπ' ἑωυτῆς[65]· Τιθορέα οὔνομα αὐτῇ· ἐς τὴν δὴ ἀνηνείκαντο[66], καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνέβησαν· οἱ δὲ πλεῦνες αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς Ὀζόλας Λοκροὺς ἐξεκομίσαντο, ἐς Ἄμφισσαν πόλιν, τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κρισαίου πεδίου οἰκεομένην. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τὴν χώρην πᾶσαν ἐπέδραμον τὴν Φωκίδα· Θεσσαλοὶ γὰρ οὕτω ἦγον τὸν στρατόν· ὁκόσα δὲ ἐπέσχον, πάντα ἐπέφλεγον καὶ ἔκειρον, καὶ ἐς τὰς πόλις ἐνιέντες πῦρ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱρά[67].

The Phocians themselves mostly escape, some to *Parnassus*, but most to *Amphissa*.

The invaders overrun the whole of Phocis,

33 Πορευόμενοι γὰρ ταύτῃ παρὰ τὸν Κηφισσὸν ποταμόν, ἐδήιουν πάντα, καὶ κατὰ μὲν ἔκαυσαν Δρύμον πόλιν, κατὰ δὲ Χαράδρην, καὶ Ἔρωχον, καὶ Τεθρώνιον, καὶ Ἀμφίκαιαν[68], καὶ Νέωνα, καὶ Πεδιέας, καὶ Τριτέας, καὶ Ἐλάτειαν, καὶ Ὑάμπολιν[69], καὶ Παρα-

and taking the line of the valley of the Cephisus, burn the towns

[63] Δρυοπίς. The manuscripts S and V have Δρυοπίης. But in i. 56 the form in the text is supported by all the MSS.

[64] ἡ δὲ χώρη αὕτη ἐστὶ μητρόπολις Δωριέων. The meaning of the writer is, apparently, not that this district was the *primitive* seat of the Peloponnesian Dorians, but that they came into Peloponnesus *from thence*. Any stricter interpretation would be quite incompatible with the ethnographic notice in i. 56, from which it would appear that the reputed primitive seat of the Dorian race was Phthiotis in Thessaly. Compare too the expression: ὕστατα ὁρμηθέντες, § 43, below.

[a] κατὰ Νέωνα πόλιν. PAUSANIAS, who in his description of Phocis continually refers to this part of Herodotus's work, remarks, that in the "oracles of Bacis" the inhabitants of the neighbourhood are called *Tithoreans:* and he conjectures that the town Tithorea (which existed in his time) was formed by the aggregation of their hamlets, and that its name extruded the one of *Neon*. As Neon was burnt by the invaders, this is not an improbable conjecture; but the expression of Herodotus indicates that the town Neon existed in his time. In the time of Pausanias there was a fair held here twice a year in honour of *Isis*,—a circumstance which indicates considerable communication with Egypt. The staple of the place seems to have been perfumes made from the oil and the herbs grown in the vicinity (x. 32. 8—19).

[65] κειμένη ἐπ' ἑωυτῆς, "insulated." Compare ii. 2: ἐν στέγῃ δὲ ἐρήμῃ ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν κέεσθαι.

[66] ἀνηνείκαντο. The words τὰ χρήματα, or τὴν οὐσίαν, or some analogous expression, are understood. Compare iii. 148: ἀπικόμενος δ' ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ ἀνενεικάμενος τὰ ἔχων ἐξεχώρησε. A similar ellipse of the accusative appears below (§ 36).

[67] καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱρά. Instead of these words, S has κατέκαιον.

[68] Ἀμφίκαιαν. PAUSANIAS calls this town Ἀμφίκλεια, but intimates that it was corrupted by the local pronunciation into *Ophitea*, which Amphicæa might, but Amphiclea hardly could have been. A legend was given for this corrupted name, connected with the worship of a Dionysus-Æsculapius (x. 33. 9).

[69] καὶ Ἐλάτειαν, καὶ Ὑάμπολιν. The road from Elatea to Hyampolis and Abæ was a mere mountain-path. It is scarcely

ποταμίους[70], καὶ Ἄβας· ἔνθα ἦν ἱρὸν Ἀπόλλωνος πλούσιον, θησαυροῖσί τε καὶ ἀναθήμασι πολλοῖσι κατεσκευασμένον· ἦν δὲ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ, χρηστήριον αὐτόθι· καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν συλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν[71]· καί τινας διώκοντες εἷλον τῶν Φωκέων πρὸς τοῖσι οὔρεσι· καὶ γυναῖκάς τινας διέφθειραν μισγόμενοι ὑπὸ πλήθεος.

and temples, among which is the rich one of *Abæ*.

34 Παραποταμίους δὲ παραμειβόμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀπίκοντο ἐς Πανοπέας· ἐνθεῦτεν δὴ ἤδη[72] διακρινομένη ἡ στρατιὴ αὐτῶν ἐσχίζετο. τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον καὶ δυνατώτατον τοῦ στρατοῦ, ἅμα αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ πορευόμενον ἐπ' Ἀθήνας, ἐσέβαλε ἐς Βοιωτοὺς ἐς γῆν Ὀρχομενίων. Βοιωτῶν δὲ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἐμήδιζε· τὰς δὲ

The main army then enters Bœotia by Orchomenus,

conceivable that more than a detachment of the Persian army could have accompanied the Thessalians through Phocis. PAUSANIAS mentions the very great scarcity of water both at Charadra and at Hyampolis. In the latter place there was only one spring, and at the former the people were obliged to fetch what they wanted from the *Charadrus*, three *stades* off. The Panopeans likewise had no spring (x. 4. 1).

[70] Παραποταμίους. PAUSANIAS questions the fact of there ever having been a town of this name, and says that the people called by the name were the inhabitants of the banks of the Cephisus,—by far the most fertile land in all Phocis. He adds, that neither are there any ruins of *Parapotamia*. nor any tradition of its former site (x. 33. 7). But the description of Herodotus does not seem to imply a town. Probably the invaders burnt all the hamlets.

[71] τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν συλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν. This outrage was perhaps mainly owing to the hatred of the Thessalians, who remembered the defeat they had suffered in the neighbourhood (§ 27, above). But the temple may also have had some importance as a military position; for in the sacred war some fugitive Phocians took refuge in its ruins, and the Thebans burnt them, temple and all, which they would hardly have been obliged to do, had not the place proved a strong fortification. The emperor Hadrian built a smaller temple by the side of the old one. (PAUSANIAS, x. 35. 3.)

[72] ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἤδη. It is not easy to conceive that this statement is exactly a correct one. See note 69, above. The greater part of the army must have moved by the sea-road for the sake of supplies. Perhaps at the time Herodotus is now speaking of, we may conceive the front of the invading army extended along the line from Panopeus through Hyampolis to Opus. *A portion* of this,—that which Herodotus has been describing,—would have come into position at Panopeus by marching through Doris and Phocis. From this portion the expedition sent against Delphi would necessarily be detached. It seems possible that the real object of the expedition was rather to get the temple into the hands of the Thessalians than to destroy it. The Delphic oracle had, at any rate in later times, the reputation of not having been ill-affected towards the Persians. When Themistocles was desirous of making an offering at Delphi out of his share of the Persian spoils, the priestess desired him to take the offering out of the temple, saying:

μή μοι Περσῆος σκύλων περικαλλέα κόσμον
νηῷ ἐγκαταθῇς· οἰκόνδ' ἀπόπεμπε τάχιστα.

Two accounts were given of this; the one, that the deity, being aware that Themistocles would at a future time become a suppliant of the Persian king, wished to prevent him from committing the offence of making an offering from Persian spoils; the other, that, if those who made offerings from this source had, like Themistocles, asked the deity's permission beforehand, every one would have been equally rejected. (PAUSANIAS, x. 14. 5.)

πόλις αὐτῶν ἄνδρες Μακεδόνες διατεταγμένοι ἔσωζον, ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀποπεμφθέντες· ἔσωζον δέ, τῇδε βουλόμενοι δῆλον ποιέειν Ξέρξῃ ὅτι τὰ Μήδων Βοιωτοὶ φρονέοιεν. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τῶν

35 βαρβάρων ταύτῃ ἐτράποντο. Ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτῶν, ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες, ὁρμέατο ἐπὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐν δεξιῇ τὸν Παρνησσὸν ἀπέργοντες· ὅσα δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἐπέσχον τῆς Φωκίδος, πάντα ἐσινάμωρεον· καὶ γὰρ τῶν Πανοπέων τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησαν, καὶ Δαυλίων, καὶ Αἰολιδέων[73]. ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ταύτῃ ἀποσχισθέντες τῆς ἄλλης στρατιῆς τῶνδε εἵνεκα, ὅκως συλήσαντες τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, βασιλέϊ Ξέρξῃ ἀποδέξαιεν τὰ χρήματα. πάντα δ' ἠπίστατο τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ὅσα λόγου ἦν ἄξια Ξέρξης, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἄμεινον ἢ τὰ ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοισι ἔλιπε, πολλῶν αἰεὶ λεγόντων, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ Κροίσου τοῦ Ἀλυάττεω ἀναθήματα.

while a detachment proceeds against Delphi, Xerxes having heard much of the treasures there, especially of the offerings of Crœsus.

36 Οἱ Δελφοὶ δὲ πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα, ἐς πᾶσαν ἀρρωδίην ἀπίκατο· ἐν δείματι δὲ μεγάλῳ κατεστεῶτες, ἐμαντεύοντο περὶ τῶν ἱρῶν χρημάτων, εἴτε σφέα κατὰ γῆς κατορύξωσι εἴτε ἐκκομίσωσι ἐς ἄλλην χώρην; ὁ δὲ θεὸς σφεας οὐκ ἔα κινέειν, φὰς αὐτὸς ἱκανὸς εἶναι τῶν ἑωυτοῦ προκατῆσθαι[74]. Δελφοὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες, σφέων αὐτῶν πέρι ἐφρόντιζον. τέκνα μέν νυν καὶ γυναῖκας πέρην ἐς τὴν Ἀχαιΐην διέπεμψαν· αὐτῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι ἀνέβησαν ἐς τοῦ Παρνησσοῦ τὰς κορυφάς, καὶ ἐς τὸ Κωρύκιον ἄντρον[75] ἀνηνείκαντο· οἱ δὲ ἐς Ἄμφισσαν τὴν Λοκρίδα ὑπεξῆλθον· πάντες δὲ ὦν οἱ Δελφοὶ ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν, πλὴν ἑξήκοντα ἀνδρῶν καὶ

37 τοῦ προφήτεω. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ τε ἦσαν οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπιόντες καὶ ἀπώρεον τὸ ἱρόν, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ προφήτης, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Ἀκήρατος, ὁρᾷ πρὸ τοῦ νηοῦ ὅπλα προκείμενα ἔσωθεν ἐκ τοῦ μεγάρου ἐξενηνειγμένα ἱρά, τῶν οὐκ ὅσιον ἦν ἅπτεσθαι ἀνθρώπων οὐδενί·

The detachment is repulsed miraculously from the temple,

[73] Αἰολιδέων. This (or Αἰολίδων) is the reading of all the MSS, but it is certainly corrupt. Valcknaer conjectures very ingeniously that the true word is ΑΙΛΑΙΕΩΝ.

[74] προκατῆσθαι. The metaphor is taken from a sentinel on duty, who takes up his position in front of the post over which he is watching. In ix. 106 the full expression is used: Ἰώνων προκατῆσθαι φρουρέοντας.

[75] ἐς τὸ Κωρύκιον ἄντρον. RAIKES describes the entrance of the Corycian cave as being very low and narrow, and opening out of a steep and bushy slope which is the northern boundary of a high table land, spreading out to a breadth of five or six miles. On getting in, the visitor finds himself at once in a large chamber 330 feet long by 200 wide, abounding in stalactites and stalagmites. A narrow, wet passage in a descending direction led out of this, but Raikes was deterred from going further by fear of the failure of his torch (*ap. Walpole's Turkey*, i. p. 313).

ὁ μὲν δὴ ἤϊε Δελφῶν τοῖσι παρεοῦσι σημανέων τὸ τέρας[76]· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο ἐπειγόμενοι κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Προνηΐης Ἀθηναίης, ἐπιγίνεταί σφι τέρεα ἔτι μέζονα τοῦ πρὶν γενομένου τέρεος· θῶμα μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο κάρτα ἐστὶ, ὅπλα ἀρήϊα αὐτόματα φανῆναι ἔξω προκείμενα τοῦ νηοῦ· τὰ δὲ δὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ δεύτερα ἐπιγενόμενα καὶ διὰ πάντων φασμάτων ἄξια θωυμάσαι μάλιστα. ἐπεὶ γὰρ δὴ ἦσαν ἐπιόντες οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Προνηΐης[77] Ἀθηναίης, ἐν τούτῳ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κεραυνοὶ αὐτοῖσι ἐνέπιπτον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Παρνησσοῦ ἀπορραγεῖσαι δύο κορυφαὶ ἐφέροντο πολλῷ πατάγῳ ἐς αὐτοὺς, καὶ κατέλαβον συχνούς σφεων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Προνηΐης βοή τε καὶ ἀλαλαγμὸς ἐγίνετο. Συμμιγέντων δὲ τούτων πάντων, φόβος τοῖσι βαρ- 38
βάροισι ἐνεπεπτώκεε· μαθόντες δὲ οἱ Δελφοὶ φεύγοντάς σφεας, ἐκικαταβάντες ἀπέκτειναν πλῆθός τι αὐτῶν· οἱ δὲ περιεόντες ἰθὺ[78] Βοιωτῶν ἔφευγον. ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ ἀπονοστήσαντες οὗτοι τῶν βαρβάρων, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ὡς πρὸς τούτοισι καὶ ἄλλα ὥρων θεῖα· δύο γὰρ ὁπλίτας μέζονας ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπων φύσιν ἔχοντας[79] ἕπεσθαί σφι, κτείνοντας καὶ διώκοντας. Τούτους δὲ τοὺς δύο 39
Δελφοὶ λέγουσι εἶναι ἐπιχωρίους ἥρωας, Φύλακόν τε καὶ Αὐτόνοον, τῶν τὰ τεμένεά ἐστι περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν, Φυλάκου μὲν παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὁδὸν κατύπερθε τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Προνηΐης, Αὐτονόου δὲ πέλας τῆς Κασταλίης, ὑπὸ τῇ Ὑαμπείῃ κορυφῇ. οἱ δὲ πεσόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Παρνησσοῦ λίθοι ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμέας ἦσαν σόοι, ἐν τῷ τεμένεϊ τῆς Προνηΐης Ἀθηναίης κείμενοι, ἐς τὸ ἐνέσκηψαν διὰ τῶν βαρ-

two local heroes, *Phylacus* and *Autonous*, taking part in the conflict.

A memorial of the event remains in two huge

[76] ὁ μὲν δὴ ἤϊε, κ.τ.λ. When the Thebans were hesitating whether or not to give battle to the Lacedæmonians at Leuctra, their courage was raised by intelligence brought them from Thebes, that the doors of all the temples had opened of their own accord, and that the sacred arms had disappeared from the Heracleum. (XENOPHON, *Hellenic.* vi. 4. 7.) They drew the same inference from this fact that the Delphians did from the statement of Aceratus. Valcknaer takes some pains to argue against the notion of Aceratus's act being a wilful imposture, and considers him to have been under the influence of enthusiasm. In such matters it is impossible exactly to draw the line where fanaticism ends and imposture begins. THIRLWALL has some admirable remarks on this particular transaction (*History of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 292).

[77] Προνηΐης. The MSS authorities do not enable one to decide between Προνοΐης and this reading, which seems undoubtedly the correct one in i. 92. Gaisford prints Προνηΐης in both passages.

[78] ἰθύ. Several MSS have εὐθύ.

[79] ἔχοντας. This is the reading of all the MSS. Matthiæ changes it into ἐόντας, which certainly makes the construction smoother. But if the passage be corrupt, I should rather be inclined to correct it by reading μέζονα instead of μέζονας, above.

stones fallen from a summit of Parnassus, within the precinct of Athene Pronæa.

βάρων φερόμενοι. τούτων μέν νυν τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὕτη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱροῦ ἀπαλλαγὴ γίνεται [80].

The allied fleet falls back on *Salamis*, to cover the evacuation of the Athenian territory.

40 Ὁ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου, Ἀθηναίων δεηθέντων, ἐς Σαλαμῖνα κατίσχει τὰς νῆας. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα προσεδεήθησαν αὐτῶν σχεῖν πρὸς Σαλαμῖνα Ἀθηναῖοι, ἵνα αὐτοὶ παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας ὑπεξαγάγωνται ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, πρὸς δὲ καὶ βουλεύσωνται τὸ ποιητέον αὐτοῖσι ἔσται. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι βουλὴν ἔμελλον ποιήσεσθαι, ὡς ἐψευσμένοι γνώμης· δοκέοντες γὰρ εὑρήσειν Πελοποννησίους πανδημεὶ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίῃ ὑποκατημένους τὸν βάρβαρον, τῶν μὲν εὗρον οὐδὲν ἐόν, οἱ δὲ ἐπυνθάνοντο τὸν Ἰσθμὸν αὐτοὺς τειχέοντας, καὶ [81] τὴν Πελοπόννησον περὶ πλείστου ποιευμένους περιεῖναί τε καὶ ταύτην ἔχοντας ἐν φυλακῇ, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀπιέναι· ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι, οὕτω δὴ προσεδεήθησάν σφεων σχεῖν πρὸς τὴν

Most of the Athenians fly to *Trœzene*, but some to *Ægina* and

41 Σαλαμῖνα. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι κατέσχον ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῶν· μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἄπιξιν κήρυγμα ἐποιήσαντο, Ἀθηναίων τῇ τις δύναται σώζειν τὰ τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας· ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι ἐς Τροιζῆνα [82] ἀπέστειλαν, οἱ δὲ

[80] *αὕτη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱροῦ ἀπαλλαγὴ γίνεται.* Considerable difficulty has been occasioned by the circumstance of PLUTARCH (*Numa*, § 9) incidentally mentioning the fact of the sacred fire in the temple of Delphi having been extinguished *τοῦ ναοῦ καταπρησθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν Μήδων*. But in all probability the catastrophe in question was the one when the temple was destroyed by fire long before the Persian war, on which occasion the Alcmæonidæ got so much reputation by rebuilding it. Either the words *ὑπὸ τῶν Μήδων* are an interpolation from the gloss of a mistaken commentator, or Plutarch's memory failed him, and he confused the times of the two events. It is however possible that the rumour of the temple having been burnt by the Pisistratids (see note 154 on v. 62) afterwards became transmuted into an account of its being burnt by the Persians at their instance.

[81] *καί.* I have followed the authority of S. Gaisford prints *ἐς* with the majority of MSS. On the same ground he puts the particle *τε* after *πλείστου* instead of *περιεῖναι*.

[82] *οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι ἐς Τροιζῆνα.* The feeling no doubt would have prevailed that within the *isthmus* the safety for refugees would be greater. But besides this, Trœzene was sacred to Poseidon, the deity who (under the name of Erechtheus) was—prior to the time of Pisistratus—perhaps the most important tutelary deity of Athens; and the sentiment would be strong, at any rate among a part of the population, that in going to Trœzene they would be falling back upon the protection of the god of their forefathers. For the little island Calaurea, only four *stades* from the coast, was to the Poseidon-worshippers as sacred as Delos was to the Apollo-worshippers. It contained a temple of Poseidon, to which were attached rights of sanctuary; and the legend ran that Poseidon had given Pytho to Apollo in exchange for Tænarum, and Delos to Latona in exchange for Calaurea. (STRABO, viii. c. 6, p. 203.) This legend is a symbolical way of representing a religious union between two races, so far at least as to produce a reciprocal reverence for their chief sanctuaries. EPHORUS gives a reputed *oracle* embodying this principle :—

ἐς Αἴγιναν, οἱ δὲ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα[83]. *ἔσπευσαν δὲ ταῦτα ὑπεκθέσθαι*[84], *τῷ χρηστηρίῳ τε βουλόμενοι ὑπηρετέειν καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦδε εἵνεκα οὐκ ἥκιστα· λέγουσι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὄφιν μέγαν φύλακα τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ἐνδιαιτέεσθαι ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ· λέγουσί τε ταῦτα καὶ δὴ καὶ ὡς ἐόντι ἐπιμήνια ἐπιτελέουσι προτιθέντες*[85]· *τὰ δ' ἐπιμήνια μελιτόεσσά ἐστι· αὕτη δ' ἡ μελιτόεσσα, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν αἰεὶ χρόνῳ ἀναισιμουμένη, τότε ἦν ἄψαυστος· σημηνάσης δὲ ταῦτα τῆς ἱρείης, μᾶλλόν τι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ προθυμότερον ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν, ὡς καὶ τῆς θεοῦ ἀπολελοιπυίης τὴν ἀκρόπολιν*[86]· *ὡς δέ σφι πάντα ὑπεξέκειτο, ἔπλωον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.*

Salamis, principally induced to leave Athens by a portent which occurred in the acropolis.

Ἶσον τοι Δῆλόν τε Καλαύρειάν τε νέμεσθαι,
Πυθώ τ' ἠγαθέην καὶ Ταίναρον ἠνεμόεντα,

and the device of "Arion on his dolphin" was apparently a representation to the eye of the same kind of thing. (See note 85 on i. 24.) In the island Calaurea there was anciently an Amphictyonic gathering of deputies from the seven cities, Hermione, Epidaurus, Ægina, Athens, Prasiæ, Nauplia, and Minyæan Orchomenus. Argos in after times stood in the place of Nauplia, and Lacedæmon of Prasiæ. (STRABO, viii. p. 204.)

[83] *οἱ δὲ ἐς Αἴγιναν, οἱ δὲ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα.* These would probably be in a great measure the members of the tribe *Æantis.* See note 168 on v. 66.

[84] *ὑπεκθέσθαι.* Some of the MSS have after this word *πειθόμενοι*, which Schweighäuser has supposed with much plausibility to be a mere gloss of *βουλόμενοι ὑπηρετέειν.*

[85] *ἐπιμήνια ἐπιτελέουσι προτιθέντες.* The supposition that the offering thus regularly made served as the food for the tutelary deity may be paralleled by the similar superstition at Babylon relative to *Bel*, which the prophet Daniel so successfully detected. But this was not the case in many instances of the like kind which appear in pagan antiquity. At Alexandria certain cakes, which went by the name of *ἐγκρυφίαι*, and were dedicated to Cronus, were set out in his temple for every one that liked to partake of. (DIOCLES, *ap. Athenæum*, iii. p. 110.) The fish that were daily offered to Atergatis were consumed by the priests as a matter of course. (MNASEAS, *ap. eund.* viii. p. 346.) Likewise the shew-bread (*ἄρτος προθέσεως*) of the Israelites seems to have been the ordinary sustenance of the officiating priests, after remaining a certain time upon the table where it was offered. Compare *Exod.* xxv. 30 with I *Sam.* xxi. 4—6.

[86] *ὡς καὶ τῆς θεοῦ ἀπολελοιπυίης τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.* The prevailing feeling of antiquity was that the tutelary gods of a town must abandon it before it could be destroyed; and that if they did abandon it, its destruction would inevitably follow. Hence the prayer of the panic-stricken Chorus in ÆSCHYLUS (*Theb.* 203) :—

μήποτ' ἐμὸν κατ' αἰῶνα λίποι θεῶν
ἅδε πανάγυρις, μήδ' ἐπίδοιμι τάνδ'
ἀστυδρομουμένην πόλιν καὶ στράτευμ'
ἁπτόμενον πυρὶ δαΐῳ.

So Æneas (*Æneid.* ii. 351) announces the capture of Troy to his companions in the words—

"Excessere omnes adytis arisque relictis
Dî quibus imperium hoc steterat,"

a catastrophe which EURIPIDES makes the tutelary god Poseidon declare for himself:—

ἐγὼ δὲ—νικῶμαι γὰρ Ἀργείας θεοῦ
Ἥρας Ἀθάνας θ', αἳ συνεξεῖλον Φρύγας,
λείπω τὸ κλεινὸν Ἴλιον βωμούς τ' ἐμούς.
(*Troad.* 23.)

A formula for *evoking* the gods of a hostile city was in use by the Romans in the earliest times, which MACROBIUS has extracted from "the very ancient book" of one Furius. (*Saturnalia*, iii. 9.) In it the deities are promised that no less honours than they have been accustomed to shall be paid them if they will consent to migrate to Rome. (See also VERRIUS

On the allied fleet arriving at Salamis, fresh succours come in of the contingents

42 Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀρτεμισίου ἐς Σαλαμῖνα κατέσχον τὰς νέας, συνέρρεε καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς πυνθανόμενος ὁ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἐκ Τροιζῆνος· ἐς γὰρ Πώγωνα τὸν Τροιζηνίων λιμένα προείρητο συλλέγεσθαι. συνελέχθησάν τε δὴ πολλῷ πλεῦνες νέες ἢ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐναυμάχεον, καὶ ἀπὸ πολίων πλεύνων. ναύαρχος μέν νυν ἐπῆν ὡυτὸς ὅσπερ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Εὐρυβιάδης ὁ Εὐρυκλείδεω, ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιήτης οὐ μέντοι γένεός γε τοῦ βασιληΐου ἐών· νέας δὲ πολλῷ πλείστας τε καὶ ἄριστα πλωούσας

from the Peloponnesian states, making eighty-nine ships in all.

These states, except *Hermione*, which is Dryopian, are all Dorian.

43 παρείχοντο Ἀθηναῖοι. Ἐστρατεύοντο δὲ οἵδε· ἐκ μὲν Πελοποννήσου, Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἑκκαίδεκα νῆας παρεχόμενοι· Κορίνθιοι δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ πλήρωμα παρεχόμενοι τὸ καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ· Σικυώνιοι δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα παρείχοντο νῆας· Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ δέκα· Τροιζήνιοι δὲ πέντε· Ἑρμιονέες δὲ τρεῖς· ἐόντες οὗτοι, πλὴν Ἑρμιονέων, Δωρικόν τε καὶ Μακεδνὸν ἔθνος, ἐξ Ἐρινεοῦ τε καὶ Πίνδου καὶ τῆς Δρυοπίδος ὕστατα ὁρμηθέντες[87]· οἱ δὲ Ἑρμιονέες εἰσὶ Δρύοπες[88], ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέος τε καὶ Μηλιέων ἐκ τῆς νῦν Δωρίδος καλεομένης χώρης ἐξαναστάντες. οὗτοι μέν νυν Πελοποννησίων

List of contingents

44 ἐστρατεύοντο. Οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἔξω ἠπείρου· Ἀθηναῖοι μέν, πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους[89] παρεχόμενοι νῆας ὀγδώκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν[90],

FLACCUS, *ap. Plin. N. H.* xxviii. 2.) To capture a town without evoking the tutelary gods in due form was considered a horrible sacrilege, which brought a judgment with it; and consequently the real name both of Rome and of the tutelary deity was kept carefully concealed, lest an invader should take advantage of it. (MACROBIUS, l. c.)

[87] *ὕστατα ὁρμηθέντες.* See note 64 on § 31, above.

[88] *οἱ δὲ Ἑρμιονέες εἰσὶ Δρύοπες . . ἐξαναστάντες.* The *ancient* city of Hermione was situated on a promontory about seven *stades* long, and not more than three in its broadest part (PAUSANIAS, ii. 34. 9); and the temples which Pausanias found there—all surrounded with cyclopic walls—were sacred to Demeter, Athene, Helios, and the Charites; all of them, therefore, as well as one of Poseidon lower down, belonging to a different religious system from that of the Heraclide Dorians. There was also a stadium, with the tradition that the sons of Tyndarus had run there. In the more modern town, besides other deities proper to a maritime population, there were temples of Apollo, one under the name of Pythaeus. But the non-Dorian population obviously predominated; and the traditions of former hostilities doubtless kept up a hatred of race. Asine in Laconia, which is coupled with Hermione as Dryopian (below, § 73), was founded by refugees from the town of the same name in Argolis, which was utterly destroyed by the Argives in revenge for its inhabitants having joined the Lacedæmonians in laying waste their territory. (PAUSANIAS, ii. 36. 4.) ARISTOTLE made the eponymous founder *Dryops* an Arcadian (*ap. Strabon.* viii. c. 6, p. 203), an origin which indicates a close ethnical affinity between the Argolic Dryopians and the primitive population of the Peloponnese. See more in note 270 on vii. 90.

[89] *πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους.* Compare ii. 35: *ἔργα λόγου μέζω παρέχεται πρὸς πᾶσαν χώρην.* iii. 94: *φόρον ἀπαγίνεον πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους.*

[90] *ὀγδώκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν.* THUCYDIDES makes the Athenians boast to the Lacedæmonians of having furnished

μοῦνοι[91]· ἐν Σαλαμῖνι γὰρ οὐ συνεναυμάχησαν Πλαταιέες Ἀθηναίοισι, διὰ τοιόνδε πρῆγμα· ἀπαλλασσομένων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου, ὡς ἐγίνοντο κατὰ Χαλκίδα, οἱ Πλαταιέες ἀποβάντες ἐς τὴν περαίην τῆς Βοιωτίης χώρης[92] πρὸς ἐκκομιδὴν ἐτράποντο τῶν οἰκετέων. οὗτοι μέν νυν τούτους σώζοντες ἐλείφθησαν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ, ἐπὶ μὲν Πελασγῶν ἐχόντων τὴν νῦν Ἑλλάδα καλεομένην, ἦσαν Πελασγοὶ οὐνομαζόμενοι Κραναοί· ἐπὶ δὲ Κέκροπος βασιλέος ἐπεκλήθησαν Κεκροπίδαι[93]· ἐκδεξαμένου δὲ Ἐρεχθέος τὴν ἀρχὴν, Ἀθηναῖοι μετωνομάσθησαν· Ἴωνος δὲ τοῦ Ξούθου στρατάρχεω γενομένου Ἀθηναίοισι, ἐκλήθησαν ἀπὸ τούτου Ἴωνες. Μεγαρέες δὲ τὠυτὸ πλήρωμα παρείχοντο τὸ καὶ ἐπ' 45
Ἀρτεμισίῳ· Ἀμπρακιῶται δὲ ἑπτὰ νέας ἔχοντες ἐπεβώθησαν· Λευκάδιοι δὲ τρεῖς· ἔθνος ἐόντες οὗτοι Δωρικὸν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου[94].

from the other states,

"nearly two-thirds of the whole fleet of 400 gallies" which fought at Salamis (i. 74). Herodotus gives as the aggregate 378; so that the Athenian contingent in his view was something less than the half (below, § 48). The sum of the separate squadrons which he gives amounts to only 366; but this perhaps admits of an explanation. (See note 101, below.) CTESIAS puts the Hellenic fleet at 700, but there must certainly be some error in this number (*ap. Photium*, p. 39).

[91] μοῦνοι, "by themselves," *i. e.* independently of the Platæans. It is a striking circumstance that the Athenians should have been able to bring so large a number of ships into action, if there be not a great exaggeration in the former statement (§ 18), that one-half their gallies were crippled in the last battle which took place at Artemisium. Doubtless the Athenians bore the brunt of that engagement.

[92] ἐς τὴν περαίην τῆς Βοιωτίης χώρης, "into the Bœotian territory on the opposite shore." One manuscript (V) has the reading πιερίην for περαίην, an obvious corruption, although adopted by Valla's translation.

[93] Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ, ἐπὶ μὲν Πελασγῶν . . . Κεκροπίδαι. Koen, in a letter to Valckenaer, argued that there was an extensive corruption in this passage, from the circumstance that Cecrops is placed by APOLLODORUS before Cranaus (*Biblioth.* iii. 14. 1—5). Assuming that the pedigree, as given by the Alexandrine grammarian, must possess absolute authority, he proposes as a conjecture in the text: ἐπὶ μὲν Πελασγῶν . . . . ἦσαν Πελασγοὶ οὐνομαζόμενοι· ἐπὶ δὲ Κέκροπος βασιλέος ἐκλήθησαν Κεκροπίδαι, καὶ ἐπὶ Κραναοῦ Κραναοί. But, independently of the violence of the change, it is plain that its desirability rests entirely upon forgetfulness that the mythological genealogies of Apollodorus are a factitious arrangement, without any real pretension to historical correctness. In numberless instances, of which this is one, particular local traditions were quite opposed to them, and nothing has conduced so much to obscure Hellenic archæology as the neglect to recognize this fact. (Compare note 415 on ii. 139.) It so happens that SCYMNUS CHIUS (*Perieg.* vv. 558—564) shows by his quotation of the substance of this passage, that he found the text of Herodotus in the same condition as that of the present day.

[94] ἔθνος ἐόντες οὗτοι Δωρικὸν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου. This refers both to the Ambraciots and the Leucadians. Ambracia is said to have been founded by Tolgus, a son of Cypselus, and consequently brother of the celebrated Periander. (STRABO, vii. 7, p. 120.) See note 264 on v. 92. THUCYDIDES calls Leucadia a Corinthian colony (i. 30); and its foundation probably belongs to the time of the Cypselid dynasty, which appears to have had influence over the whole west of European Hellas as far as Corcyra. (See above, iii. 52.) It is observable that Herodotus does not speak of Leucadia as an island, although it was at one time made so by

46 *Νησιωτέων δὲ, Αἰγινῆται τριήκοντα*[95] *παρείχοντο. ἦσαν μέν σφι καὶ ἄλλαι πεπληρωμέναι νέες· ἀλλὰ τῇσι μὲν τὴν ἑωυτῶν ἐφύλασσον*[96]*, τριήκοντα δὲ τῇσι ἄριστα πλωούσῃσι ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ἐναυμάχησαν. Αἰγινῆται δέ εἰσι Δωριέες ἀπὸ Ἐπιδαύρου· τῇ δε νήσῳ πρότερον οὔνομα ἦν Οἰνώνη. μετὰ δὲ Αἰγινήτας, Χαλκιδέες τὰς ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ εἴκοσι παρεχόμενοι καὶ Ἐρετριέες τὰς ἑπτά· οὗτοι δὲ Ἴωνές εἰσι. μετὰ δὲ, Κεῖοι τὰς αὐτὰς παρεχόμενοι, ἔθνος ἐὸν Ἰωνικὸν ἀπὸ Ἀθηνέων. Νάξιοι δὲ παρείχοντο τέσσερας*[97]*, ἀποπεμφθέντες μὲν ἐς τοὺς Μήδους ὑπὸ τῶν πολιητέων κατάπερ ὦλλοι νησιῶται, ἀλογήσαντες δὲ τῶν ἐντολέων ἀπίκατο ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, Δημοκρίτου*[98] *σπεύσαντος, ἀνδρὸς τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμου καὶ τότε τριηραρχέοντος. Νάξιοι δέ εἰσι Ἴωνες, ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων γεγονότες. Στυρέες δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς παρείχοντο νῆας τὰς καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Κύθνιοι*[99] *δὲ μίαν καὶ πεντηκόντερον· ἐόντες συναμφότεροι οὗτοι Δρύοπες· καὶ Σερίφιοί τε καὶ Σίφνιοι καὶ Μήλιοι ἐστρατεύοντο· οὗτοι γὰρ οὐκ ἔδοσαν μοῦνοι νησιωτέων τῷ βαρ-*
47 *βάρῳ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. Οὗτοι μὲν ἅπαντες ἐντὸς οἰκημένοι Θεσπρωτῶν καὶ Ἀχέροντος ποταμοῦ ἐστρατεύοντο· Θεσπρωτοὶ γάρ εἰσι ὁμουρέοντες Ἀμπρακιώτῃσι καὶ Λευκαδίοισι, οἳ ἐξ ἐσχατέων χωρέων ἐστρατεύοντο. τῶν δὲ ἐκτὸς τούτων οἰκημένων, Κροτωνιῆται μοῦνοι ἦσαν οἳ ἐβώθησαν τῇ Ἑλλάδι κινδυνευούσῃ,*

digging through the isthmus, and is so at the present day. In the time of STRABO a bridge connected it with the main-land (x. c. 2, p. 332).

[95] *τριήκοντα.* Larcher proposes to read *δύο καὶ τεσσεράκοντα*, in order to make the numbers square with the total of Herodotus. PAUSANIAS states that the Æginetans furnished the largest contingent next to the Athenians (ii. 29. 5). As the Corinthians contributed forty, the Æginetans must (Larcher thinks) have furnished some number greater than this. But Pausanias perhaps followed some other authority in the number he gives; and the total may be otherwise accounted for. See note 101 on § 48, below.

[96] *τὴν ἑωυτῶν ἐφύλασσον.* The island Ægina was well protected against an enemy by the submarine rocks and shoals which surrounded it; and of all the Hellenic islands was the most difficult to make. (PAUSANIAS, ii. 29. 6.) Hence only a small number of vessels was required to defend it, and this appears not improbably to have been *twelve* on the present occasion.

[97] *παρείχοντο τέσσερας.* PLUTARCH (*de Malign. Herod.* § 36) read *τρεῖς* in the MS he used. HELLANICUS, he says, had related that the Naxians voluntarily sent *six* to the aid of the Hellenic confederates.

[98] *Δημοκρίτου.* According to an epigram of SIMONIDES (*ap. Plutarch. de Malign. Herod.* § 36), this individual highly distinguished himself in the action:—

Δημόκριτος τρίτος ἦρξε μάχης, ὅτε παρ' Σαλαμῖνα
Ἕλληνες Μήδοις σύμβαλον ἐν πελάγει,
πέντε δὲ νῆας ἕλεν δηΐων, ἕκτην δ' ἀπὸ χειρῶν
ῥύσατο βαρβαρικῶν Δωρίδ' ἁλισκομένην.

[99] Κύθνιοι. See note 270 on vii. 90.

*νηῒ μιῇ, τῆς ἦρχε ἀνὴρ τρὶς πυθιονίκης, Φάϋλλος. Κροτωνιῆται
δὲ γένος εἰσὶ Ἀχαιοί*[100]. *Οἱ μέν νυν ἄλλοι τριήρεας παρεχόμενοι* 48
ἐστρατεύοντο, Μήλιοι δὲ, καὶ Σίφνιοι, καὶ Σερίφιοι, πεντηκοντέρους· Μήλιοι μὲν, γένος ἐόντες ἀπὸ Λακεδαίμονος, δύο παρείχοντο· Σίφνιοι δὲ καὶ Σερίφιοι, Ἴωνες ἐόντες ἀπ᾽ Ἀθηνέων, μίαν ἑκάτεροι. ἀριθμὸς δὲ ἐγένετο ὁ πᾶς τῶν νεῶν, πάρεξ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, τριηκόσιαι καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ[101].

making the whole fleet up to 378 sail, besides a few penteconters.

[100] *Κροτωνιῆται δὲ γένος εἰσὶ Ἀχαιοί.* This notice is rather remarkable, although it is confirmed by ZENOBIUS (*Proverb. Centur.* iii. 42), who calls Myscelus, the founder, a *Rhypean.* But on the other hand a coin of Crotona gives *Heracles* as the *οἰκιστής*; and OVID not only makes Myscelus set out on the expedition at the risk of his life under the special direction of *Heracles,* but calls him the son of Alemon of Argolis. (*Metamorph.* xv. 19.) Perhaps these discordant accounts may be reconciled by supposing the colony (which DIONYSIUS places in the second year of the seventeenth Olympiad) to be somewhat of the nature of that under Phalantus to Tarentum, *i. e.* to consist, as far as its chiefs were concerned, of the issue of a marriage of disparagement between the Heraclide invaders of Argolis and the Achæan population they found there, the great bulk being pure Achæans. The remaining members of the family of Alemon (*the wanderer*) may very probably have formed part of the exiles from Peloponnese who found refuge in the twelve towns of Achaia, and thus the *gens* may in after times have existed among the Rhypes. At Sybaris the population was partly Achæan and partly Trœzenian, and the city was founded only ten years before Crotona. The two neighbours appear to have lived amicably with one another until shortly before the total destruction of Sybaris related above (v. 44). The war which then broke out, was, according to ARISTOTLE (see note 108 on v. 44), connected with the expulsion of the non-Achæan by the Achæan part of the population. The presumption therefore would be that, contrariwise, in the hostile Crotona the Heraclide element prevailed over the Achæan. And this is confirmed by the coins, which in the case of Crotona have the infant Heracles, Here, and the *laurel-crowned* Apollo, while those of Sybaris bear the head of an ox, or the horned human head. (HOFFMANN, *Griechenland,* pp. 1938—41.) If this supposition be true, the war will have been exactly of the kind to attract the Lacedæmonian *Dorieus.* (See note 107 on v. 44.) It will have been a war of races, whose mutual antipathy finally burst forth in Sybaris by the expulsion of the Doric Trœzenians, and the march of the Achæan population *en masse* upon Crotona, after massacring thirty Crotonian commissioners and casting their bodies to the dogs (PHYLARCHUS, *fr.* 45, ed. Didot.), a ferocity paralleled by the conduct of Cleomenes at Argos (vi. 79). Under such circumstances of mutual exasperation, it was not unnatural that Sybaris should be by the victorious Crotonians so entirely destroyed as to leave its very site obscure. It seems not impossible that *Phayllus,* the commander of the solitary galley which fought at Salamis, was himself descended from the Achæan portion of the original settlers of Crotona, and was as much disgusted with the predominance of the Dorian interest there, as the Spartan Dorieus had been with the triumph of the Achæan party at Lacedæmon. In this case, the statement that the Crotonians are Achæan may be a generalization from the crew of his ship and himself. PAUSANIAS speaks of Phayllus in terms which might induce one to believe he was actually living away from his own city: *ἐναυμάχησε καὶ ἐναντία τοῦ Μήδου, ναῦν τε παρασκευασάμενος οἰκείαν, καὶ Κροτωνιατῶν ὁπόσοι ἐπεδήμουν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐνεβίβασε* (x. 9. 2). If the crew were exiles of the Achæan party, the whole matter is explained.

[101] *τριηκόσιαι καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ.* The manuscripts S and V and Valla's version have the number 358, but neither sum agrees with the aggregate of the several contingents, which amounts to 366 *triremes* and 6 *penteconters.* The number 378, however, can hardly be a corruption; for another reference is made to it below (§ 82). Larcher considers

A council of war is held, and it is proposed to give battle to the enemy's fleet at the isthmus.

49 Ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα συνῆλθον οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰρημένων πολίων, ἐβουλεύοντο, προθέντος Εὐρυβιάδεω γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὸν βουλόμενον, ὅκου δοκέοι ἐπιτηδεώτατον εἶναι ναυμαχίην ποιέεσθαι τῶν αὐτοὶ χωρέων ἐγκρατέες εἰσί· ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ ἀφεῖτο ἤδη, τῶν δὲ λοιπέων πέρι προετίθεε· αἱ γνῶμαι δὲ τῶν λεγόντων αἱ πλεῖσται συνεξέπιπτον, πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν πλώσαντας ναυμαχέειν πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου· ἐπιλέγοντες τὸν λόγον τόνδε, ὡς, ἢν νικηθέωσι[102] τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι μὲν ἐόντες, πολιορκήσονται ἐν νήσῳ, ἵνα σφι τιμωρίη οὐδεμία ἐπιφανήσεται· πρὸς δὲ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ, ἐς τοὺς ἑωυτῶν ἐξοίσονται[103].

News comes that the whole of Attica is being wasted by the enemy.

50 Ταῦτα τῶν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου στρατηγῶν ἐπιλεγομένων, ἐλήλυθε[104] ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ἀγγέλλων ἥκειν τὸν βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν, καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν πυρπολέεσθαι. ὁ γὰρ διὰ Βοιωτῶν τραπόμενος στρατὸς ἅμα Ξέρξῃ, ἐμπρήσας Θεσπιέων τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν ἐκλελοιπότων ἐς Πελοπόννησον, καὶ τὴν Πλαταιέων ὡσαύτως, ἧκέ τε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ πάντα ἐκεῖνα ἐδήϊου· ἐνέπρησε δὲ Θέσπιάν[105] τε καὶ Πλάταιαν πυθόμενος Θηβαίων ὅτι οὐκ ἐμήδιζον.

They enter Attica in the archonship of Calliades, just four months after commencing the

51 Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς διαβάσιος τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, ἔνθεν πορεύεσθαι ἤρξαντο οἱ βάρβαροι, ἕνα αὐτοῦ διατρίψαντες μῆνα, ἐν τῷ διέβαινον ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην[106], ἐν τρισὶ ἑτέροισι μῆνεσι ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, Καλλιάδεω ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοισι. καὶ αἱρέουσι ἔρημον τὸ ἄστυ, καί τινας ὀλίγους εὑρίσκουσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ

that the error is in the numbers assigned to the Æginetans (§ 46), which he would make 42 instead of 30, as PAUSANIAS (ii. 29. 5) asserts the Æginetan contingent to have been the most numerous next to the Athenian. I should rather consider that the balance of twelve is made up of those vessels with which the Æginetans are said to have guarded their own island, and which may have been regarded as a detachment from the allied fleet.

[102] *ἢν νικηθέωσι.* The majority of the MSS have *εἰ νικηθέωσι*, but S and V support the reading in the text. Εἰ with the subjunctive has a very different sense from that which is required here. See note 170 on i. 53, and note 151, *a*, on ii. 52.

[103] *ἐξοίσονται.* A similar use of the word is found below (§ 76): *ἐνθαῦτα μάλιστα ἐξοισομένων τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυηγίων.*

[104] *ἐλήλυθε.* This is the reading of all the MSS, but the conjecture of Matthiæ (*ἐπήλυθε*), or of Bekker (*ἐληλύθεε*), seems necessary.

[105] *Θέσπιαν.* This is the reading of S and V. Gaisford follows the majority of MSS, which have *Θέσπειαν.*

[106] *ἕνα αὐτοῦ διατρίψαντες . . . . ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην.* The actual time occupied by the transit of the Hellespont was seven days and seven nights (vii. 56). This passage therefore must not be construed too strictly. The month perhaps included the whole time from the arrival of the vanguard on the shore of the straits to the commencement of the march into Hellas after the review at Doriscus (vii. 59). It was not till then that the whole force of the army appears to have been ascertained, and the line of march assigned to each division. (See vii. 60, *ad fin.*)

ἐόντας, ταμίας τε τοῦ ἱροῦ[107] καὶ πένητας ἀνθρώπους· οἳ φραξάμενοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν θύρῃσί τε καὶ ξύλοισι, ἠμύνοντο τοὺς ἐπιόντας, ἅμα μὲν ὑπ' ἀσθενίης βίου οὐκ ἐκχωρήσαντες ἐς Σαλαμῖνα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ δοκέοντες ἐξευρηκέναι τὸ μαντήϊον τὸ ἡ Πυθίη σφι ἔχρησε, τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος ἀνάλωτον ἔσεσθαι· αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ κρησφύγετον κατὰ τὸ μαντήϊον, καὶ οὐ τὰς νῆας. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἱζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν καταντίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ὄχθον, τὸν Ἀθηναῖοι καλέουσι Ἀρήϊον πάγον[108], ἐπολιόρκεον τρόπον τοιόνδε· ὅκως στυπεῖον περὶ τοὺς ὀϊστοὺς περιθέντες ἅψειαν, ἐτόξευον ἐς τὸ φράγμα· ἐνθαῦτα Ἀθηναίων οἱ πολιορκεόμενοι ὅμως ἠμύνοντο, καίπερ ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ ἀπιγμένοι, καὶ τοῦ φράγματος προδεδωκότος· οὐδὲ λόγους τῶν Πεισιστρατιδέων προσφερόντων περὶ ὁμολογίης ἐνεδέκοντο· ἀμυνόμενοι δὲ ἄλλα τε ἀντεμηχανέοντο καὶ δὴ καὶ προσιόντων τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς τὰς πύλας, ὀλοιτρόχους ἀπίεσαν· ὥστε Ξέρξεα ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἀπορίῃσι ἐνέχεσθαι, οὐ δυνάμενόν σφεας ἑλεῖν.

passage into Europe, and capture Athens.

52 *Mode in which they attacked the fortification.*

The garrison baffle them,

53 Χρόνῳ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων ἐφάνη δή τις ἔσοδος τοῖσι βαρβάροισι· ἔδεε γὰρ κατὰ τὸ θεοπρόπιον πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι· ἔμπροσθε ὦν πρὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, ὄπισθε δὲ τῶν πυλέων καὶ τῆς ἀνόδου, τῇ δὴ οὔτε τις ἐφύλασσε, οὔτ' ἂν ἤλπισε μή κοτέ τις κατὰ ταῦτα ἀναβαίη ἀνθρώπων, ταύτῃ ἀνέβησάν τινες κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Κέκροπος θυγατρὸς Ἀγλαύρου[109], καίτοιπερ ἀποκρήμνου ἐόντος τοῦ χώρου· ὡς δὲ εἶδον αὐτοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, οἱ μὲν ἐρρίπτεον ἑωυτοὺς κατὰ τοῦ τείχεος κάτω, καὶ διεφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ μέγαρον κατέφευγον· τῶν δὲ Περσέων οἱ

but at last are surprised by escalade in a part of the rock which was thought inaccessible,

all destroyed, and the temple

107 *ταμίας τε τοῦ ἱροῦ*, "treasurers of the temple." See Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Latin Antiquities, sub v.*

108 *Ἀρήϊον πάγον.* The Areopagus was nearly opposite to the grotto of Pan spoken of above (vi. 105). The Aglaureum (or Agrauleum) must have been very near to this last, if not originally identical with it. See the next note.

109 *κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Κέκροπος θυγατρὸς Ἀγλαύρου.* Two manuscripts (*b*, *d*) have Ἀγραύλου, which is perhaps not a corruption,—for this latter is etymologically connected with Ἄγρα and Ἀγροτέρα, the local names of the Attic Artemis, and it is the form used by Euripides in the *Ion*: Ἀγραύλου κόραι τρίγονοι (v. 54). All the other MSS however have the form Ἀγλαύρου, and so has Pausanias where he speaks of the legend of the nymph in question (i. 18. 2). Leake says that about seventy yards to the eastward of the cave of Pan (see note 241 on vi. 105) there is, in the midst of the Long Rocks and at the base of a precipice, a remarkable cavern. (*Athens and the Demi of Attica*, i. p. 266.) This he supposes to be the site mentioned in the text. Pausanias, however, represents the *τέμενος* of Aglaurus as above the *Anaceum*, or temple of the Dioscuri, and says that it was there the Persians scaled the acropolis (l. c.).

plundered and burnt.

ἀναβεβηκότες πρῶτον μὲν ἐτράποντο πρὸς τὰς πύλας· ταύτας δὲ ἀνοίξαντες, τοὺς ἱκέτας ἐφόνευον· ἐπεὶ δέ σφι πάντες κατέστρωντο [110], τὸ ἱρὸν συλήσαντες, ἐνέπρησαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν [111].

54 Xerxes, on the next day, orders the exiles to offer the proper sacrifices to the local deities,

Σχὼν δὲ παντελέως τὰς Ἀθήνας Ξέρξης, ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Σοῦσα ἄγγελον ἱππέα Ἀρταβάνῳ ἀγγελέοντα τὴν παρεοῦσάν σφι εὐπρηξίην. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πέμψιος τοῦ κήρυκος δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ συγκαλέσας Ἀθηναίων τοὺς φυγάδας, ἑωυτῷ δὲ ἑπομένους, ἐκέλευε τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ θῦσαι τὰ ἱρὰ [112] ἀναβάντας ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν· εἴτε δὴ ὦν ὄψιν τινὰ ἰδὼν ἐνυπνίου ἐνετέλλετο ταῦτα, εἴτε καὶ ἐνθύμιόν οἱ ἐγένετο ἐμπρήσαντα [113] τὸ ἱρόν· οἱ δὲ φυγάδες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐποίησαν τὰ ἐντεταλμένα.

55 and they discover the sacred olive to have made a new shoot of a cubit long.

Τοῦ δὲ εἵνεκεν τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην, φράσω· ἔστι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλι ταύτῃ Ἐρεχθέος τοῦ γηγενέος λεγομένου εἶναι νηὸς [114], ἐν τῷ ἐλαίη τε καὶ θάλασσα ἔνι· τὰ λόγος παρὰ Ἀθηναίων Ποσειδέωνά τε καὶ Ἀθηναίην ἐρίσαντας περὶ τῆς χώρης μαρτύρια θέσθαι· ταύτην ὦν τὴν ἐλαίην ἅμα τῷ ἄλλῳ ἱρῷ κατέλαβε ἐμπρησθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων· δευτέρῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπρήσιος, Ἀθηναίων οἱ θύειν ὑπὸ βασιλέος κελευόμενοι ὡς ἀνέβησαν ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν, ὥρων βλαστὸν ἐκ τοῦ στελέχεος [115] ὅσον τε πηχυαῖον ἀναδεδραμηκότα. οὗτοι μέν νυν ταῦτα ἔφρασαν.

[110] ἐπεὶ δέ σφι πάντες κατέστρωντο. The same expression is used in ix. 76, below: ὡς δὲ τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι κατέστρωντο οἱ βάρβαροι.

[111] ἐνέπρησαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. Cicero (*de Legg.* ii. 10) says that the *Magi* induced Xerxes to burn the temples of Greece on the ground that it was a wickedness to pretend to inclose deities within walls, the whole world being their proper habitation. In another passage (*De Repub.* iii. 9) he applies this particularly to the case of Athens. But although Cambyses might have acted on an iconoclastic feeling,—and probably did so in Egypt,—yet it seems unquestionable that a great deal of toleration for temple-worship, and perhaps for foreign religions, had grown up in the Medo-Persian court by this time. See the note 321 on vii. 114, and the Excursus on vii. 74, p. 435. Mardonius too consulted the oracle of the Ismenian Apollo, the Apollo Ptöus, the Apollo at Abæ, and also the shrines of Amphiaraus and Trophonius (viii. 134).

[112] τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ θῦσαι τὰ ἱρά. See note 138 on ii. 49, and note 86 on § 41, above.

[113] ἐμπρήσαντα. This is the reading of P, K, F, *b*. Gaisford, with the rest of the MSS, reads ἐμπρήσαντι. Either is legitimate, but it is more likely that the symmetrical construction should have been introduced by a transcriber than the converse.

[114] νηός. This is the *old* Erechtheum. See note 208 on v. 77. The θάλασσα is a mineral spring of salt-water within the sacred precinct, which the tradition attributed to a blow of the trident of the Attic Poseidon, Erechtheus. (Pausanias, i. 27. 6. Apollodorus, iii. 14. 1.)

[115] βλαστὸν ἐκ τοῦ στελέχεος. The sacred olive's character of indestructibility is probably what is alluded to in the verses of Sophocles (*Œd. Col.* 688, seqq.):—

φύτευμ' ἀχείρωτον αὐτόποιον
ἐγχέων φόβημα δαΐων,
ὃ τᾷδε θάλλει μέγιστα χώρᾳ,
γλαυκᾶς παιδοτρόφου φύλλον ἐλαίας,

Οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι Ἕλληνες, ὥς σφι ἐξαγγέλθη ὡς ἔσχε τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἀκρόπολιν, ἐς τοσοῦτον θόρυβον ἀπίκοντο ὥστε ἔνιοι τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐδὲ κυρωθῆναι ἔμενον τὸ προκείμενον πρῆγμα, ἀλλ' ἔς τε τὰς νῆας ἐσέπιπτον, καὶ ἱστία ἀείροντο ὡς ἀποθευσόμενοι· τοῖσί τε ὑπολειπομένοισι αὐτῶν ἐκυρώθη πρὸ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ναυμαχέειν· νύξ τε ἐγίνετο, καὶ οἳ, διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, ἐσέβαινον ἐς τὰς νῆας. 56

On the news of the fall of Athens, a panic seizes the fleet of the allies.

Ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Θεμιστοκλέα ἀπικόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν νῆα εἴρετο Μνησίφιλος[116], ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, ὅ τι σφι εἴη βεβουλευμένον; πυθόμενος δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ὡς εἴη δεδογμένον ἀνάγειν τὰς νῆας πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν, καὶ πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ναυμαχέειν, εἶπε· "οὔτοι ἄρα ἢν ἀπαίρωσι τὰς νῆας ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος, περὶ οὐδεμιῆς ἔτι πατρίδος ναυμαχήσεις· κατὰ γὰρ πόλις ἕκαστοι τρέψονται· καὶ οὔτε σφέας Εὐρυβιάδης κατέχειν δυνήσεται οὔτε τις ἀνθρώπων ἄλλος, ὥστε οὐ μὴ διασκεδασθῆναι τὴν στρατιήν· ἀπολέεταί τε ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀβουλίῃσι. ἀλλ' εἴ τις ἐστὶ μηχανὴ, ἴθι καὶ πειρῶ διαχέαι τὰ βεβουλευμένα, ἤν κως δύνῃ ἀναγνῶσαι Εὐρυβιάδεα μεταβουλεύσασθαι, ὥστε αὐτοῦ μενέειν." 57

Mnesiphilus, an Athenian, represents to Themistocles the ruin that would follow their retreat from Salamis,

Κάρτα δὴ τῷ Θεμιστοκλέϊ ἤρεσε ἡ ὑποθήκη· καὶ οὐδὲν πρὸς ταῦτα ἀμειψάμενος, ἤϊε ἐπὶ τὴν νῆα τὴν Εὐρυβιάδεω· ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἔφη θέλειν οἱ κοινόν τι πρῆγμα συμμῖξαι· ὁ δ' αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν νῆα ἐκέλευε ἐσβάντα λέγειν εἴ τι θέλει· ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης παριζόμενός οἱ καταλέγει κεῖνά τε πάντα τὰ ἤκουσε Μνησιφίλου, ἑωυτοῦ ποιεύμενος, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ προστιθείς· ἐς ὃ ἀνέγνωσε χρηΐζων ἔκ τε τῆς νηὸς ἐκβῆναι συλλέξαι τε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐς τὸ συνέδριον. 58

and Themistocles induces Eurybiades to call a fresh council of war.

Ὡς δὲ ἄρα συνελέχθησαν, πρὶν ἢ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδεα προθεῖναι τὸν λόγον τῶν εἵνεκα συνήγαγε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, πολλὸς ἦν ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι, οἷα κάρτα δεόμενος· λέγοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, ὁ Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς Ἀδείμαντος[117] ὁ Ὠκύτου εἶπε· "Ὦ Θεμιστόκλεες, ἐν τοῖσι ἀγῶσι οἱ προεξανιστάμενοι ῥαπίζονται·" ὁ δὲ ἀπολυόμενος ἔφη· "οἱ δέ γε ἐγκαταλειπόμενοι οὐ 59

He is insulted by Adimantus, the Corinthian admiral, and makes a witty reply.

and by EURIPIDES (*Ion*, 1433), where Creusa says:—

στέφανον ἐλαίας ἀμφέθηκά σοι τότε
ἣν πρῶτ' Ἀθάνα σκόπελον εἰσηνέγκατο·
ὃς, εἴπερ ἔστιν, οὔποτ' ἐκλείπει χλόην,
θάλλει δ' ἐλαίας ἐξ ἀκηράτου γεγώς.

The story had improved by the time of PAUSANIAS. The sacred plant was then said to have made a shoot *two* cubits long on the *same* day (i. 27. 2).

[116] Μνησίφιλος. Of this Mnesiphilus, see PLUTARCH, quoted in note 99 on i. 30.

[117] Ἀδείμαντος. PLUTARCH in one passage (*Themist.* § 11) attributes this rebuke to Eurybiades; but in another (*Apophthegmata*, p. 185) puts it into the mouth of Adimantus. See note 494 on ii. 160.

60 *στεφανεῦνται."* *Τότε μὲν ἠπίως πρὸς τὸν Κορίνθιον ἀμείψατο· πρὸς δὲ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδεα ἔλεγε ἐκείνων μὲν οὐκέτι οὐδὲν τῶν πρότερον λεχθέντων, ὡς ἐπεὰν ἀπαίρωσι ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος, διαδρήσονται· παρεόντων γὰρ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ἔφερέ οἱ κόσμον οὐδένα κατηγορέειν· ὁ δὲ ἄλλου λόγου εἴχετο, λέγων τάδε· "ἐν σοὶ νῦν ἐστὶ σῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἢν ἐμοὶ πείθῃ ναυμαχίην αὐτοῦ μένων ποιέεσθαι, μηδὲ, πειθόμενος τούτων τοῖσι λέγουσι, ἀναζεύξῃς πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν τὰς νῆας*[118]*· ἀντίθες γὰρ ἑκάτερον ἀκούσας· πρὸς μὲν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ συμβάλλων ἐν πελάγεϊ ἀναπεπταμένῳ ναυμαχήσεις, ἐς ὃ ἥκιστα ἡμῖν σύμφορόν ἐστι νῆας ἔχουσι βαρυτέρας*[119] *καὶ ἀριθμὸν ἐλάσσονας· τοῦτο δὲ, ἀπολέεις Σαλαμῖνά τε καὶ Μέγαρα καὶ Αἴγιναν, ἤνπερ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐτυχήσωμεν· ἅμα γὰρ τῷ ναυτικῷ αὐτῶν ἕψεται καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατός· καὶ οὕτω σφέας αὐτὸς ἄξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον, κινδυνεύσεις τε ἁπάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι. ἢν δὲ τὰ ἐγὼ λέγω ποιήσῃς, τοσάδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι χρηστὰ εὑρήσεις· πρῶτα μὲν, ἐν στεινῷ συμβάλλοντες νηυσὶ ὀλίγῃσι πρὸς πολλὰς, ἢν τὰ οἰκότα ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου ἐκβαίνῃ πολλὸν κρατήσομεν· τὸ γὰρ ἐν στεινῷ ναυμαχέειν πρὸς ἡμέων ἐστί· ἐν εὐρυχωρίῃ δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνων. αὖτις δὲ, Σαλαμὶς περιγίνεται, ἐς τὴν ἡμῖν ὑπέκκειται τέκνα τε καὶ γυναῖκες. καὶ μὴν καὶ τόδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι ἔνεστι τοῦ καὶ περιέχεσθε μάλιστα· ὁμοίως αὐτοῦ τε μένων, προναυμαχήσεις Πελοποννήσου, καὶ πρὸς τῷ Ἰσθμῷ· οὐδέ σφεας, εἴπερ εὖ φρονέεις, ἄξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον. ἢν δέ γε καὶ τὰ ἐγὼ ἐλπίζω γένηται, καὶ νικήσωμεν τῇσι νηυσὶ, οὔτε ὑμῖν ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν παρέσονται οἱ βάρβαροι, οὔτε*

His speech to the council.

[118] *μηδὲ . . ἀναζεύξῃς πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν τὰς νῆας.* This expression is not a very easy one to explain; but perhaps the metaphor is taken from the unharnessing of horses, and thereupon removing them from the car in which they had stood ready for use. In ix. 41, *ἀναζευγνύναι τὸν στρατὸν* is "to move the army out of its position in the field;" and in ix. 58, *ἀναζευγνύναι τὸ στρατόπεδον*, "to break up the encampment." Here, therefore, we should perhaps translate: "and not break up and move the ships to the isthmus."

I very much suspect that for the word *λέγουσι* we should read *λόγοισι*, but Gaisford gives no variation of the MSS.

[119] *νῆας ἔχουσι βαρυτέρας.* It is not very easy to understand this expression; for all accounts seem to agree that the Persian vessels were larger and higher out of the water than those of the allies. Perhaps all that is meant is that the latter were slower sailers. And if it be remembered that they were manned in part by a portion of the population which had never handled an oar before this emergency compelled them to do so, it is not surprising if some should be unapt in manœuvring. That all were not so, seems to follow from the account of the engagements at Artemisium. Perhaps Themistocles had especially in his eye the new reinforcements, which would naturally be the worst found.

προβήσονται ἑκαστέρω τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἀπίασί τε οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ, Μεγάροισί τε κερδανέομεν περιεοῦσι, καὶ Αἰγίνῃ, καὶ Σαλαμῖνι, ἐν τῇ ἡμῖν καὶ λόγιόν ἐστι τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατύπερθε γενέσθαι. οἰκότα μέν νυν βουλευομένοισι ἀνθρώποισι ὡς τὸ ἐπίπαν ἐθέλει γίνεσθαι· μὴ δὲ οἰκότα βουλευομένοισι, οὐκ ἐθέλει οὐδὲ ὁ θεὸς προσχωρέειν πρὸς τὰς ἀνθρωπηΐας γνώμας[120]." Ταῦτα λέγοντος Θεμιστο- 61
κλέους, αὖτις ὁ Κορίνθιος Ἀδείμαντος ἐπεφέρετο, σιγᾶν τε κελεύων τῷ μή ἐστι πατρὶς καὶ Εὐρυβιάδεα οὐκ ἐῶν ἐπιψηφίζειν ἀπόλι[121] ἀνδρί· πόλιν γὰρ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα παρεχόμενον, οὕτω ἐκέλευε γνώμας συμβάλλεσθαι· ταῦτα δέ οἱ προέφερε, ὅτι ἡλώκεσάν τε καὶ κατείχοντο αἱ Ἀθῆναι. τότε δὴ ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης κεῖνόν τε καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους πολλά τε καὶ κακὰ ἔλεγε· ἑωυτοῖσί τε ἐδήλου λόγῳ ὡς εἴη καὶ πόλις καὶ γῆ μέζων ἤπερ κείνοισι, ἔστ' ἂν διηκόσιαι νῆές[122] σφι ἔωσι πεπληρωμέναι· οὐδαμοὺς γὰρ Ἑλλήνων αὐτοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀποκρούσεσθαι. Σημαίνων δὲ ταῦτα, τῷ λόγῳ 62
διέβαινε ἐς Εὐρυβιάδεα λέγων μᾶλλον ἐπεστραμμένα[123]· "σὺ εἰ μενέεις αὐτοῦ, καὶ μένων ἔσεαι ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός·—εἰ δὲ μή, ἀνατρέψεις τὴν Ἑλλάδα· τὸ πᾶν γὰρ ἡμῖν τοῦ πολέμου φέρουσι αἱ νῆες. ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ πείθεο· εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιήσεις, ἡμεῖς μέν, ὡς ἔχομεν, ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς οἰκέτας, κομιεύμεθα ἐς Σίριν τὴν ἐν Ἰταλίῃ, ἥπερ ἡμετέρη τέ ἐστι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἔτι[124], καὶ τὰ λόγια λέγει ὑπ' ἡμέων

Adimantus reiterates his insult, and this time receives a stern and crushing answer.

[120] *μὴ δὲ οἰκότα . . . . πρὸς τὰς ἀνθρωπηΐας γνώμας*, "where one forms irrational plans, neither is the deity wont to second the judgment of man."

[121] *ἀπόλι.* This uncommon form of the dative implies a genitive *ἀπόλιος*. See a parallel case in *ἀχάρι* (i. 41). The words *ἐπιψηφίζειν ἀπόλι ἀνδρὶ*, mean "to put a question to the vote on the motion of a man who had no country." The phrase *ἀπόλι ἀνδρὶ* is no doubt the very one used by Adimantus, at which Themistocles was so stung.

[122] *διηκόσιαι νῆες.* See note 2 on § 1, above.

[123] *λέγων μᾶλλον ἐπεστραμμένα*, "saying in terms more direct to the point." Compare *εἴρετο ἐπιστρεφέως* (i. 30). The idea suggested in both cases is that of a person who, from strong feeling, *turns sharp* upon another with whom he is conversing. See the way in which this notion is brought out by the various uses of the word *ἐπιστροφὴ* quoted in Liddell and Scott's Lexicon.

[124] *ἥπερ ἡμετέρη τέ ἐστι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἔτι.* Strabo says that one account of Siris in Italy made it a colony from Troy, in proof of which assertion there was exhibited a wooden image of Athene, said to have been brought from thence. The eyes of the figure were closed; and the legend related that this took place on the occasion of certain fugitives being violently dragged from sanctuary by the Ionians, who were engaged in taking the town. Strabo remarks upon the audacious falsehood of such a story, especially as there were several other Palladia,—each with equal pretensions to being the genuine Trojan image,—at Rome, Lavinium, and Luceria (vi. c. 1, p. 20). Compare the story of the parallel portent (v. 86, above). But another version (which probably is the one Themistocles had in his mind) made the fugitives whose sanctuary was violated Ionians, and the aggressors emigrants from Troy in conjunction with Crotonians. The Ionians had settled there *before* the Trojan war. This

αὐτὴν δέειν κτισθῆναι· ὑμεῖς δὲ συμμάχων τοιῶνδε μουνωθέντες

Eurybiades is convinced.

63 μεμνήσεσθε τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων." Ταῦτα δὲ Θεμιστοκλέος λέγοντος, ἀνεδιδάσκετο Εὐρυβιάδης· δοκέειν δέ μοι, ἀρρωδήσας μάλιστα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀνεδιδάσκετο, μή σφεας ἀπολίπωσι, ἢν πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀνάγῃ τὰς νῆας· ἀπολιπόντων γὰρ Ἀθηναίων, οὐκέτι ἐγίνοντο ἀξιόμαχοι οἱ λοιποί· ταύτην δὲ αἱρέεται τὴν γνώμην, αὐτοῦ μένοντας διαναυμαχέειν.

An earthquake is felt at daybreak, and the allies invoke the Æacidæ for aid.

64 Οὕτω μὲν οἱ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα ἔπεσι ἀκροβολισάμενοι, ἐπεί τε Εὐρυβιάδῃ ἔδοξε, αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ναυμαχήσοντες· ἡμέρη τε ἐγίνετο, καὶ ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι σεισμὸς ἐγένετο ἔν τε τῇ γῇ καὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ· ἔδοξε δέ σφι εὔξασθαι τοῖσι θεοῖσι, καὶ ἐπικαλέσασθαι τοὺς Αἰακίδας συμμάχους· ὡς δέ σφι ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίευν ταῦτα· εὐξάμενοι γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι, αὐτόθεν μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος Αἴαντά τε καὶ Τελαμῶνα[125] ἐπεκαλέοντο· ἐπὶ δὲ Αἰακὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Αἰακίδας[126] νῆα ἀπέστελλον ἐς Αἴγιναν.

Anecdote of a portent near Eleusis observed by Dicæus, an Athenian refugee in the Persian army, in company of Demaratus the Spartan king.

65 Ἔφη δὲ Δικαῖος ὁ Θεοκύδεος, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, φυγάς τε καὶ παρὰ Μήδοισι λόγιμος γενόμενος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον· ἐπεί τε ἐκείρετο ἡ Ἀττικὴ χώρη ὑπὸ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ Ξέρξεω, ἐοῦσα ἐρῆμος Ἀθηναίων, τυχεῖν τότε ἐὼν ἅμα Δημαρήτῳ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ ἐν τῷ Θριασίῳ πεδίῳ· ἰδεῖν δὲ κονιορτὸν χωρέοντα ἀπὸ Ἐλευσῖνος, ὡς ἀνδρῶν μάλιστά κῃ τρισμυρίων· ἀποθωμάζειν τέ σφεας τὸν κονιορτὸν, ὅτεών κοτε εἴη ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πρόκατε[127] φωνῆς ἀκούειν, καί οἱ φαίνεσθαι τὴν φωνὴν εἶναι τὸν μυστικὸν ἴακχον[128]· εἶναι δ'

is the account given by the Scholiast on Lycophron, to explain the words of the poet:

> πόλιν δ' ὁμοίαν Ἰλίῳ δυσδαίμονες
> δείμαντες ἀλγυνοῦσι Λαφρίαν κόρην,
> Σάλπιγγα, δηώσαντες ἐν ναῷ θεᾶς
> τοὺς πρόσθ' ἔδεθλον Ξουθίδος ὠκηκότας.
> γλήναις δ' ἄγαλμα ταῖς ἀναιμάκτοις μύσει,
> στυγνὴν Ἀχαιῶν εἰς Ἰάονας βλάβην
> λεῦσσον, φόνον τ' ἔμφυλον ἀγραύλων λύκων.—(vv. 984—990.)

It will be observed, that the winking image is the point on which the diverse traditions hang. See note 420 on ii. 141.

[125] Αἴαντά τε καὶ Τελαμῶνα. S has Αἴαντα τὸν Τελαμῶνος.

[126] ἐπὶ δὲ Αἰακὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Αἰακίδας. See note 201 on v. 75.

[127] πρόκατε. See note 392 on i. 111.

[128] τὸν μυστικὸν ἴακχον. The sacred hymn which was sung on the occasion of this κῶμος of Dionysus to Eleusis began with the word Ἴακχε, the name under which Dionysus was invoked on the occasion. It is introduced by Aristophanes in the *Frogs*.

> ΧΟΡ. Ἴακχ', ὦ Ἴακχε·
> Ἴακχ', ὦ Ἴακχε.
> ΞΑΝΘ. τοῦτ' ἔστ' ἐκεῖν', ὦ δέσποτ', οἱ μεμνημένοι
> ἐνταῦθά που παίζουσιν, οὓς ἔφραζε νῷν.
> ᾄδουσι γοῦν τὸν Ἴακχον ὅνπερ Διαγόρας.—(315, seqq.)

Hence the hymn itself came to be termed ὁ Ἴακχος, and the chanting it ἰακχίζειν. Compare notes 206, 207 on ii. 79. For the nature of the κῶμος see note 73 on i. 21.

ἀδαήμονα τῶν ἱρῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι τὸν Δημάρητον, εἴρεσθαί τε αὐτὸν ὅ τι τὸ φθεγγόμενον εἴη τοῦτο; αὐτὸς δὲ εἰπεῖν· "Δημάρητε, οὐκ ἔστι ὅκως οὐ μέγα τι σίνος ἔσται τῇ βασιλέος στρατιῇ· τάδε γὰρ ἀρίδηλα, ἐρήμου ἐούσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅτι θεῖον τὸ φθεγγόμενον ἀπὸ Ἐλευσῖνος ἰὸν ἐς τιμωρίην Ἀθηναίοισί τε καὶ τοῖσι συμμάχοισι· καὶ ἢν μέν γε κατασκήψῃ ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, κίνδυνος αὐτῷ τε βασιλέϊ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ τῇ ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ ἔσται· ἢν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς νῆας τράπηται τὰς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι, τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν κινδυνεύσει βασιλεὺς ἀποβαλέειν· τὴν δὲ ὁρτὴν ταύτην ἄγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνὰ πάντα ἔτεα τῇ Μητρὶ καὶ τῇ Κούρῃ, καὶ αὐτῶν τε ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μυεῖται· καὶ τὴν φωνήν, τῆς ἀκούεις, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὁρτῇ ἰακχάζουσι·" πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν Δημάρητον· "σίγα τε, καὶ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον εἴπῃς· ἢν γάρ τοι ἐς βασιλέα ἀνενειχθῇ τὰ ἔπεα ταῦτα, ἀποβαλέεις τὴν κεφαλήν· καί σε οὔτε ἐγὼ δυνήσομαι ῥύσασθαι οὔτ' ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ εἷς· ἀλλ' ἔχ' ἥσυχος· περὶ δὲ στρατιῆς τῆσδε θεοῖσι μελήσει·" τὸν μὲν δὴ ταῦτα παραινέειν· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ καὶ τῆς φωνῆς γενέσθαι νέφος, καὶ μεταρσιωθὲν φέρεσθαι ἐπὶ Σαλαμῖνος ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων· οὕτω δὲ αὐτοὺς μαθεῖν, ὅτι τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ Ξέρξεω ἀπολέεσθαι μέλλοι. ταῦτα μὲν Δικαῖος ὁ Θεοκύδεος ἔλεγε, Δημαρήτου τε καὶ ἄλλων μαρτύρων καταπτόμενος [129].

Οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ξέρξεω ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ 66
Τρηχῖνος, θεησάμενοι τὸ τρῶμα τὸ Λακωνικὸν, διέβησαν ἐς τὴν Ἱστιαίην, ἐπισχόντες ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἔπλωον δι' Εὐρίπου, καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῃσι τρισὶ ἡμέρῃσι ἐγένοντο ἐν Φαλήρῳ [130]. ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, οὐκ ἐλάσσονες ἐόντες ἀριθμὸν ἐσέβαλον [131] ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας,

The invading fleet arrives at *Phalerum* six days after the return of the crews

[129] καταπτόμενος. This is noticed by EUSTATHIUS (*ad Iliad.* ix. 582) as a peculiar use of the word by Herodotus, equivalent to μάρτυρας προφέρων. Apparently the original use of the phrase is in application to an oath, where the person swearing took hold of some sacred symbol in order to authenticate the truth of his statement. See note 157 on vi. 68.

[130] ἐν ἑτέρῃσι τρισὶ ἡμέρῃσι ἐγένοντο ἐν Φαλήρῳ. LEAKE considers this expression to indicate that the *whole* fleet of the Persians arrived at Phalerum. The harbour, however, could not have held them; besides which, the mishap at Sepias would be a warning to the commanders not to push forward their ships in such masses, as to prevent the possibility of their finding the means of beaching them if necessary. The force is rather to be conceived as moving along the coast in strong detachments, each capable of overcoming any opposition likely to be made to it. See below, note 154 on § 76, and the Excursus. Nevertheless, the expression πάντες οὗτοι (§ 67) is favourable to Leake's opinion, so far as Herodotus's view of the matter is concerned.

[131] οὐκ ἐλάσσονες ἐόντες ἀριθμὸν ἐσέβαλον. It is impossible to conceive this

from viewing the field of Thermopylæ.

κατά τε ἤπειρον καὶ τῇσι νηυσὶ ἀπικόμενοι, ἢ ἐπί τε Σηπιάδα ἀπίκοντο καὶ ἐς Θερμοπύλας. ἀντιθήσω γὰρ τοῖσί τε ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος αὐτῶν ἀπολομένοισι, καὶ τοῖσι ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι, καὶ τῇσι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ναυμαχίῃσι, τούσδε τοὺς τότε οὔκω ἑπομένους βασιλέϊ, Μηλιέας τε καὶ Δωριέας, καὶ Λοκροὺς, καὶ Βοιωτοὺς πανστρατιῇ ἑπομένους πλὴν Θεσπιέων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων· καὶ μάλα Καρυστίους τε καὶ Ἀνδρίους, καὶ Τηνίους τε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς νησιώτας πάντας, πλὴν τῶν πέντε πολίων [132], τῶν ἐπεμνήσθην πρότερον τὰ οὐνόματα· ὅσῳ γὰρ δὴ προέβαινε ἐσωτέρω τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὁ Πέρσης, τοσούτῳ πλέω ἔθνεά οἱ εἵπετο.

The forces of Xerxes probably not diminished by his previous losses.

67 Ἐπεὶ ὦν ἀπίκατο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας [133] πάντες οὗτοι, πλὴν Παρίων· (Πάριοι δὲ ὑπολειφθέντες ἐν Κύθνῳ, ἐκαραδόκεον τὸν πόλεμον κῇ ἀποβήσεται·) οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ὡς ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ Φάληρον, ἐνθαῦτα κατέβη αὐτὸς Ξέρξης ἐπὶ τὰς νῆας, ἐθέλων σφι συμμῖξαι τε καὶ πυθέσθαι τῶν ἐπιπλωόντων τὰς γνώμας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπικόμενος προΐζετο, παρῆσαν μετάπεμπτοι οἱ τῶν ἐθνέων τῶν σφετέρων τύραννοι καὶ ταξίαρχοι ἀπὸ τῶν νηῶν, καὶ ἵζοντο ὥς σφι βασιλεὺς ἑκάστῳ τιμὴν ἐδεδώκεε· πρῶτος μὲν ὁ Σιδώνιος βασιλεύς [134]·

Xerxes calls a council of war at Phalerum as to the expediency of fighting a pitched battle by sea.

opinion at all near the truth, unless enormous exaggeration is to be presumed in the accounts of the engagements off Artemisium. Xerxes, since his arrival at Sepias, had lost 200 gallies, which had been despatched round Eubœa (§ 7), 30 more captured in the first engagement off Artemisium (§ 11), "the Cilician squadron," whatever its strength, in the second engagement (§ 14, where see note 32), and a much larger number than the Greeks in the third (§ 16), where the destruction was so great that half the Athenian squadron was crippled (§ 18). The contingents from the Cyclades which subsequently joined cannot possibly have made up more than a very small fraction of this sum. While Naxos was in the height of its power, and all these islands dependent on it, a hundred gallies were considered sufficient to reduce it (v. 31). At this time Naxos had been ruined (vi. 96), and the contingent it was able to supply was only four ships (§ 46, *supra*), which deserted to the side of the allies. Of the rest, Seriphos, Siphnos, and Melos could not among them muster a single trireme, and Cythnos only one. Moreover, it is doubtful whether these islanders are not included in the original roll of the fleet. See note 277 on vii. 95.

132 *τῶν πέντε πολίων.* Not "the five cities," but "the five states." They were the islands Naxos, Melos, Siphnos, Cythnos, and Seriphos (§ 46, above).

133 *ἀπίκατο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. Athens* must here be taken to include its ports, Phalerum being the point where the Persian navy, or at least its commanders, assembled. This was at the time the only harbour which Athens used; and it is nearer to the city than any other.

134 *πρῶτος μὲν ὁ Σιδώνιος βασιλεύς.* The Sidonian chief (Tetramnestus) is named first in order of all the subordinate naval commanders in the list (vii. 98), and the Tyrian (Mapen) second. It is somewhat strange that Mardonius should here be represented as the organ of communication between the king and these chiefs, as there were four admirals, princes of the blood royal, who commanded the fleet. That he should be employed probably indicates the much greater confidence placed in his strategic talents than in those of any other,—he being perhaps regarded as the commander-in-chief of both services. See note 250 on vii. 82, above.

μετὰ δὲ ὁ Τύριος· ἐπὶ δὲ, ὧλλοι· ὡς δὲ κόσμῳ ἐπεξῆς ἵζοντο, πέμψας Ξέρξης Μαρδόνιον εἰρώτα, ἀποπειρώμενος ἑκάστου, εἰ ναυμαχίην ποιέοιτο; Ἐπεὶ δὲ περιϊὼν εἰρώτα ὁ Μαρδόνιος, 68
ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ Σιδωνίου, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι[135] κατὰ τὠυτὸ γνώμην ἐξεφέροντο κελεύοντες ναυμαχίην ποιέεσθαι, Ἀρτεμισίη δὲ τάδε ἔφη· "εἰπεῖν μοι πρὸς βασιλέα, Μαρδόνιε, ὡς ἐγὼ τάδε λέγω· οὔτε κακίστην γενομένην ἐν τῇσι ναυμαχίῃσι τῇσι πρὸς Εὐβοίῃ, οὔτε ἐλάχιστα ἀποδεξαμένην, δέσποτα, τήνδε ἐοῦσαν γνώμην[136] με δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἀποδείκνυσθαι, τὰ τυγχάνω φρονέουσα ἄριστα ἐς πρήγματα τὰ σά. καί τοι τάδε λέγω· φείδεο τῶν νηῶν, μηδὲ ναυμαχίην ποιέο· οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες τῶν σῶν ἀνδρῶν κρέσσονες τοσοῦτό εἰσι κατὰ θάλασσαν, ὅσον ἄνδρες γυναικῶν. τί δὲ πάντως δέει σε ναυμαχίῃσι ἀνακινδυνεύειν; οὐκ ἔχεις μὲν τὰς Ἀθήνας τῶνπερ εἵνεκα ὡρμήθης στρατεύεσθαι, ἔχεις δὲ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα; ἐμποδὼν δέ τοι ἵσταται οὐδείς· οἳ δ' ἔτι ἀντέστησαν, ἀπήλλαξαν οὕτω ὡς κεῖνους ἔπρεπε. τῇ δὲ ἐγὼ δοκέω ἀποβήσεσθαι τὰ τῶν ἀντιπολέμων[137] πρήγματα, τοῦτο φράσω· ἢν μὲν μὴ ἐπειχθῇς ναυμαχίην ποιεύμενος, ἀλλὰ τὰς νῆας αὐτοῦ ἔχῃς πρὸς γῇ μένων, ἢ καὶ προβαίνων ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, εὐπετέως τοι, δέσποτα, χωρήσει τὰ νοέων ἐλήλυθας· οὐ γὰρ οἷοί τε πολλὸν χρόνον εἰσί τοι ἀντέχειν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλά σφεας διασκεδᾷς· κατὰ πόλις δὲ ἕκαστοι φεύξονται· οὔτε γὰρ σῖτος πάρα σφίσι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, οὔτε αὐτοὺς οἰκὸς, ἢν σὺ ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐλαύνῃς τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν, ἀτρεμιεῖν τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν αὐτῶν ἥκοντας[138]· οὐδέ σφι μελήσει πρὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναυμαχέειν. ἢν δὲ αὐτίκα ἐπειχθῇς ναυμαχῆσαι, δειμαίνω μὴ ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς κακωθεὶς τὸν πεζὸν προσδηλήσηται. πρὸς δὲ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ τόδε ἐς θυμὸν βαλεῦ, ὡς τοῖσι μὲν χρηστοῖσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων κακοὶ δοῦλοι φιλέουσι γίνεσθαι, τοῖσι δὲ κακοῖσι χρηστοί· σοὶ δὲ ἐόντι ἀρίστῳ ἀνδρῶν πάντων κακοὶ δοῦλοί εἰσι, οἳ ἐν συμμάχων λόγῳ λέγονται εἶναι, ἐόντες Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ

All recommend it but Artemisia, who strongly dissuades.

135 οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι. Gaisford, on the authority of S and V only, reads οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι.

136 τήνδε ἐοῦσαν γνώμην, "this my real opinion."

137 ἀντιπολέμων. See note 364 on iv. 140.

138 ἀτρεμιεῖν τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν αὐτῶν ἥκοντας. The words τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν αὐτῶν ἥκοντας serve to qualify the general expression αὐτοὺς which has preceded. The contingents from Peloponnese would certainly not think of remaining in their present position.

Κύπριοι καὶ Κίλικες καὶ Πάμφυλοι, τῶν ὄφελός ἐστι οὐδέν."

69 Ταῦτα λεγούσης πρὸς Μαρδόνιον, ὅσοι μὲν ἦσαν εὔνοοι τῇ Ἀρτεμισίῃ συμφορὴν ἐποιεῦντο τοὺς λόγους, ὡς κακόν τι πεισομένης πρὸς βασιλέος, ὅτι οὐκ ἐᾷ ναυμαχίην ποιέεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἀγαιόμενοί[139] τε καὶ φθονέοντες αὐτῇ, ἅτε ἐν πρώτοισι τετιμημένης διὰ πάντων τῶν συμμάχων, ἐτέρποντο τῇ κρίσι, ὡς ἀπολεομένης αὐτῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνηνείχθησαν αἱ γνῶμαι ἐς Ξέρξεα, κάρτα τε ἥσθη τῇ γνώμῃ τῆς Ἀρτεμισίης, καὶ νομίζων ἔτι πρότερον σπουδαίην εἶναι, τότε πολλῷ μᾶλλον αἴνεε· ὅμως δὲ τοῖσι πλέοσι πείθεσθαι ἐκέλευε τάδε, καταδόξας πρὸς μὲν Εὐβοίῃ σφέας ἐθελοκακέειν ὡς οὐ παρεόντος αὐτοῦ· τότε δὲ αὐτὸς παρεσκεύαστο θεήσασθαι ναυμαχέοντας.

Xerxes admires her conduct, but still determines to fight.

70 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρήγγελλον ἀναπλώειν, ἀνῆγον τὰς νῆας ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα[140], καὶ παρεκρίθησαν διαταχθέντες[a] κατ' ἡσυχίην. τότε μέν νυν οὐκ ἐξέχρησε σφι ἡ ἡμέρη ναυμαχίην ποιήσασθαι· νὺξ γὰρ ἐπεγένετο· οἱ δὲ παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην. τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας εἶχε δέος τε καὶ ἀρρωδίη, οὐκ ἥκιστα δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου· ἀρρώδεον δὲ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι κατήμενοι ὑπὲρ γῆς τῆς Ἀθηναίων ναυμαχέειν μέλλοιεν· νικηθέντες τε, ἐν νήσῳ ἀπολαμφθέντες πολιορκήσονται[141] ἀπέντες τὴν ἑωυτῶν ἀφύλακτον.

The fleet moves up from Phalerum to Salamis, and arrives shortly before nightfall.

71 Τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ὁ πεζὸς ὑπὸ τὴν παρεοῦσαν νύκτα ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον· καίτοι τὰ δυνατὰ πάντα ἐμεμηχάνητο, ὅκως κατ' ἤπειρον μὴ ἐσβάλοιεν οἱ βάρβαροι. ὡς γὰρ ἐπύθοντο

The same evening the army gets into motion

139 ἀγαιόμενοι. See note 146 on vi. 61.

140 ἀνῆγον τὰς νῆας ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα. Leake supposes that by this expression is intimated that the fleet of the Persians actually entered the channel between the island of Salamis and the main, and arranged themselves along the shore from the point of Mount Ægaleos to the entrance of the Piræus. But *the words* in themselves do not seem necessarily to mean more than that they moved *upon* Salamis. For the phrase ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα appears to be exactly paralleled by ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον in the next section. And that the lines across the isthmus were reached by the invading army is expressly contradicted by what is related in ix. 14, that the furthest advance of the Persians to the westward was the inroad of Mardonius's cavalry into the Megarid. At the same time, a comparison of other passages makes it pretty certain that Herodotus understood the movements of the invading fleet nearly as Leake does. See *Excursus* on § 76, below.

a παρεκρίθησαν διαταχθέντες, "they took up their position after the disposition which had been made." διατάσσω is to assign the several quarters of the various portions of a force, παρακρίνεσθαι to go through the evolutions requisite for carrying out the scheme.

141 πολιορκήσονται. This is the reading of all the MSS except K, which has πολιορκήσεσθαι.

τάχιστα Πελοποννήσιοι τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδεα ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι τετελευτηκέναι, συνδραμόντες ἐκ τῶν πολίων ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἵζοντο· καί σφι ἐπῆν στρατηγὸς Κλεόμβροτος ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδεω, Λεωνίδεω δὲ ἀδελφεός[142]· ἱζόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ καὶ συγχώσαντες τὴν Σκιρωνίδα ὁδὸν[143], μετὰ τοῦτο, ὥς σφι ἔδοξε βουλευομένοισι, οἰκοδόμεον διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τεῖχος· ἅτε δὲ ἐουσέων μυριαδέων πολλέων καὶ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐργαζομένου, ἤνετο[144] τὸ ἔργον· καὶ γὰρ λίθοι, καὶ πλίνθοι, καὶ ξύλα, καὶ φορμοὶ ψάμμου πλήρεες ἐσεφορέοντο· καὶ ἐλίνυον οὐδένα χρόνον οἱ βοηθήσαντες ἐργαζόμενοι, οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔτε ἡμέρης.

for the Peloponnese.

72 Οἱ δὲ βωθήσαντες ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν πανδημεί, οἵδε ἦσαν Ἑλλήνων· Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ Ἀρκάδες πάντες, καὶ Ἠλεῖοι, καὶ Κορίνθιοι, καὶ Σικυώνιοι, καὶ Ἐπιδαύριοι, καὶ Φλιάσιοι, καὶ Τροιζήνιοι, καὶ Ἑρμιονέες. οὗτοι μὲν ἦσαν οἱ βοηθήσαντες[145] καὶ ὑπεραρρωδέοντες τῇ Ἑλλάδι κινδυνευούσῃ· τοῖσι δὲ ἄλλοισι Πελοποννησίοισι ἔμελε οὐδέν. Ὀλύμπια δὲ καὶ Κάρνεια παροιχώκεε ἤδη.

List of the Peloponnesian states which came in force to the isthmus.

73 Οἰκέει δὲ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἔθνεα ἑπτά· τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν δύο, αὐτόχθονα ἐόντα, κατὰ χώρην ἵδρυται νῦν τε καὶ τὸ πάλαι[146] οἴκεον, Ἀρκάδες τε καὶ Κυνούριοι· ἓν δὲ ἔθνος, τὸ Ἀχαϊκὸν, ἐκ μὲν Πελοποννήσου οὐκ ἐξεχώρησε, ἐκ μέντοι τῆς ἑωυτῶν· οἰκέε δὲ τὴν ἀλλοτρίην. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἔθνεα τῶν ἑπτὰ [τέσσερα] ἐπήλυδά ἐστι· Δωριέες τε, καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ, καὶ Δρύοπες, καὶ Λήμνιοι. Δωριέων μὲν πολλαί τε καὶ δόκιμοι πόλις· Αἰτωλῶν δὲ Ἦλις μούνη[147]· Δρυόπων δὲ, Ἑρμιόνη τε καὶ Ἀσίνη ἡ πρὸς

Ethnographical account of the Peloponnese.

[142] Λεωνίδεω δὲ ἀδελφεός. Some accounts made him a twin brother (v. 41).

[143] συγχώσαντες τὴν Σκιρωνίδα ὁδόν. The road destroyed by the allied force was a narrow cornice artificially formed in the perpendicular rocks which run along the Saronic gulf. The ordinary road from Athens into the peninsula ran over the Geranean mountain and through a narrow gorge, which, according to Colonel Squire, offers a most formidable position for defence. The lines, however, appear to have been drawn from Lechæum to Cenchreæ, further south than the narrowest part of the isthmus, with a view of preventing a debarkation in the rear of the defending force. Had they been carried across the narrowest part, the whole harbour of Cenchreæ would have been at the command of the invaders (*ap. Walpole's Turkey*, i. pp. 342—5).

[144] ἤνετο. This is Gaisford's reading, backed by a single manuscript (P). The majority have ἠνύετο, and one (F) ἤρετο. For the sense of ἤνετο, see note 86 on vii. 20.

[145] βοηθήσαντες. This is the reading of *all* the MSS, although only four lines above some have βωθήσαντες, which Gaisford adopts. See note 4 on § 1, above.

[146] νῦν τε καὶ τὸ πάλαι. This is the reading of all the MSS; but Valcknaer's conjecture, νῦν τὴν καὶ τὸ πάλαι, seems to me to be the true reading.

[147] Αἰτωλῶν δὲ Ἦλις μούνη. This expression raises a doubt as to whether the section is not a latter addition. Strabo expressly states that Elis (the city) *did not exist at the time of the*

Καρδαμύλῃ τῇ Λακωνικῇ[148]· Λημνίων δὲ, Παρωρεῆται πάντες[149]. οἱ δὲ Κυνούριοι αὐτόχθονες ἐόντες δοκέουσι μοῦνοι εἶναι Ἴωνες[150]· ἐκδεδωρίευνται δὲ ὑπό τε Ἀργείων ἀρχόμενοι καὶ τοῦ χρόνου, ἐόντες Ὀρνεῆται καὶ περίοικοι. τούτων ὦν τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐθνέων αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλις, πάρεξ τῶν κατέλεξα, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἐκατέατο· εἰ δὲ ἐλευθέρως ἔξεστι εἰπεῖν, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατήμενοι ἐμήδιζον.

74 Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ τοιούτῳ πόνῳ συνέστασαν, ἅτε περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἤδη δρόμον θέοντες, καὶ τῇσι νηυσὶ οὐκ ἐλπίζοντες ἐλλάμψεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ὁμῶς ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι ἀρρώδεον, οὐκ οὕτω περὶ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι δειμαίνοντες ὡς περὶ τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ· ἕως μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ παραστὰς σιγῇ λόγον ἐποιέετο, θῶμα ποιεύμενοι τὴν Εὐρυβιάδεω ἀβουλίην, τέλος δὲ ἐξερράγη ἐς τὸ μέσον σύλλογός τε δὴ ἐγίνετο, καὶ πολλὰ ἐλέγετο περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν, οἱ μὲν ὡς ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον χρεὸν εἴη ἀποπλώειν, καὶ περὶ ἐκείνης κινδυνεύειν, μηδὲ πρὸ χώρης δοριαλώτου μένοντας μάχεσθαι· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ, καὶ Αἰγινῆται, καὶ

The Peloponnesian commanders in the allied fleet at Salamis disapprove of Eurybiades remaining at Salamis.

75 Μεγαρέες, αὐτοῦ μένοντας ἀμύνασθαι. Ἐνθαῦτα Θεμιστοκλέης, ὡς ἑσσοῦτο τῇ γνώμῃ ὑπὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων, λαθὼν ἐξέρχεται ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου· ἐξελθὼν δὲ πέμπει ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Μήδων[151] ἄνδρα πλοίῳ, ἐντειλάμενος τὰ λέγειν χρεόν· τῷ οὔνομα

Themistocles upon this devises a stratagem to keep them there.

Persian war, but that it was a later combination of several hamlets, of the same kind as the five which by their union made up Mantinea, the nine which made up Tegea, the nine which made up Heræa, the seven which made up Patræ, the seven or eight which made up Ægium, and the eight which made up Dyme (viii. c. 3, p. 143). Larcher proposes to read Αἰόλεων instead of Αἰτωλῶν. In vi. 127 the MSS vary between Αἰτωλίδος and Αἰολίδος. It is observable that here, as in many other cases of cognate races, one tradition brought Ætolians from Calydon to found Elis, while another derived *Ætolus*, the eponymous ancestor of the Ætolians, from Elis. (PAUSANIAS, v. 1. 4; APOLLODORUS, i. 7. 6.) See note 185 on i. 57.

148 Ἀσίνη ἡ πρὸς Καρδαμύλῃ τῇ Λακωνικῇ. Of this *Asine*, see the note 88 on § 43, above. The *Argolic* Asine seems to have been destroyed a generation before the first Messenian war, in which the inhabitants of the *Laconian* Asine fought, against their will, on the side of Lacedæmon. (PAUSANIAS, iv. 8. 3.)

149 Λημνίων δὲ, Παρωρεῆται πάντες. For the occasion of the Lemnians occupying this part of Peloponnese, see iv. 148.

150 αὐτόχθονες ἐόντες δοκέουσι μοῦνοι εἶναι Ἴωνες. It is not easy to understand what the *Ionism* of these Cynurians consisted in, except it were the celebration of the festival of the *Apaturia*. That, and the coming originally from Athens, are the two characteristics which alone are employed by the writer to designate the Asiatic Ionians (i. 147). If autochthonous, the near affinity of the Cynurians with the Arcadians and Achæans cannot be doubted. And the Dryopians were apparently mainly of the same race. (See above, note 88 on § 43.) Larcher considers the text here to be corrupt.

151 τὸ Μήδων. PLUTARCH, in describing this stratagem of Themistocles, makes Sicinnus to be himself a Persian; and it is a very ingenious conjecture of Valckenaer's, that the cause of his doing so is

μὲν ἦν Σίκιννος· οἰκέτης δὲ καὶ παιδαγωγὸς ἦν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος
παίδων· τὸν δὲ ὕστερον τούτων τῶν πρηγμάτων Θεμιστοκλέης
Θεσπιέα τε ἐποίησε, ὡς ἐπεδέκοντο οἱ Θεσπιέες πολιήτας, καὶ
χρήμασι ὄλβιον· ὃς τότε πλοίῳ ἀπικόμενος, ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺς στρα-
τηγοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων τάδε· "ἔπεμψέ με στρατηγὸς ὁ Ἀθηναίων
λάθρῃ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, (τυγχάνει γὰρ φρονέων τὰ βασιλέος,
καὶ βουλόμενος μᾶλλον τὰ ὑμέτερα κατύπερθε γίνεσθαι ἢ τὰ τῶν
Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα,) φράσοντα ὅτι οἱ Ἕλληνες δρησμὸν βου-
λεύονται καταρρωδηκότες· καὶ νῦν παρέχει κάλλιστον ὑμέας ἔργον
ἁπάντων ἐξεργάσασθαι, ἢν μὴ περιίδητε διαδράντας αὐτούς· οὔτε
γὰρ ἀλλήλοισι ὁμοφρονέουσι, οὔτ' ἔτι ἀντιστήσονται ὑμῖν, πρὸς
ἑωυτούς τε σφέας ὄψεσθε ναυμαχέοντας τοὺς τὰ ὑμέτερα φρονέον-
τας καὶ τοὺς μή." Ὁ μὲν ταῦτά σφι σημήνας, ἐκποδὼν ἀπαλλάσ- 76
σετο· τοῖσι δὲ ὡς πιστὰ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἀγγελθέντα, τοῦτο μὲν ἐς τὴν
νησῖδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν[152], μεταξὺ Σαλαμῖνός τε κειμένην καὶ
τῆς ἠπείρου, πολλοὺς τῶν Περσέων ἀπεβιβάσαντο· τοῦτο δὲ
ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο μέσαι νύκτες[153], ἀνῆγον μὲν τὸ ἀπ' ἑσπέρης κέρας
κυκλούμενοι πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα· ἀνῆγον δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὴν Κέον τε
καὶ τὴν Κυνόσουραν τεταγμένοι, κατεῖχόν τε μέχρι Μουνυχίης
πάντα τὸν πορθμὸν τῇσι νηυσί[154]· τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκεν ἀνῆγον τὰς

The Persians are deceived by him, and land a strong detachment on the island Psyttalea, moving their fleet so as to sur-

that he found in this passage the reading τῶν Μήδων. ÆSCHYLUS distinctly states that the individual who brought the false intelligence was a *Greek*. (*Pers.* 355.)

152 τὴν νησῖδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν. LEAKE describes this island (now called Λειψοκουτάλι) as "low, rocky, clothed with shrubs, about a mile in length, and not more than two or three hundred yards broad." (*Appendix* ii. p. 267.) It has not a single creek into which a vessel can be put, thus precisely answering to the description of ÆSCHYLUS: βαιὰ, δύσορμος ναυσί (*Pers.* 447).

153 ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο μέσαι νύκτες. ÆSCHYLUS represents the invading vessels as being put in motion as soon as night came on, the crews too having taken their supper previously, and made all preparation to be able to get under way immediately after night-fall (*Pers.* 374—9).

154 ἀνῆγον μὲν τὸ ἀπ' ἑσπέρης κέρας . . πάντα τὸν πορθμὸν τῇσι νηυσί. This description occasions great difficulty, which no commentator has succeeded in explaining in a perfectly satisfactory manner. The natural sense would seem to be: "they brought up the westernmost wing by a circular movement to Salamis, while those who had been stationed about Ceos and Cynosura moved up and occupied the whole strait as far as Munychia with their ships." But LEAKE remarks very justly, that such a movement would be impossible in the time assigned to it; for *Cynosura* (supposing it to be the headland of that name forming the northern extremity of the bay of Marathon) would be no less than sixty nautical miles from Salamis, and *Ceos* (supposing it the island opposite the S.E. extremity of Attica) no less than forty. He accordingly conjectures that *Cynosura* is "probably the long rocky cape [of the island Salamis] which projects towards the Attic shore on the eastern side of the bay of Salamis." Similarly he imagines with regard to *Ceos*, "that it is possible that it may have been a place in Salamis, or on the Attic coast opposite to Cape Cynosura; it is also possible that there is

round Salamis and block the channel. νῆας, ἵνα δὴ τοῖσι Ἕλλησι μηδὲ φυγέειν ἐξῇ, ἀλλ' ἀπολαμφθέντες ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι, δοῖεν τίσιν τῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἀγωνισμάτων· ἐς δὲ τὴν νησίδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν καλεομένην ἀπεβίβαζον τῶν Περσέων, τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὡς ἐπεὰν γένηται ναυμαχίη, ἐνθαῦτα μάλιστα ἐξοισομένων τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυηγίων, (ἐν γὰρ δὴ πόρῳ τῆς ναυμαχίης τῆς μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι ἔκειτο ἡ νῆσος,) ἵνα τοὺς μὲν περιποιῶσι, τοὺς δὲ διαφθείρωσι· ἐποίευν δὲ σιγῇ ταῦτα, ὡς μὴ πυνθανοίατο οἱ ἐναντίοι[155]. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τῆς νυκτὸς[156], οὐδὲν ἀποκοιμηθέντες, παραρτέοντο.

77 The events which took place confirm the authority of the oracles. Χρησμοῖσι δὲ οὐκ ἔχω ἀντιλέγειν ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶ ἀληθέες, οὐ βουλόμενος ἐναργέως λέγοντας πειρᾶσθαι καταβάλλειν, ἐς τοιάδε πρήγματα ἐσβλέψας·

Ἀλλ' ὅταν Ἀρτέμιδος χρυσαόρου ἱερὸν ἀκτὴν[157]
νηυσὶ γεφυρώσωσι, καὶ εἰναλίην Κυνόσουραν,

some error in the text. Perhaps Herodotus wrote τὴν νῆσον in reference to the island Psyttalea." (*Appendix* ii. pp. 258—260.) But as there is no evidence that there was any such place in Salamis as Ceos, or any headland there named Cynosura, such an explanation has little claim to acceptance. It may be remarked in the first place, that although the movement be an impossible one, it may not have appeared impossible to Herodotus; for in his account of the battle of Marathon he obviously supposes that Athens was only saved from surprise by Datis by the forced march made by the Athenian army from the field of Marathon to the Heracleum in the Cynosarges. Yet, according to his own account, Datis's manœuvre must have occupied, in addition to the time required for running the sixty nautical miles from Cynosura to Phalerum, the further time demanded for sailing to Styra, embarking the Eretrian prisoners, and again getting under way for Athens. Of the two alternatives, it seems less violent to suppose a want of accurate knowledge as to the distances of Ceos and Cynosura on the part of the writer or his informant, than the existence of the names in question in the immediate neighbourhood of Phalerum. But in fact the difficulty may be explained on an entirely different principle; for which see the *Excursus* at the end of this book.

155 ἐποίευν δὲ σιγῇ ταῦτα, ὡς μὴ πυνθανοίατο οἱ ἐναντίοι. This is quite alien from ÆSCHYLUS's notion. He makes the crews cheer one another as they get under way (τάξις δὲ τάξιν παρεκάλει νεὼς μακρᾶς. *Pers.* 380). According to his view, the intended escape of the Greeks was, in the opinion of the Persians, entirely precluded by the latter getting the start of them. That point having been secured, they were not careful about concealing the movement.

156 νυκτός. The manuscripts S and V leave out this word and all that follows to ἀπαλλαγῆναι οὕτω δὴ in § 84, no doubt from a *lacuna* having existed in the archetypal codex from which they were derived.

157 Ἀρτέμιδος χρυσαόρου ἱερὸν ἀκτήν. LEAKE supposes that here reference must be made to a temple of Artemis in Salamis, and also that the temple stood upon the *western* headland of the little bay in which the city Salamis (corresponding to the modern *Ambelákia*) lay. This he infers from a passage in PAUSANIAS (i. 36. 2): ἐν Σαλαμῖνι δὲ τοῦτο μὲν Ἀρτέμιδός ἐστιν ἱερὸν, τοῦτο δὲ τρόπαιον ἕστηκεν ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης ἣν Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλέους αἴτιος ἐγένετο γενέσθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησι, which he renders "*on one side* of the city a temple of Diana, and *on the other* the trophy erected," &c. (vol. ii. p. 169.) But it is quite an assumption to attribute this meaning to τοῦτο μὲν and τοῦτο δέ. Even if the temple alluded to

ἐλπίδι μαινομένῃ λιπαρὰς πέρσαντες Ἀθήνας,
δῖα Δίκη σβέσσει κρατερὸν Κόρον, Ὕβριος υἱὸν[158],
δεινὸν μαιμώοντα, δοκεῦντ' ἀνὰ πάντα τίθεσθαι.
χαλκὸς γὰρ χαλκῷ συμμίξεται, αἵματι δ' Ἄρης
πόντον φοινίξει. τότ' ἐλεύθερον Ἑλλάδος ἦμαρ
εὐρύοπα Κρονίδης ἐπάγει, καὶ πότνια Νίκη.

ἐς τοιαῦτα μὲν καὶ οὕτω ἐναργέως λέγοντι Βάκιδι, ἀντιλογίης χρησμῶν πέρι οὔτε αὐτὸς λέγειν τολμέω οὔτε παρ' ἄλλων ἐνδέκομαι.

Τῶν δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι στρατηγῶν ἐγίνετο ὠθισμὸς λόγων πολλός· 78
ᾔδεσαν δὲ οὔκω, ὅτι σφέας περιεκυκλέοντο τῇσι νηυσὶ οἱ βάρβαροι· ἀλλ', ὥσπερ τῆς ἡμέρης ὥρων αὐτοὺς τεταγμένους, ἐδόκεον κατὰ χώρην εἶναι. Συνεστηκότων δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν[159], ἐξ Αἰγίνης 79
διέβη Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος μέν, ἐξωστρακισμένος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου· τὸν ἐγὼ νενόμικα, πυνθανόμενος αὐτοῦ τὸν τρόπον, ἄριστον ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι καὶ δικαιότατον· οὗτος ὡνὴρ στὰς ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον, ἐξεκαλέετο Θεμιστοκλῆα ἐόντα μὲν ἑωυτῷ οὐ φίλον ἐχθρὸν δὲ τὰ μάλιστα· ὑπὸ δὲ μεγάθεος τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν λήθην ἐκείνων ποιεύμενος ἐξεκαλέετο, θέλων αὐτῷ συμμίξαι· προακήκοε δὲ ὅτι σπεύδοιεν οἱ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἀνάγειν τὰς νῆας πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμόν· ὡς δὲ ἐξῆλθέ οἱ Θεμιστοκλέης, ἔλεγε Ἀριστείδης τάδε· "ἡμέας στασιάζειν χρεόν ἐστι ἔν τε τῷ ἄλλῳ καιρῷ καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῷδε, περὶ τοῦ ὁκότερος ἡμέων πλέω ἀγαθὰ τὴν πατρίδα ἐργάσεται· λέγω δέ τοι, ὅτι ἶσόν ἐστι πολλά τε καὶ ὀλίγα λέγειν περὶ ἀποπλόου τοῦ ἐνθεῦτεν Πελοποννησίοισι· ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτόπτης τοι λέγω γενόμενος, ὅτι νῦν, οὐδ' ἢν θέλωσι, Κορίνθιοί τε καὶ αὐτὸς Εὐρυβιάδης οἷοί τε ἔσονται ἐκπλῶσαι· περιεχόμεθα γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κύκλῳ· ἀλλ' ἐσελθὼν σφι ταῦτα σήμηνον." Ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο 80
τοῖσδε· "κάρτα τε χρηστὰ διακελεύεαι καὶ εὖ ἤγγειλας· τὰ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐδεόμην γενέσθαι, αὐτὸς αὐτόπτης γενόμενος ἥκεις· ἴσθι γὰρ

Dispute among the Hellenic commanders

is interrupted by the advent of *Aristides* an Athenian, then under ostracism, who seeks an interview with Themistocles, and informs him of the state of things.

Themistocles's joy.

by Bacis was the one in Salamis, there is nothing to show whereabouts in Salamis it was. But for another way of explaining the prophecy, see the *Excursus* on § 76, of this book.

[158] Κόρον, Ὕβριος υἱόν. PINDAR perhaps has this oracle in his mind where he speaks of Ὕβριν Κόρου μητέρα θρασύμυθον (*Olymp.* xiii. 12).

[159] συνεστηκότων δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν, "after the commanders had come to direct issue" [in their views]. See note 336 on iv. 132. The reference is to the ὠθισμὸς mentioned in the last section.

ἐξ ἐμέο τὰ ποιεύμενα ὑπὸ Μήδων[160]· ἔδεε γάρ, ὅτε οὐκ ἑκόντες ἤθελον ἐς μάχην κατίστασθαι οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀέκοντας παραστήσασθαι· σὺ δὲ, ἐπείπερ ἥκεις χρηστὰ ἀπαγγέλλων, αὐτός σφι ἄγγειλον· ἢν γὰρ ἐγὼ αὐτὰ λέγω, δόξω πλάσας λέγειν καὶ οὐ πείσω, ὡς οὐ ποιεύντων τῶν βαρβάρων ταῦτα· ἀλλά σφι σήμηνον αὐτὸς παρελθὼν ὡς ἔχει. ἐπεὰν δὲ σημήνῃς, ἢν μὲν πείθωνται, ταῦτα δὴ τὰ κάλλιστα· ἢν δὲ αὐτοῖσι μὴ πιστὰ γένηται, ὁμοῖον ἡμῖν ἔσται· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι διαδρήσονται εἴπερ περιεχόμεθα πανταχόθεν, ὡς σὺ λέγεις."

The intelligence of Aristides is discredited by the majority of the confederates

81 Ταῦτα ἔλεγε παρελθὼν ὁ Ἀριστείδης, φάμενος ἐξ Αἰγίνης τε ἥκειν, καὶ μόγις ἐκπλῶσαι λαθὼν τοὺς ἐπορμέοντας[161]· περιέχεσθαι γὰρ πᾶν τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν τῶν Ξέρξεω· παραρτέεσθαί τε συνεβούλευε ὡς ἀλεξησομένους. καὶ ὁ μέν, ταῦτα εἴπας, μετεστήκεε· τῶν δὲ αὖτις ἐγίνετο λόγων ἀμφισβασίη[162]· οἱ γὰρ πλεῦνες τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐκ ἐπείθοντο τὰ ἐξαγγελθέντα.

until confirmed by a *Tenian* vessel which deserts from the enemy.

82 Ἀπιστεόντων δὲ τούτων, ἧκε τριήρης ἀνδρῶν Τηνίων[163] αὐτομολέουσα τῆς ἦρχε ἀνὴρ Παναίτιος ὁ Σωσιμένεος, ἥπερ δὴ ἔφερε τὴν ἀληθηΐην πᾶσαν· διὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἐνεγράφησαν Τήνιοι ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐς τὸν τρίποδα

160 *ἴσθι γὰρ ἐξ ἐμέο τὰ ποιεύμενα ὑπὸ Μήδων.* It has been considered that the word *ποιεύμενα* is to be repeated inferentially with *ἐξ ἐμέο.* (See note on § 142, below.) But if the word *ποιεῖσθαι* is to be repeated at all, the perfect tense *πεποιημένα* seems required. The ellipse—not an unusual one—is only of the word *ὄντα.* "The present doings of the Medes originate with me."

161 *μόγις ἐκπλῶσαι λαθὼν τοὺς ἐπορμέοντας*, "that he found great difficulty in *getting out* unperceived by the blockading squadron." From this expression one must infer that at least a portion of the Persian vessels had been stationed at a considerable distance from Salamis (the town), and that their observation was by no means confined to watching the channel between that island and the main. This is quite in accordance with ÆSCHYLUS, who makes the Persians—

τάξαι νεῶν στῖφος μὲν ἐν στίχοις τρισὶν
ἔκπλους φυλάσσειν καὶ πόρους ἁλιρρόθους,
ἄλλας δὲ κύκλῳ νῆσον Αἴαντος πέριξ.
(*Pers.* 366—8.)

It must have been ships outside the island Salamis, whose observation Aristides had found it difficult to escape. See *Excursus* on § 76.

162 *ἀμφισβασίη.* See notes on iv. 14; ix. 74.

163 *ἀνδρῶν Τηνίων.* PLUTARCH seems to have found the word *Τενεδίων* in the copy he used. He says of the occurrence mentioned in the text: *ἐφάνη Τενεδία μία τριήρης αὐτόμολος.* (*Themist.* § 12.) PAUSANIAS, however, states that the name of the *Tenians* was inscribed on the base of the statue of Zeus at Olympia, which was dedicated in honour of the victory (v. 23. 2). The tripod mentioned in the text appears really to have had reference to the feats of the Greeks at Platæa, not at Salamis; for at first Pausanias inscribed on it the verses: *Ἑλλήνων ἀρχηγὸς ἐπεὶ στρατὸν ὤλεσε Μήδων, Παυσανίας, Φοίβῳ μνῆμ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε.* The Lacedæmonians caused this to be erased, and substituted the names of all the Greek cities *ὅσαι ξυνκαθελοῦσαι τὸν βάρβαρον ἔστησαν τὸ ἀνάθημα.* (THUCYDIDES i. 132.) Hence the Platæans, when pleading for their lives, appealed to it as an evidence of their own deserts: *τοὺς μὲν πατέρας ἀναγράψαι ἐς τὸν τρίποδα τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς δι' ἀρετὴν τὴν πόλιν.* (THUCYDIDES iii. 57.)

ἐν τοῖσι τὸν βάρβαρον κατελοῦσι. σὺν δὲ ὦν ταύτῃ τῇ νηῒ τῇ αὐτομολησάσῃ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα, καὶ τῇ πρότερον ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον τῇ Λημνίῃ, ἐξεπληροῦτο τὸ ναυτικὸν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἐς τὰς ὀγδώκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας νῆας [164]. δύο γὰρ δὴ νηῶν τότε κατέδεε ἐς τὸν ἀριθμόν.

83 Τοῖσι δὲ Ἕλλησι ὡς πιστὰ δὴ τὰ λεγόμενα ἦν τῶν Τηνίων ῥήματα, παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ναυμαχήσοντες· ἠώς τε διέφαινε, καὶ οἳ σύλλογον τῶν ἐπιβατέων ποιησάμενοι, προηγόρευε εὖ ἔχοντα μὲν ἐκ πάντων Θεμιστοκλέης· τὰ δὲ ἔπεα ἦν, πάντα κρέσσω τοῖσι ἥσσοσι ἀντιτιθέμενα. ὅσα δὲ ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσι καὶ καταστάσι ἐγγίνεται παραινέσας δή, τούτων τὰ κρέσσω αἱρέεσθαι. καὶ καταπλέξας τὴν ῥῆσιν, ἐσβαίνειν ἐκέλευε ἐς τὰς νῆας [165]. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐσέβαινον, καὶ ἧκε ἡ ἀπ' Αἰγίνης τριήρης ἣ κατὰ τοὺς Αἰακίδας ἀπεδήμησε· ἐνθαῦτα ἀνῆγον τὰς νῆας ἁπάσας οἱ Ἕλληνες. 84 Ἀναγομένοισι δέ σφι αὐτίκα ἐπεκέατο οἱ βάρβαροι· οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ πρύμνην ἀνεκρούοντο [166] καὶ ὤκελλον τὰς νῆας, Ἀμεινίης δὲ Παλληνεὺς [167], ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, ἐξαναχθεὶς νηῒ ἐμ-

The allies now prepare for battle, and at sunrise, after a speech from Themistocles, get under way.

The battle at once begins, the accounts varying as to the pre-

[164] ἐς τὰς ὀγδώκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας νῆας. See note 101 on § 48, above.

[165] ἠώς τε διέφαινε, κ.τ.λ. This passage appears to me to be in thorough confusion, and quite inexplicable on the mere hypothesis of slovenly writing on the part of the author. Possibly it originally ran somewhat thus: ἠώς τε διέφαινέ οἱ σύλλογον τῶν ἐπιβατέων ποιησαμένῳ· ὅσα δὲ ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσι καὶ καταστάσι ἐγγίνεται προηγόρευε εὖ ἔχοντα μὲν ἐκ πάντων Θεμιστοκλέης· τὰ δὲ ἔπεα ἦν πάντα κρέσσω τοῖσι ἥσσοσι ἀντιτιθέμενα· παραινέσας δὴ τούτων τὰ κρέσσω αἱρέεσθαι, καὶ καταπλέξας τὴν ῥῆσιν, ἐσβαίνειν ἐκέλευε ἐς τὰς νῆας.

[166] ἀνεκρούοντο. ÆSCHYLUS does not intimate any hesitation on the part of any portion of the allied fleet. He makes indeed the *right wing* appear to take the lead, which, according to his account of the contest, would apparently have been a necessary consequence of their position. (*Pers.* vv. 399, seqq.) See the *Excursus* on § 76.

[167] Ἀμεινίης δὲ Παλληνεύς. PLUTARCH makes Aminias to belong not to *Pallene*, but to *Decelea*. (*Themist.* § 14.) In modern times it has been generally assumed that this Aminias, and the Cynægirus who distinguished himself so much at Marathon, were brothers of the poet Æschylus. But Herodotus gives no ground for such a supposition; and if this near relationship had existed, it would be strange that he should not have alluded to it. The name of Cynægirus's father was the same as that of Æschylus; and this would furnish quite a sufficient basis for the identification of the two in the later times, when a superficial knowledge of Greek literature became fashionable. The literary men of the Roman empire considered it a part of their duty to supply all the details which the curiosity of their readers might require, in order to fill up the more general notices of the classical writers. JUVENAL (*Sat.* vii. 229—236) gives an amusing picture of the qualifications required from the instructors of his time:

"—— vos sævas imponite leges,
Ut præceptori verborum regula constet,
Ut legat historias, auctores noverit omnes
Tanquam ungues digitosque suos; ut forte rogatus
Dum petit aut thermas aut Phœbi balnea, dicat
Nutricem Anchisæ, nomen patriamque novercæ

cise manner.

βάλλει· συμπλακείσης δὲ τῆς νηὸς καὶ οὐ δυναμένων ἀπαλλαγῆναι, οὕτω δὴ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀμεινίῃ βοηθέοντες συνέμισγον· Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι τῆς ναυμαχίης γενέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, Αἰγινῆται δὲ τὴν κατὰ τοὺς Αἰακίδας ἀποδημήσασαν ἐς Αἴγιναν, ταύτην εἶναι τὴν ἄρξασαν [168]· λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε, ὡς φάσμα σφι γυναικὸς ἐφάνη· φανεῖσαν δὲ διακελεύσασθαι ὥστε καὶ ἅπαν ἀκοῦσαι τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατόπεδον, ὀνειδίσασαν πρότερον τάδε· "ὦ δαιμόνιοι, μέχρι κόσου ἔτι πρύμνην ἀνακρούεσθε;"

85 The Athenians had the Phœnicians opposed to them, the Lacedæmonians the Ionic contingent. Among these several distinguished themselves against the allies, specially *two Samians*,

85 Κατὰ μὲν δὴ Ἀθηναίους ἐτετάχατο Φοίνικες· οὗτοι γὰρ εἶχον τὸ πρὸς Ἐλευσῖνός τε καὶ ἑσπέρης κέρας· κατὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους, Ἴωνες· οὗτοι δ' εἶχον τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ τε καὶ τὸν Πειραιέα [169]· ἐθελοκάκεον μέντοι αὐτῶν κατὰ τὰς Θεμιστοκλέος ἐντολάς[a] ὀλίγοι· οἱ δὲ πλεῦνες οὔ. ἔχω μέν νυν συχνῶν οὐνόματα τριηράρχων καταλέξαι τῶν νῆας Ἑλληνίδας ἑλόντων· χρήσομαι δὲ αὐτοῖσι οὐδέν, πλὴν Θεομήστορός τε τοῦ Ἀνδροδάμαντος καὶ Φυλάκου τοῦ Ἱστιαίου, Σαμίων ἀμφοτέρων. τοῦ δὲ εἵνεκα μέμνημαι τούτων μούνων, ὅτι Θεομήστωρ μὲν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Σάμου ἐτυράννευσε [170], καταστησάντων τῶν Περσέων· Φύλακος δὲ εὐεργέτης βασιλέος ἀνεγράφη [171], καὶ χώρη οἱ ἐδωρήθη πολλή. οἱ δ'

86 Theomestor and Phylacus.

86 εὐεργέται τοῦ βασιλέος ὀροσάγγαι καλέονται Περσιστί. Περὶ μέν νυν τούτους οὕτω εἶχε· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν νηῶν ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι ἐκεραΐζετο, αἱ μὲν ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων διαφθειρόμεναι αἱ δὲ ὑπὸ Αἰγινητέων· ἅτε γὰρ τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων σὺν κόσμῳ ναυμαχεόντων κατὰ

Archemori; dicat, quot Acestes vixerit annos,
Quot Siculus Phrygibus vini donaverit urnas."

See note 162 on i. 51, above.

[168] ταύτην εἶναι τὴν ἄρξασαν. See note on § 122, below.

[169] οὗτοι δ' εἶχον . . . καὶ τὸν Πειραιέα. If this expression be intended to denote more than the relative positions of the invading squadrons, and to convey the idea that the whole Persian fleet engaged was actually within the strait, the account of the action becomes quite irreconcileable with that of Æschylus. See the *Excursus* on § 76.

[a] κατὰ τὰς Θεμιστοκλέος ἐντολάς. See § 22, above.

[170] Θεομήστωρ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Σάμου ἐτυράννευσε. This appointment must have been immediately after the return of Xerxes to the Asiatic shore; for Theomestor is established in his post early in the following spring. See ix. 90. Perhaps Æaces, the son of Syloson, who did such good service to the Persians in breaking up the Ionian alliance, may have been promoted to some higher post than that of tyrant of Samos. If he had been killed at Salamis, or indeed had taken an active part in the expedition, one would expect some notice of it. But the mention of him in v. 25 is the last which occurs.

[171] εὐεργέτης βασιλέος ἀνεγράφη. Socrates makes a playful allusion to this custom in the *Gorgias* of PLATO, where trying to induce Callicles to resume an argument with him, he says: καί με ἐὰν ἐξελέγξῃς, οὐκ ἀχθεσθήσομαί σοι ὥς περ σὺ ἐμοί, ἀλλὰ μέγιστος εὐεργέτης παρ' ἐμοὶ ἀναγεγράψει (§ 132).

τάξιν, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οὐ τεταγμένων ἔτι, οὔτε σὺν νόῳ ποιεόντων οὐδὲν, ἔμελλε τοιοῦτό σφι συνοίσεσθαι οἷόνπερ ἀπέβη· καίτοι ἦσάν γε [καὶ ἐγένοντο [b]] ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην μακρῷ ἀμείνονες αὐτοὶ ἑωυτῶν, [ἢ πρὸς Εὐβοίῃ [b],] πᾶς τις προθυμεόμενος καὶ δειμαίνων Ξέρξην· ἐδόκεέ τε ἕκαστος ἑωυτὸν θεήσεσθαι βασιλέα.

Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἄλλους, οὐκ ἔχω μετεξετέρους εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως, 87
ὡς ἕκαστοι τῶν βαρβάρων ἢ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἠγωνίζοντο· κατὰ δὲ Ἀρτεμισίην τάδε ἐγένετο, ἀπ' ὧν εὐδοκίμησε μᾶλλον ἔτι παρὰ βασιλέϊ· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐς θόρυβον πολλὸν ἀπίκετο τὰ βασιλέος πρήγματα, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἡ νηῦς ἡ Ἀρτεμισίης ἐδιώκετο ὑπὸ νηὸς Ἀττικῆς· καὶ ἣ, οὐκ ἔχουσα διαφυγέειν· ἔμπροσθε γὰρ αὐτῆς ἦσαν ἄλλαι νῆες φίλιαι ἡ δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων μάλιστα ἐτύγχανε ἐοῦσα· ἔδοξέ οἱ τόδε ποιῆσαι, τὸ καὶ συνήνεικε ποιησάσῃ· διωκομένη γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, φέρουσα ἐνέβαλε νηῒ φιλίῃ, ἀνδρῶν τε Καλυνδέων [172] καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλέοντος τοῦ Καλυνδέων βασιλέος Δαμασιθύμου· εἰ μὲν καί τι νεῖκος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγεγόνεε ἔτι περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ἐόντων, οὐ μέντοι ἔγωγε ἔχω εἰπεῖν, εἴτε ἐκ προνοίης αὐτὰ ἐποίησε, εἴτε [173] συνεκύρησε ἡ τῶν Καλυνδέων κατὰ τύχην παραπεσοῦσα νηῦς· ὡς δὲ ἐνέβαλέ τε καὶ

Anecdote of *Artemisia.*

[b] [καὶ ἐγένοντο] [ἢ πρὸς Εὐβοίῃ]. I have included these words between brackets, not as considering them interpolations in the proper sense of the term, but because it seems nearly certain that *ἐγένοντο* is an alternative reading of *ἦσαν*, and *ἢ πρὸς Εὐβοίῃ* of *αὐτοὶ ἑωυτῶν*. Neither alternative has any claim to be preferred to the other; but the text as it stands is a combination of the two produced by the transfer of the variant from the margin.

[172] ἀνδρῶν τε Καλυνδέων. STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS (*sub v.*) calls Calynda a town of Caria, like Caryanda, and refers to this passage. If Calynda be really a Carian town, it seems not unlikely that Calynda and Calydna are merely dialectal variations of the same word. CALLISTHENES (*ap. Strabon.* xiii. c. 1) related that the *Leleges* of the Homeric poems, (whose site is to be looked for in the neighbourhood of Assus and Antandros, and of whom Gargara on Ida was a colony,) after the destruction of their towns by Achilles, went south into Caria, and founded several cities there in the neighbourhood of Halicarnassus. One of these was *Pedasa*, of which Herodotus speaks (i. 175), and which was named after a *Pedasus* in the Troad. In the course of time these Leleges melted away and became identified with the Carian population; but as late as the middle of the fourth century B.C. they still had eight towns in the region *Pedasis* near Halicarnassus, from six of which Mausolus removed the population to Halicarnassus,—preserving the remaining two, Myndus and Suagela. (STRABO, xiii. p. 127.) If this account indicates an ethnical identity, in early times, of the tribes respectively inhabiting the Troad and the coast of Caria, it is reasonable to suppose also an etymological identity between Calydna (the ancient name of Tenedos), Calynda the city here mentioned, and perhaps also Calymna the island. See note 293 on vii. 99.

[173] εἴτε . . . εἴτε. This is the reading of only one manuscript (K). The rest have *οὔτε εἰ . . . οὔτε εἰ*, which Gaisford adopts.

κατέδυσε, εὐτυχίῃ χρησαμένῃ, διπλᾶ ἑωυτὴν ἀγαθὰ ἐργάσατο· ὅ τε γὰρ τῆς Ἀττικῆς νηὸς τριήραρχος ὡς εἶδέ μιν ἐμβάλλουσαν νηῒ ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων, νομίσας τὴν νῆα τὴν Ἀρτεμισίης ἢ Ἑλληνίδα εἶναι, ἢ αὐτομολέειν ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἀμύνειν,
88 *ἀποστρέψας πρὸς ἄλλας ἐτράπετο. Τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτο αὐτῇ συνήνεικε γενέσθαι, διαφυγέειν τε καὶ μὴ ἀπολέσθαι· τοῦτο δὲ, συνέβη ὥστε κακὸν ἐργασαμένην, ἀπὸ τούτων αὐτὴν μάλιστα εὐδοκιμῆσαι παρὰ Ξέρξῃ· λέγεται γὰρ βασιλέα θηεύμενον μαθεῖν τὴν νῆα ἐμβαλοῦσαν· καὶ δή τινα εἶπαι τῶν παρεόντων· "δέσποτα, ὁρᾷς Ἀρτεμισίην, ὡς εὖ ἀγωνίζεται καὶ νῆα τῶν πολεμίων κατέδυσε;" καὶ τὸν ἐπείρεσθαι, εἰ ἀληθέως ἐστὶ Ἀρτεμισίης τὸ ἔργον; καὶ τοὺς φάναι σαφέως τὸ ἐπίσημον τῆς νηὸς ἐπισταμένους· τὴν δὲ διαφθαρεῖσαν ἠπιστέατο εἶναι πολεμίην· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα, ὡς εἴρηται, αὐτῇ συνήνεικε ἐς εὐτυχίην γενόμενα, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καλυνδικῆς νηὸς μηδένα ἀποσωθέντα κατήγορον γενέσθαι· Ξέρξην δὲ εἶπαι λέγεται πρὸς τὰ φραζόμενα· "οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες γεγόνασί μοι γυναῖκες· αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες, ἄνδρες." ταῦτα μὲν Ξέρξην φασὶ εἶπαι.*

89 *Ἐν δὲ τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἀπὸ μὲν ἔθανε ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀριαβίγνης*[174] *ὁ Δαρείου, Ξέρξεω ἐὼν ἀδελφεὸς, ἀπὸ δὲ ἄλλοι πολλοί τε καὶ ὀνομαστοὶ Περσέων καὶ Μήδων, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων· ὀλίγοι δέ τινες καὶ Ἑλλήνων· ἅτε γὰρ νέειν ἐπιστάμενοι, τοῖσι αἱ νῆες διεφθείροντο, καὶ μὴ ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ ἀπολλύμενοι, ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα διένεον· τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οἱ πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ διεφθάρησαν, νέειν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ πρῶται ἐς φυγὴν ἐτράποντο, ἐνθαῦτα αἱ πλεῖσται διεφθείροντο· οἱ γὰρ ὄπισθε τεταγμένοι, ἐς τὸ πρόσθε τῇσι νηυσὶ παριέναι πειρώμενοι, ὡς ἀποδεξόμενοί τι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔργον βασιλέϊ, τῇσι σφετέρῃσι νηυσὶ φευγούσῃσι περιέπιπτον.*

Many Persians of distinction, among whom is *Ariobignes*, are slain, and great numbers of the common men, but of the Hellenes few, from their being good swimmers.

90 *Ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ τόδε ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ· τῶν τινες Φοινίκων τῶν αἱ νῆες διεφθαρέατο, ἐλθόντες παρὰ βασιλέα διέβαλλον τοὺς Ἴωνας, ὡς δι' ἐκείνους ἀπολοίατο αἱ νῆες*[175]*, ὡς προδόντων·*

Anecdote of the gallantry of the marines on

[174] Ἀριαβίγνης. One manuscript (F) has Ἀριβίγνης. Of this chief, see note 282 on vii. 97.

[175] *ὡς δι' ἐκείνους ἀπολοίατο αἱ νῆες.* There seems no more likely way in which the Ionians could have been the means of destroying the Phœnicians than by fouling them while eagerly pressing forward to engage the enemy.

συνήνεικε ὦν οὕτω, ὥστε Ἰώνων τε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς μὴ ἀπολέσθαι, Φοινίκων τε τοὺς διαβάλλοντας λαβεῖν τοιόνδε μισθόν· ἔτι τούτων ταῦτα λεγόντων, ἐνέβαλε νηῒ Ἀττικῇ Σαμοθρηϊκίη νηῦς· ἥ τε δὴ Ἀττικὴ κατεδύετο, καὶ ἐπιφερομένη Αἰγιναίη νηῦς κατέδυσε τῶν Σαμοθρηΐκων τὴν νῆα· ἅτε δὴ ἐόντες ἀκοντισταὶ οἱ Σαμοθρήϊκες, τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἀπὸ τῆς καταδυσάσης νηὸς βάλλοντες ἀπήραξαν, καὶ ἐπέβησάν τε καὶ ἔσχον αὐτήν. ταῦτα γενόμενα τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐρρύσατο[176]. ὡς γὰρ εἶδέ σφεας Ξέρξης ἔργον μέγα ἐργασαμένους, ἐτράπετο πρὸς τοὺς Φοίνικας, οἷα ὑπερλυπεόμενός τε καὶ πάντας αἰτιώμενος· καί σφεων ἐκέλευσε τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποταμεῖν ἵνα μὴ αὐτοὶ κακοὶ γενόμενοι τοὺς ἀμείνονας διαβάλλωσι. (ὅκως γάρ τινα ἴδοι Ξέρξης τῶν ἑωυτοῦ ἔργον τι ἀποδεικνύμενον ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ, κατήμενος ὑπὸ τῷ οὔρεϊ τῷ ἀντίον Σαλαμῖνος τὸ καλέεται Αἰγάλεως[177], ἀνεπυνθάνετο τὸν ποιήσαντα· καὶ οἱ γραμ-

board of a *Samothracian* galley, and of the effect it produced on the feeling of Xerxes against the Phœnicians.

176 *ταῦτα γενόμενα τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐρρύσατο.* It is surely not a legitimate inference from this transaction, that Samothrace was at the time peopled by an *Ionic* race. The Persian navy seems to have been regarded as made up of two contingents, that from Phœnicia, and that from the islands and seaboard of Asia Minor; and the latter to have been described as "Ionian" without any regard to the differences of race. A parallel case is to be found in iv. 138 and vi. 8, where see note 23. See also the note 277 on vii. 95.

177 *κατήμενος ὑπὸ τῷ οὔρεϊ τῷ ἀντίον Σαλαμῖνος τὸ καλέεται Αἰγάλεως.* There seems to have been considerable disagreement as to the position occupied by Xerxes during the engagement. In the time of Demosthenes a throne with silver feet was existing in the acropolis of Athens in which Xerxes was said to have sat, *ἐν τῷ Αἰγαλέῳ ὄρει τῆς Ἀττικῆς* (*c. Timocrat.* p. 466). But Phanodemus stated him to have taken his post "above the Heracleum," where the channel between the island and the main is very narrow. Acestodorus again placed him above the hills called "the Horns," on the confines between Attica and the Megarid (*ap. Plutarch. Themist.* § 13). Leake appears to regard the position assigned by Phanodemus as the correct one, or nearly so. Of the *summit* of Mount Ægaleos, he says, "It is a position only less improbable than that stated by Acestodorus, who wrote that the Persian king was seated on the top of Kérata, a mountain on the confines of Megaris, five or six miles from the nearest part of the straits of Salamis. The summit of Mount Ægaleos does indeed immediately overhang the strait, so as to command a complete view of it; and if Xerxes had wished to comprehend within the prospect the Saronic gulf, together with a great part of Attica, Megaris, and Corinthia, the summit of the mountain would have been an excellent station. But his object was to be present at the battle, to communicate speedily with the ships, to distinguish each vessel, to observe the conduct of those on board, and to commit the memorials of that conduct to writing The incident relating to Artemisia, and still more the dispute between the Phœnicians and Ionians, which Xerxes decided while the battle was raging, clearly show that he was very near the scene of action." (*Appendix* ii. p. 271.) But if, as I have attempted to show in the *Excursus* on § 76, the *original* expectation of Xerxes was not to see *a battle*, but *a capture* of the Greek vessels dispersed in all directions, the summit of Ægaleos, or even that position assigned to him by Acestodorus would have been an excellent place. When it turned out that something very different was to be looked for, he may have descended to the neighbourhood of the Heracleum; and thus all the varying accounts may have some truth in them.

ματισταὶ ἀνέγραφον πατρόθεν τὸν τριήραρχον καὶ τὴν πόλιν.) πρὸς δὲ ἔτι καὶ προσελάβετο[178] φίλος ἐὼν Ἀριαράμνης, ἀνὴρ Πέρσης[179] παρεὼν, τούτου τοῦ Φοινικηΐου πάθεος·

91 Οἱ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐτράποντο. τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ἐς φυγὴν τραπομένων καὶ ἐκπλεόντων πρὸς τὸ Φάληρον, Αἰγινῆται, ὑποστάντες ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ[180], ἔργα ἀπεδέξαντο λόγου ἄξια· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ ἐκεράϊζον τάς τε ἀντισταμένας καὶ τὰς φευγούσας τῶν νηῶν, οἱ δὲ Αἰγινῆται τὰς ἐκπλωούσας· ὅκως δέ τινες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διαφύγοιεν, φερόμενοι ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς Αἰγινήτας.

The Persians retreat to Phalerum, and in the way are fallen upon by some Æginetans,

92 Ἐνθαῦτα συνεκύρεον νῆες ἥ τε Θεμιστοκλέος διώκουσα νῆα καὶ ἡ Πολυκρίτου τοῦ Κριοῦ, ἀνδρὸς Αἰγινήτεω, νηῒ ἐμβαλοῦσα Σιδωνίῃ ἥπερ εἷλε τὴν προφυλάσσουσαν ἐπὶ Σκιάθῳ, τὴν Αἰγιναίην, ἐπ' ἧς ἔπλεε Πυθέης ὁ Ἰσχένου[181], τὸν οἱ Πέρσαι κατακοπέντα ἀρετῆς εἵνεκα εἶχον ἐν τῇ νηῒ ἐκπαγλεόμενοι· τὸν δὴ περιάγουσα ἅμα τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ἥλω νηῦς ἡ Σιδωνίη, ὥστε Πυθέην οὕτω σωθῆναι ἐς Αἴγιναν· ὡς δὲ ἐσεῖδε τὴν νῆα τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὁ Πολύκριτος, ἔγνω τὸ σημήϊον ἰδὼν τῆς στρατηγίδος, καὶ βώσας τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπεκερτόμησε, ἐς τῶν Αἰγινητέων τὸν μηδισμὸν ὀνειδίζων[182]. ταῦτα μέν νυν νηῒ ἐμβαλὼν ὁ Πολύκριτος ἀπέρ-

who by their deeds clear themselves of the charge of treason.

[178] προσελάβετο. This, which was the conjecture originally of Reiske, is adopted by Gaisford. All the MSS have προσεβάλετο or προσεβάλλετο. The sentence has generally been taken to mean that Ariaramnes, being a friend to the *Ionians*, contributed to bring about this chastisement of the Phœnicians. But προσλαμβάνεσθαι πάθεος seems to mean something very different from προσλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς τὸ πάθος. Xerxes was stung to the quick at the loss of the battle, and disposed to blame every body; and stood in no need of any incitement to whet his severity. I should be disposed to take the passage as if Ariaramnes had been made to "*share* the fate of the Phœnicians," not as if he had aided in bringing it about. He was a favourite of Xerxes and standing by, and perhaps was rash enough to interpose a word in favour of the Phœnicians, upon which the irritated tyrant sentenced him to die with them.

[179] ἀνὴρ Πέρσης. The name Ariaramnes appears in the list of Darius's ancestors, not only in Herodotus, but also in the Behistun Inscription. See note 59 on vii. 11, above.

[180] ὑποστάντες ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ. These perhaps were the vessels which had been reserved for the defence of the island Ægina. (See above, notes 96 and 101, on § 46.) It would have been quite impossible for any of the ships engaged *within* the channel to get out so as to occupy the position which is here ascribed to the Æginetans. The number of thirty, which was that of the Æginetan gallies in the allied fleet, seems a very small one to be furnished by a state which at that time was a first-rate maritime power. If a part of the navy remained at Ægina, there was the more cause to suspect a treasonable motive; and it is quite in harmony with the supposition that this was a squadron of reserve, that we find Polycritus, the son of Crius, in it. See note 182.

[181] ἐπ' ἧς ἔπλεε Πυθέης ὁ Ἰσχένου. The MSS have, without exception, Ἰσχένου. But there is an equal unanimity for the form Ἰσχενόου in vii. 187, and Gaisford follows the other editors in introducing that form here.

[182] ἐς τῶν Αἰγινητέων τὸν μηδισμὸν ὀνειδίζων. One is disposed to infer from

ριψε[183] ἐς Θεμιστοκλέα. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι, τῶν αἱ νῆες περιεγένοντο, φεύγοντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς Φάληρον ὑπὸ τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν.

Ἐν δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ταύτῃ ἤκουσαν Ἑλλήνων ἄριστα Αἰγινῆται· 93
ἐπὶ δὲ, Ἀθηναῖοι· ἀνδρῶν δὲ Πολύκριτός τε ὁ Αἰγινήτης, καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Εὐμένης τε ὁ Ἀναγυράσιος καὶ Ἀμεινίης Παλληνεύς· ὃς καὶ Ἀρτεμισίην ἐπεδίωξε. εἰ μέν νυν ἔμαθε ὅτι ἐν ταύτῃ πλέοι ἡ Ἀρτεμισίη, οὐκ ἂν ἐπαύσατο πρότερον ἢ εἷλέ μιν ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς ἥλω· τοῖσι γὰρ Ἀθηναίων τριηράρχοισι παρακεκέλευστο· πρὸς δὲ, καὶ ἄεθλον ἔκειτο μύριαι δραχμαὶ, ὃς ἄν μιν ζωὴν ἕλῃ· δεινὸν γάρ τι ἐποιεῦντο, γυναῖκα ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας στρατεύεσθαι. αὕτη μὲν δὴ, ὡς πρότερον εἴρηται, διέφυγε· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τῶν αἱ νῆες

In the battle, the Æginetans were thought to have earned the first distinction, and next to them the Athenians.

περιεγεγόνεσαν ἐν τῷ Φαλήρῳ. Ἀδείμαντον δὲ τὸν Κορίνθιον 94
στρατηγὸν λέγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι, αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς ὡς συνέμισγον αἱ νῆες, ἐκπλαγέντα τε καὶ ὑπερδείσαντα, τὰ ἱστία ἀειράμενον οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα· ἰδόντας δὲ τοὺς Κορινθίους τὴν στρατηγίδα φεύγουσαν, ὡσαύτως οἴχεσθαι· ὡς δὲ ἄρα φεύγοντας γίνεσθαι τῆς Σαλαμινίης κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν Ἀθηναίης Σκιράδος[184], περιπίπτειν σφι κέλητα θείῃ πομπῇ· τὸν οὔτε πέμψαντα φανῆναι οὐδένα, οὔτε τι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιῆς εἰδόσι προσφέρεσθαι τοῖσι Κορινθίοισι· τῇδε δὲ συμβάλλονται εἶναι θεῖον τὸ πρῆγμα· ὡς γὰρ ἀγχοῦ γενέσθαι τῶν νηῶν τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ κέλητος, λέγειν τάδε· "Ἀδείμαντε, σὺ μὲν ἀποστρέψας τὰς νέας, ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμησαι καταπροδοὺς τοὺς Ἕλληνας· οἱ δὲ καὶ δὴ νικῶσι, ὅσον αὐτοὶ ἠρῶντο ἐπικρατῆσαι τῶν ἐχθρῶν" ταῦτα λεγόντων ἀπιστέειν γὰρ τὸν

Varying accounts of the behaviour of the Corinthians.

this passage that Themistocles belonged to that Athenian party which had accused the Æginetans of treason towards Hellas before the Lacedæmonians. (See vi. 49.) The father of this Polycritus was the principal agent in resisting the attempt of Cleomenes to arrest those of the Æginetans who appeared to be specially guilty (vi. 50). Hence there was every reason for the son to taunt any distinguished Athenian that had taken part with Cleomenes.

[183] ἀπέρριψε. See note 366 on iv. 143.

[184] κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν Ἀθηναίης Σκιράδος. Leake identifies this spot with "the N.W. promontory of Salamis, upon which now stands, in a narrow plain by the shore, the monastery of 'the Virgin brought to light' (ἡ παναγία φανερωμένη), so called because a buried picture of the Virgin was here said to have been discovered in the earth, in consequence of a miraculous voice which issued from the place. The monastery stands on the site of a Hellenic building, of which many large squared blocks are still to be seen, together with some fragments of Doric columns; and it seems therefore to be one of the numerous examples still extant in Greece of Pagan temples converted into churches, and which still retain portions or fragments of the original buildings." (Vol. ii. p. 163.)

Ἀδείμαντον, αὖτις τάδε λέγειν, ὡς αὐτοὶ οἷοί τε εἶεν ἀγόμενοι ὅμηροι ἀποθνήσκειν, ἢν μὴ νικῶντες φαίνωνται οἱ Ἕλληνες· οὕτω δὴ ἀποστρέψαντα τὴν νῆα αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοισι ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. τούτους μὲν τοιαύτη φάτις ἔχει [185] ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων· οὐ μέντοι αὐτοί γε Κορίνθιοι ὁμολογέουσι, ἀλλ' ἐν πρώτοισι σφέας αὐτοὺς τῆς ναυμαχίης νομίζουσι γενέσθαι· μαρτυρεῖ δέ σφι καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλάς.

95 Feat of *Aristides.* Ἀριστείδης δὲ ὁ Λυσιμάχου, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, τοῦ καὶ ὀλίγῳ τι πρότερον τούτων [186] ἐπεμνήσθην ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου, οὗτος ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ τῷ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα γενομένῳ τάδε ἐποίεε· παραλαβὼν πολλοὺς τῶν ὁπλιτέων οἳ παρατετάχατο παρὰ τὴν ἀκτὴν τῆς Σαλαμινίης χώρης, γένος ἐόντες Ἀθηναῖοι [187], ἐς τὴν Ψυττάλειαν νῆσον ἀπέβησε ἄγων, οἳ τοὺς Πέρσας τοὺς ἐν τῇ νησῖδι ταύτῃ κατεφόνευσαν πάντας.

96 After the battle, the Ὡς δὲ ἡ ναυμαχίη διελέλυτο, κατειρύσαντες ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα οἱ Ἕλληνες τῶν ναυηγίων ὅσα ταύτῃ ἐτύγχανε ἔτι ἐόντα, ἑτοῖμοι

[185] *τούτους μὲν τοιαύτη φάτις ἔχει.* See note 10 on vii. 3. It gives a very unfavourable idea of the accuracy of local tradition to see that such an account as this should have become popular at Athens, little more than a generation after the action took place. The question of the presence of a squadron of forty ships, or of its absence eight or ten miles off at the time of the battle, was not a thing admitting the possibility of mistake. (See note 177 on vii. 55.) DIO CHRYSOSTOM relates a foolish story of Herodotus having inserted this scandalous account of the Corinthians out of revenge at having been refused a pecuniary reward by them; the first draught of his history not having contained it. That the motive assigned cannot be the true one, is obvious from the discredit which he attaches to the report; it is probably a fiction of later times, to account for the variation of different copies of the work, some of which very likely did not contain the story. (See note 178 on i. 56.)

[186] *ὀλίγῳ τι πρότερον τούτων.* See § 79.

[187] *γένος ἐόντες Ἀθηναῖοι.* The mention of this circumstance, and also of the country of Aristides is to be remarked. The author is (from § 93 to § 95) enumerating the particular distinctions won by the several states. The feat of Aristides is put in the best possible way for his reputation. It is represented as a sudden thought occurring to him, while the sea-fight was going on (*ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ*). PLUTARCH goes even further than this. Aristides, in his account, *observes* that the island Psyttalea is strongly occupied, puts some picked volunteers in *boats*, destroys all the Persians except a few of the most distinguished (whom he sends at once prisoners to Themistocles), and then occupies the whole shore of the island with troops, in order to assist the Hellenic sailors and destroy those of the enemy who might swim ashore. (*Aristides*, § 9.) ÆSCHYLUS represents the matter very differently. The island is captured *after* the enemy's fleet has been beaten, at a time when the Hellenes have nothing to prevent them from surrounding the island with their own ships:—

> ὡς γὰρ θεὸς
> ναῶν ἔδωκε κῦδος Ἕλλησιν μάχης,
> αὐθημερὸν φράξαντες εὐχάλκοις δέμας
> ὅπλοισι ναῶν ἐξέθρωσκον· ἀμφὶ δὲ
> κυκλοῦντο πᾶσαν νῆσον, ὥστ' ἀμηχανεῖν
> ὅποι τράποιντο, ...
> ἕως ἁπάντων ἐξαπέφθειραν βίον.
>
> *Pers.* 454—464.

ἦσαν[188] ἐς ἄλλην ναυμαχίην, ἐλπίζοντες τῇσι περιεούσῃσι νηυσὶ ἔτι χρήσεσθαι βασιλέα· τῶν δὲ ναυηγίων πολλὰ ὑπολαβὼν ἄνεμος ζέφυρος, ἔφερε τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἠϊόνα τὴν καλεομένην Κωλιάδα· ὥστε ἀποπλῆσαι τὸν χρησμὸν τόν τε ἄλλον πάντα τὸν περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίης ταύτης εἰρημένον Βάκιδι καὶ Μουσαίῳ, καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ τὰ ναυήγια τὰ ταύτῃ ἐξενειχθέντα τὸ εἰρημένον πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι πρότερον τούτων ἐν χρησμῷ Λυσιστράτῳ Ἀθηναίῳ, ἀνδρὶ χρησμολόγῳ, τὸ ἐλελήθεε πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας[189].

allies prepare for a repetition of it, taking up their former station.

Fulfilment of a prophecy by the wide dispersion of the wrecks.

Κωλιάδες δὲ γυναῖκες ἐρετμοῖσι φρύξουσι[190].

τοῦτο δὲ ἔμελλε ἀπελάσαντος βασιλέος ἔσεσθαι.

Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς ἔμαθε τὸ γεγονὸς πάθος, δείσας μή τις τῶν Ἰώνων ὑποθῆται τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἢ αὐτοὶ νοήσωσι πλέειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον λύσοντες τὰς γεφύρας, καὶ ἀπολαμφθεὶς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἀπολέσθαι κινδυνεύσει, δρησμὸν ἐβούλευε[191]· θέλων δὲ μὴ ἐπίδηλος εἶναι μήτε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι μήτε τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ, ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα χῶμα ἐπειρᾶτο διαχοῦν· γαυλούς τε Φοινικηΐους συνέδεε, ἵνα ἀντί τε σχεδίης ἔωσι καὶ τείχεος· ἀρτέετό τε ἐς πόλεμον, ὡς ναυμαχίην ἄλλην ποιησόμενος. ὁρέοντες δέ μιν πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι ταῦτα πρήσσοντα, εὖ ἐπιστέατο ὡς ἐκ παντὸς νόου παρεσκεύασται μένων πολεμήσειν· Μαρδόνιον δ' οὐδὲν τούτων ἐλάνθανε, ὡς μάλιστα ἔμπειρον ἐόντα τῆς ἐκείνου διανοίης. 97

Xerxes fears that his communication with Asia may be cut off, and meditates flight secretly.

Ταῦτά τε ἅμα Ξέρξης ἐποίεε, καὶ ἔπεμπε ἐς Πέρσας ἀγγελέοντα τὴν παρεοῦσάν σφι συμφορήν. τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἔστι οὐδὲν ὅ τι θᾶσσον παραγίνεται θνητὸν ἐόν· οὕτω τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ἐξεύρηται τοῦτο. λέγουσι γάρ, ὡς ὅσων ἂν ᾖ ἡμερέων ἡ πᾶσα ὁδὸς, 98

Description of the Persian system of estafette.

[188] ἑτοῖμοι ἦσαν, "offered." See note 237 on i. 70.

[189] τὸ ἐλελήθεε πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας. Herodotus does not mean to say that the Greeks were ignorant of the existence of the line he quotes, but only that they failed to see its meaning.

[190] φρύξουσι. The MSS, which Gaisford follows, have φρίξουσι, which gives no sense. I have adopted the conjecture of Koen. The meaning seems to me to be, that "the women shall toast their cakes with fires made of [the fragments of broken] oars."

[191] δρησμὸν ἐβούλευε. ÆSCHYLUS represents him as breaking up from the position which his army occupied, and retreating precipitately, owing to the consternation which the sight of the capture of Psyttalea inspired:

Ξέρξης δ' ἀνῴμωξεν κακῶν ὁρῶν βάθος,
ἕδραν γὰρ εἶχε παντὸς εὐαγῆ στρατοῦ,
ὑψηλὸν ὄχθον ἄγχι πελαγίας ἁλός·
ῥήξας δὲ πέπλους κἀνακωκύσας λιγὺ,
πεζῷ παραγγείλας ἄφαρ στρατεύματι,
ἵησ' ἀκόσμῳ ξὺν φυγῇ.
(*Pers.* 465—470.)

Herodotus, on the contrary, expressly makes him remain for a few days before retreating into Bœotia (§ 113, below).

τοσοῦτοι ἵπποι τε καὶ ἄνδρες διεστᾶσι, κατὰ ἡμερησίην ὁδὸν ἑκάστην ἵππος τε καὶ ἀνὴρ τεταγμένος· τοὺς οὔτε νιφετὸς, οὐκ ὄμβρος, οὐ καῦμα, οὐ νὺξ ἐέργει μὴ οὐ κατανύσαι τὸν προκείμενον ἑωυτῷ[192] δρόμον τὴν ταχίστην. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος δραμὼν παραδιδοῖ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα τῷ δευτέρῳ, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος τῷ τρίτῳ· τὸ δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη κατὰ ἄλλον[193] διεξέρχεται παραδιδόμενα, κατάπερ Ἕλλησι ἡ λαμπαδηφορίη, τὴν τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ ἐπιτελέουσι[194]. τοῦτο

99 τὸ δράμημα τῶν ἵππων καλέουσι Πέρσαι ἀγγαρήϊον[195]. Ἡ μὲν δὴ πρώτη[196] ἐς Σοῦσα ἀγγελίη ἀπικομένη, ὡς ἔχοι Ἀθήνας Ξέρξης, ἔτερψε οὕτω δή τι Περσέων τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας, ὡς τάς τε ὁδοὺς μυρσίνῃ πάσας ἐστόρεσαν[197], καὶ ἐθυμίων θυμιήματα, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἐν θυσίῃσί τε καὶ εὐπαθίῃσι. ἡ δὲ δευτέρη σφι ἀγγελίη ἐπεξελθοῦσα συνέχεε οὕτω, ὥστε τοὺς κιθῶνας κατερρήξαντο πάντες, βοῇ τε καὶ οἰμωγῇ ἐχρέωντο ἀπλέτῳ, Μαρδόνιον ἐν αἰτίῃ τιθέντες. οὐκ οὕτω δὲ περὶ τῶν νηῶν ἀχθόμενοι ταῦτα οἱ Πέρσαι ἐποίευν, ὡς περὶ αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ δειμαίνοντες. καὶ περὶ Πέρσας μὲν ἦν ταῦτα τὸν πάντα μεταξὺ χρόνον γενόμενον, μέχρι οὗ Ξέρξης αὐτός σφεας ἀπικόμενος ἔπαυσε[198].

Anxiety of the Persians on receiving news of the battle of Salamis.

100 Μαρδόνιος δὲ, ὁρέων μὲν Ξέρξην συμφορὴν μεγάλην ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίης ποιεύμενον ὑποπτεύων δὲ αὐτὸν δρησμὸν βουλεύειν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων, φροντίσας πρὸς ἑωυτὸν ὡς δώσει δίκην

Mardonius's advice to Xerxes

192 ἑωυτῷ. So Gaisford prints on the authority of the majority of MSS. But S, P, and F have αὐτῷ.

193 κατὰ ἄλλον. This is the uniform reading of the MSS. But Schæfer reads κατ' ἄλλων, which is at least very plausible.

194 τὴν τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ ἐπιτελέουσι. The race was probably the last part of the proceedings, after the more solemn portion of the ritual had been finished. (See note 242 on vi. 106.) Hence perhaps the employment of the word ἐπιτελέουσι,—an appropriate term for an "afterpiece."

195 ἀγγαρήϊον. It would only be natural that in a service of this description, if the regular couriers had gone on when a second despatch came, power should exist for pressing men and horses to transmit it. Accordingly, the word ἀγγαρεύω came to mean, "to press for the public service;" and it is a hardship of this kind which is alluded to in *Matth.* v. 41: ὅστις σε ἀγγαρεύσει μίλιον ἕν, ὕπαγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο, where great confusion of thought has been produced from modern readers failing to observe that the acts of oppression noted are all such as would take place in the ordinary administration of a military government.

196 ἡ μὲν δὴ πρώτη. This is the message sent off to Artabanus (§ 54, above).

197 τάς τε ὁδοὺς μυρσίνῃ πάσας ἐστόρεσαν. See the account of a similar proceeding on the occasion of crossing the bridge from Asia into Europe (vii. 54).

198 μέχρι οὗ Ξέρξης αὐτός σφεας ἀπικόμενος ἔπαυσε. This expression can hardly be taken to mean until the arrival of Xerxes at Susa. He stayed some time at Sardis (ix. 107). Probably all that is intended—or at least was intended by the authority followed by Herodotus—is that the public mourning went on until Xerxes got safe back into Asia.

ἀναγνώσας βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καί οἱ κρέσσον εἴη ἀνακινδυνεῦσαι ἢ κατεργάσασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἢ αὐτὸν καλῶς τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον ὑπὲρ μεγάλων αἰωρηθέντα[199]· πλέον μέντοι ἔφερέ οἱ ἡ γνώμη κατεργάσασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα· λογισάμενος ὦν ταῦτα, προσέφερε τὸν λόγον τόνδε· "δέσποτα, μήτε λυπέο, μήτε συμφορὴν μηδεμίαν μεγάλην ποιεῦ τοῦδε τοῦ γεγονότος εἵνεκεν πρήγματος· οὐ γὰρ ξύλων ἀγὼν ὁ τὸ πᾶν φέρων ἐστὶ ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων· σοὶ δὲ οὔτε τις τούτων τῶν τὸ πᾶν σφι ἤδη δοκεόντων κατεργάσθαι ἀποβὰς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν πειρήσεται ἀντιωθῆναι, οὔτ' ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου τῆσδε· οἵ τε ἡμῖν ἠντιώθησαν, ἔδοσαν δίκας. εἰ μέν νυν δοκέει, αὐτίκα πειρώμεθα τῆς Πελοποννήσου· εἰ δὲ καὶ δοκέει ἐπισχεῖν, παρέχει ποιέειν ταῦτα· μὴ δὲ δυσθύμεε· οὐ γάρ ἐστι Ἕλλησι οὐδεμία ἔκδυσις μὴ οὐ δόντας λόγον τῶν ἐποίησαν νῦν τε καὶ πρότερον εἶναι σοὺς δούλους[200]. μάλιστα μέν νυν ταῦτα ποίεε· εἰ δ' ἄρα τοι βεβούλευται αὐτὸν ἀπελαύνοντα ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατιήν, ἄλλην ἔχω καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε βουλήν· σὺ Πέρσας, βασιλεῦ, μὴ ποιήσῃς καταγελάστους γενέσθαι Ἕλλησι· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι δεδήληται τῶν πρηγμάτων, οὐδὲ ἐρεῖς ὅκου ἐγενόμεθα ἄνδρες κακοί· εἰ δὲ Φοίνικές τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Κύπριοί τε καὶ Κίλικες[201] κακοὶ ἐγένοντο, οὐδὲν πρὸς Πέρσας τοῦτο προσήκει τὸ πάθος. ἤδη ὦν, ἐπειδὴ οὐ Πέρσαι τοι αἴτιοί εἰσι, ἐμοὶ πείθεο· εἴ τοι δέδοκται μὴ παραμένειν, σὺ μὲν ἐς ἤθεα τὰ σεωυτοῦ ἀπέλαυνε τῆς στρατιῆς ἀπάγων τὸ πολλόν· ἐμὲ δέ σοι χρὴ τὴν Ἑλλάδα παρασχεῖν δεδουλωμένην, τριήκοντα μυριάδας τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπολεξάμενον." Ταῦτα ἀκούσας 101 Ξέρξης ὡς ἐκ κακῶν ἐχάρη τε καὶ ἥσθη· πρὸς Μαρδόνιόν τε, βουλευσάμενος ἔφη ἀποκρινεῖσθαι ὁκότερον ποιήσει τούτων· ὡς δὲ ἐβουλεύετο ἅμα Περσέων τοῖσι ἐπικλήτοισι, ἔδοξέ οἱ καὶ Ἀρτεμισίην ἐς συμβουλίην μεταπέμψασθαι, ὅτι πρότερον ἐφαίνετο

as to the course to be pursued.

Xerxes asks the opinion of Artemisia,

199 ὑπὲρ μεγάλων αἰωρηθέντα, "as he had set a high stake at issue." This circumstance is what justifies the expression καλῶς τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον even in the contingency of defeat; and therefore no comma must be inserted after βίον.

200 εἶναι σοὺς δούλους. The state of the case would require γίγνεσθαι, instead of νῦν τε καὶ πρότερον εἶναι. But courtly étiquette forbade the use of an expression which implied that the Greeks were still free. See the note 412 on i. 118.

201 Φοίνικές τε . . . . . Κίλικες. The omission of the Ionians from the list of worthless allies, both here and in the speech of Artemisia (§ 68, above) is to be remarked. At the time Herodotus was writing there would be too close an alliance between the European and Asiatic Greeks to allow any thing to stand which would appear derogatory to the latter.

μούνη νοέουσα τὰ ποιητέα ἦν· ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἡ Ἀρτεμισίη,
μεταστησάμενος τοὺς ἄλλους, τούς τε συμβούλους Περσέων καὶ
τοὺς δορυφόρους, ἔλεξε Ξέρξης τάδε· "κελεύει με Μαρδόνιος,
μένοντα αὐτοῦ, πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Πελοποννήσου· λέγων ὥς μοι
Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατὸς οὐδενὸς μεταίτιοι πάθεός εἰσι,
ἀλλὰ βουλομένοισί σφι γένοιτ' ἂν ἀπόδεξις. ἐμὲ ὦν ἢ ταῦτα
κελεύει ποιέειν, ἢ αὐτὸς ἐθέλει τριήκοντα μυριάδας ἀπολεξάμενος
τοῦ στρατοῦ παρασχεῖν μοι τὴν Ἑλλάδα δεδουλωμένην· αὐτὸν δέ
με κελεύει ἀπελαύνειν σὺν τῷ λοιπῷ στρατῷ ἐς ἤθεα τὰ ἐμά. σὺ
ὦν ἐμοί, καὶ γὰρ περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίης εὖ συνεβούλευσας τῆς γενο-
μένης οὐκ ἐῶσα ποιέεσθαι, νῦν τε συμβούλευσον ὁκότερα ποιέων
102 ἐπιτύχω εὖ βουλευσάμενος." Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα συνεβουλεύετο· ἡ δὲ
which she gives, λέγει τάδε· "βασιλεῦ, χαλεπὸν μέν ἐστι συμβουλευομένῳ τυχεῖν
τὰ ἄριστα εἴπασαν· ἐπὶ μέντοι τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι, δοκέει
μοι αὐτὸν μέν σε ἀπελαύνειν ὀπίσω, Μαρδόνιον δέ, εἰ ἐθέλει τε καὶ
ὑποδέκεται ταῦτα ποιήσειν, αὐτοῦ καταλιπεῖν σὺν τοῖσι ἐθέλει·
τοῦτο μὲν γάρ, ἢν καταστρέψηται τά φησι ἐθέλειν καί οἱ προ-
χωρήσῃ τὰ νοέων λέγει, σὸν τὸ ἔργον, ὦ δέσποτα, γίνεται· οἱ γὰρ
σοὶ δοῦλοι κατεργάσαντο· τοῦτο δέ, ἢν τὰ ἐναντία τῆς Μαρδονίου
γνώμης γένηται, οὐδεμία συμφορὴ μεγάλη ἔσται σέο τε περιεόντος
καὶ ἐκείνων τῶν πρηγμάτων περὶ οἶκον τὸν σόν· ἢν γὰρ σύ τε
περιῇς καὶ οἶκος ὁ σός, πολλοὺς πολλάκις ἀγῶνας δραμέονται περὶ
σφέων αὐτῶν οἱ Ἕλληνες· Μαρδονίου δέ, ἤν τι πάθῃ, λόγος
οὐδεὶς γίνεται· οὐδέ τι νικῶντες οἱ Ἕλληνες νικῶσι, δοῦλον σὸν
ἀπολέσαντες· σὺ δέ, τῶν εἵνεκα τὸν στόλον ἐποιήσω, πυρώσας τὰς
Ἀθήνας ἀπελᾷς."
103 Ἥσθη τε δὴ τῇ συμβουλίῃ Ξέρξης· λέγουσα γὰρ ἐπετύγχανε
in accordance with the king's secret wishes, and he sends her with his children to τάπερ αὐτὸς ἐνόεε· οὐδὲ γάρ, εἰ πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι συνεβούλευον
αὐτῷ μένειν, ἔμενε ἄν, δοκέειν ἐμοί· οὕτω καταρρωδήκεε· ἐπαινέσας
δὲ τὴν Ἀρτεμισίην, ταύτην μὲν ἀποστέλλει ἄγουσαν αὐτοῦ τοὺς
παῖδας ἐς Ἔφεσον· νόθοι γάρ τινες παῖδές οἱ συνέσποντο.
104 Συνέπεμπε δὲ τοῖσι παισὶ φύλακον Ἑρμότιμον, γένος μὲν ἐόντα
Ephesus. Πηδασέα, φερόμενον δὲ οὐ τὰ δεύτερα τῶν εὐνούχων[202] παρὰ

[202] *οὐ τὰ δεύτερα τῶν εὐνούχων.* Perhaps Hermotimus was made captive as a youth at the time when Pedasa was taken by Harpagus (i. 176). In that invasion the Chians, like the Milesians, made separate terms for themselves with the

βασιλέϊ. οἱ δὲ Πηδασέες οἰκέουσι ὑπὲρ Ἁλικαρνησσοῦ· ἐν δὲ τοῖσι Πηδάσοισι τούτοισι τοιόνδε φέρεται πρῆγμα γίνεσθαι· ἐπεὰν τοῖσι ἀμφικτίοσι πᾶσι, τοῖσι ἀμφὶ ταύτης οἰκέουσι τῆς πόλιος, μέλλῃ τι ἐντὸς χρόνου ἔσεσθαι χαλεπὸν, τότε ἡ ἱρείη αὐτόθι τῆς Ἀθηναίης φύει πώγωνα μέγαν· τοῦτο δέ σφι δὶς ἤδη ἐγένετο[203].

Anecdote of Hermotimus of *Pedasa*, an eunuch in charge of the children of the king, and his revenge upon one Panionius, a Chian slave merchant.

Ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν Πηδασέων ὁ Ἑρμότιμος ἦν· τῷ μεγίστη τίσις 105
ἤδη ἀδικηθέντι ἐγένετο πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· ἁλόντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ πολεμίων καὶ πωλεόμενον ὠνέεται Πανιώνιος, ἀνὴρ Χῖος, ὃς τὴν ζόην κατεστήσατο ἀπ' ἔργων ἀνοσιωτάτων· ὅκως γὰρ κτήσαιτο παῖδας εἴδεος ἐπαμμένους[204], ἐκτάμνων, ἀγινέων ἐπώλεε ἐς Σάρδις τε καὶ Ἔφεσον χρημάτων μεγάλων· παρὰ γὰρ τοῖσι βαρβάροισι τιμιώτεροί εἰσι οἱ εὐνοῦχοι, πίστιος εἵνεκα τῆς πάσης, τῶν ἐνορχίων· ἄλλους τε δὴ ὁ Πανιώνιος ἐξέταμε πολλοὺς, ἅτε ποιεύμενος ἐκ τούτου τὴν ζόην, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦτον· καὶ οὐ γὰρ τὰ πάντα ἐδυστύχεε ὁ Ἑρμότιμος, ἀπικνέεται ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων παρὰ βασιλέα μετ' ἄλλων δώρων· χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος, πάντων τῶν εὐνούχων ἐτιμήθη μάλιστα παρὰ Ξέρξῃ.
Ὡς δὲ τὸ στράτευμα τὸ Περσικὸν 106
ὅρμα ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐὼν ἐν Σάρδισι, ἐνθαῦτα καταβὰς κατὰ δή τι πρῆγμα ὁ Ἑρμότιμος ἐς γῆν τὴν Μυσίην, τὴν Χῖοι μὲν νέμονται, Ἀταρνεὺς δὲ καλέεται, εὑρίσκει τὸν Πανιώνιον ἐνθαῦτα· ἐπιγνοὺς δὲ ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτὸν πολλοὺς καὶ φιλίους λόγους, πρῶτα μέν οἱ καταλέγων ὅσα αὐτὸς δι' ἐκεῖνον ἔχοι ἀγαθὰ, δεύτερα δέ οἱ ὑπισχνεύμενος ἀντὶ τούτων ὅσα μιν ἀγαθὰ ποιήσει, ἢν κομισάμενος τοὺς οἰκέτας οἰκέῃ ἐκείνῃ· ὥστε ὑποδεξάμενον

Persians, and had obtained Atarneus as the price of the extradition of a Persian refugee. See note 532 on i. 160.

[203] *δὶς ἤδη ἐγένετο.* This is one of several passages which serve to show either that the work could not have been left by the author in a finished state, or else that great interpolations have taken place. In i. 175 he says that this singular phenomenon had at that time *thrice* happened. See note 477 on vii. 173.

It is not easy to suggest any certain explanation of the "bearded priestess." MINUTOLI (t. xxix.) gives such a figure from the temple of Bahbeit. PLUTARCH (quoted in note 188 on vi. 83) says that the Argives, after recruiting the loss of their citizens by a large number of mixed marriages with the *periœcians*, passed the law that *brides* should be similarly ornamented upon retiring to the nuptial chamber. See note 188 on vi. 83. In that case the custom was apparently symbolical, and expressive of the same idea which probably lay at the bottom of all androgynous representations in the Hellenic mythology, they being a compression into one of a male and female deity. It is not impossible that the Pedasian Athene was an androgynous deity, an union of Ares and Aphrodite Urania, a war-deity in one of the sexes, and a genius of fruitfulness in the other. (See note 303 on v. 104.)

[204] *εἴδεος ἐπαμμένους.* So *εἴδεος ἐπαμμέναι* in i. 199, above.

ἄσμενον τοὺς λόγους τὸν Πανιώνιον, κομίσαι τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα· ὡς δὲ ἄρα πανοικίῃ μιν περιέλαβε, ἔλεγε ὁ Ἑρμότιμος τάδε· "ὦ πάντων ἀνδρῶν ἤδη μάλιστα ἀπ' ἔργων ἀνοσιωτάτων τὸν βίον κτησάμενε, τί σὲ ἐγὼ κακὸν ἢ αὐτὸς ἢ τῶν ἐμῶν τις ἐργάσατο ἢ σὲ, ἢ τῶν σῶν τινα, ὅτι με ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς ἐποίησας τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι; ἐδόκεές τε θεοὺς λήσειν οἷα ἐμηχανῶ τότε· οἵ σε ποιήσαντα ἀνόσια, νόμῳ δικαίῳ χρεώμενοι, ὑπήγαγον ἐς χέρας τὰς ἐμὰς, ὥστε σε μὴ μέμψασθαι τὴν ἀπ' ἐμέο τοι ἐσομένην δίκην." ὡς δέ οἱ ταῦτα ὠνείδισε, ἀχθέντων τῶν παίδων ἐς ὄψιν, ἠναγκάζετο ὁ Πανιώνιος τῶν ἑωυτοῦ παίδων, τεσσέρων ἐόντων, τὰ αἰδοῖα ἀποτάμνειν· ἀναγκαζόμενος δὲ, ἐποίεε ταῦτα· αὐτοῦ τε, ὡς ταῦτα ἐργάσατο, οἱ παῖδες ἀναγκαζόμενοι ἀπέταμνον. Πανιώνιον μέν νυν οὕτω περιῆλθε ἥ τε τίσις καὶ ὁ Ἑρμότιμος.

107 Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς τοὺς παῖδας Ἀρτεμισίῃ ἐπέτρεψε ἀπάγειν ἐς Ἔφεσον, καλέσας Μαρδόνιον ἐκέλευέ μιν τῆς στρατιῆς διαλέγειν τοὺς βούλεται, καὶ ποιέειν τοῖσι λόγοισι τὰ ἔργα πειρώμενον ὁμοῖα. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγίνετο· τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς, κελεύσαντος βασιλέος, τὰς νῆας οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκ τοῦ Φαλήρου ἀπῆγον ὀπίσω ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ὡς τάχεος εἶχε ἕκαστος, διαφυλαξούσας τὰς σχεδίας πορευθῆναι βασιλέϊ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ ἦσαν Ζωστῆρος[205] πλώοντες οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀνατείνουσι γὰρ ἄκραι λεπταὶ τῆς ἠπείρου, ταύτας ἔδοξάν τε νῆας εἶναι, καὶ ἔφευγον ἐπὶ πολλόν· χρόνῳ δὲ μαθόντες ὅτι οὐ νῆες εἶεν ἀλλ' ἄκραι, συλλεχθέντες ἐκομίζοντο.

Xerxes leaves Mardonius with a large detachment from the army, and orders the fleet to make all sail to the Hellespont.

108 Ὡς δὲ ἡμέρη ἐγένετο, ὁρέοντες οἱ Ἕλληνες κατὰ χώρην μένοντα τὸν στρατὸν τὸν πεζὸν, ἤλπιζον καὶ τὰς νῆας εἶναι περὶ Φάληρον·

The allies, on discover-

[205] Ζωστῆρος. The name Ζωστὴρ appears originally to have been given to the narrow isthmus connecting a projecting cape of the coast of Attica with the main. It was the site of a deme inhabited by fishermen, whose tutelary deities were Leto, Artemis, and Apollo ζωστήριος. The local legend derived the name from the first of these having there loosened her zone when about to bring forth the two latter. (Stephanus Byzantinus, *sub v.* Pausanias, i. 31. 1.) In the time of Pausanias, Athene was added to the number of these deities. Leake describes the locality as "a hill terminating in three capes; that in the middle is a low peninsula, which shelters on the west a deep inlet called *Vuliasméni.* This probably was the place where stood the altars of the four deities" (ii. p. 55). He also remarks in a note, that "the fish with which Athens was supplied was chiefly procured on this part of the coast. The sea opposite to Aéxone [about four miles north] was noted for its red mullet (τρίγλη), which is still caught there, and known by the ancient name, although μπαρμπούνι is more commonly used."

ἐδόκεόν τε ναυμαχήσειν σφέας, παραρτέοντό τε ὡς ἀλεξησόμενοι· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπύθοντο τὰς νῆας οἰχωκυίας, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδόκεε ἐπιδιώκειν· τὸν μέν νυν ναυτικὸν τὸν Ξέρξεω στρατὸν οὐκ ἐπεῖδον διώξαντες μέχρι Ἄνδρου, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἄνδρον ἀπικόμενοι ἐβουλεύοντο. Θεμιστοκλέης μέν νυν γνώμην ἀπεδείκνυτο, διὰ νήσων τραπομένους καὶ ἐπιδιώξαντας τὰς νῆας πλώειν ἰθέως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, λύσοντας τὰς γεφύρας· Εὐρυβιάδης δὲ τὴν ἐναντίην ταύτῃ γνώμην ἐτίθετο, λέγων, ὡς εἰ λύσουσι τὰς σχεδίας, τοῦτ' ἂν μέγιστον πάντων σφεῖς κακὸν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐργάσαιντο· εἰ γὰρ ἀναγκασθείη ἀπολαμφθεὶς ὁ Πέρσης μένειν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, πειρῷτο ἂν ἡσυχίην μὴ ἄγειν· ὡς ἄγοντι μέν οἱ ἡσυχίην, οὔτε τι προχωρέειν οἷόν τε ἔσται τῶν πρηγμάτων, οὔτε τις κομιδὴ τὸ ὀπίσω φανήσεται, λιμῷ τέ οἱ ἡ στρατιὴ διαφθαρέεται· ἐπιχειρέοντι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἔργου ἐχομένῳ, πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην οἷά τε ἔσται προσχωρῆσαι κατὰ πόλιάς τε καὶ κατὰ ἔθνεα, ἤτοι ἁλισκομένων γε ἢ πρὸ τούτου ὁμολογεόντων· τροφήν τε ἕξειν σφέας τὸν ἐπέτειον αἰεὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καρπόν· ἀλλὰ δοκέειν γὰρ νικηθέντα τῇ ναυμαχίῃ οὐ μενέειν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τὸν Πέρσεα· ἐατέον ὦν εἶναι φεύγειν ἐς ὃ ἔλθῃ φεύγων ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ· τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ποιέεσθαι ἤδη τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐκέλευε. ταύτης δὲ εἴχοντο τῆς γνώμης καὶ Πελοποννησίων τῶν ἄλλων οἱ στρατηγοί.

ing that the fleet of the enemy has retreated, pursue it as far as Andros, where Themistocles advises to sail to the Hellespont and destroy the bridge, but is overruled by Eurybiades and the Peloponnesians.

109 Ὡς δὲ ἔμαθε ὅτι οὐ πείσει τούς γε πολλοὺς πλώειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης, μεταβαλὼν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους—οὗτοι γὰρ μάλιστα ἐκπεφευγότων περιημέκτεον[206], ὁρμέατό τε ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πλώειν καὶ ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλλόμενοι, εἰ ὦλλοι μὴ βουλοίατο—ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε· "καὶ αὐτὸς ἤδη πολλοῖσι παρεγενόμην, καὶ πολλῷ πλέω ἀκήκοα τοιάδε γενέσθαι· ἄνδρας ἐς ἀναγκαίην ἀπειληθέντας, νενικημένους ἀναμάχεσθαί τε καὶ ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν προτέρην κακότητα[207]· ἡμεῖς δὲ, (εὕρημα γὰρ εὑρήκαμεν ἡμέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, νέφος τοσοῦτο ἀνθρώπων ἀνωσάμενοι,) μὴ διώκωμεν ἄνδρας φεύγοντας· τάδε γὰρ οὐκ ἡμεῖς κατεργασάμεθα, ἀλλὰ θεοί τε καὶ ἥρωες, οἳ ἐφθόνησαν ἄνδρα ἕνα τῆς τε Ἀσίης καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης βασιλεῦσαι, ἐόντα ἀνόσιόν τε καὶ

He then induces the Athenians to acquiesce in the determination,

206 περιημέκτεον. See note 134 on i. 44.

207 ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν προτέρην κακότητα. See note on vii. 231.

ἀτάσθαλον· ὃς τά τε ἱρὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἐν ὁμοίῳ ἐποιέετο[208], ἐμπιπράς τε καὶ καταβάλλων τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα· ὃς καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπεμαστίγωσε πέδας τε κατῆκε[209]. ἀλλ' εὖ γὰρ ἔχει ἐς τὸ παρεὸν ἡμῖν, νῦν μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καταμείναντας[210] ἡμέων τε αὐτῶν ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ τῶν οἰκετέων· καί τις οἰκίην τε ἀναπλασάσθω καὶ σπόρου ἀνακῶς ἐχέτω[211], παντελέως ἀπελάσας τὸν βάρβαρον· ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἔαρι καταπλέωμεν ἐπὶ Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ Ἰωνίης." ταῦτα ἔλεγε ἀποθήκην μέλλων ποιήσεσθαι[212] ἐς τὸν Πέρσεα· ἵνα, ἤν ἄρα τί μιν καταλαμβάνῃ πρὸς Ἀθηναίων πάθος, ἔχῃ ἀποστροφήν· τάπερ ὦν καὶ ἐγένετο.

110 Θεμιστοκλέης μὲν ταῦτα λέγων διέβαλλε· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπείθοντο· ἐπειδὴ γάρ, καὶ πρότερον δεδογμένος εἶναι σοφὸς, ἐφάνη ἐὼν ἀληθέως σοφός τε καὶ εὔβουλος, πάντως ἑτοῖμοι ἦσαν λέγοντι πείθεσθαι. ὡς δὲ οὗτοί οἱ[213] ἀνεγνωσμένοι ἦσαν, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ἄνδρας ἀπέπεμπε ἔχοντας πλοῖον, τοῖσι

and, sending privately to Xerxes, takes credit to himself for the course pursued.

[208] ὃς τά τε ἱρὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἐν ὁμοίῳ ἐποιέετο. The primitive Persian religion led to a detestation of temples and images (i, 131), but this could hardly be said of the Persian court at the time of Xerxes. See *Excursus* on iii. 74, p. 435. However, the outrageous conduct of Cambyses in Egypt may very well have produced a feeling with regard to the invaders, which it would be the interest of Hellenic statesmen to keep up.

[209] ὃς καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπεμαστίγωσε πέδας τε κατῆκε. See note 126 on vii. 34.

[210] καταμείναντας. This is the reading of the majority of the MSS. Gaisford, following two (S and *c*), prints καταμείναντες.

[211] ἀνακῶς ἐχέτω. PLUTARCH (*Theseus*, § 33) speaks of ἀνακῶς ἔχειν as a familiar expression applied to those who kept watch over any thing, and conjectures that the Dioscuri may have had the name ἄνακες (under which they were worshipped at Athens) given to them διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ κηδεμονίαν τοῦ μηδένα κακῶς παθεῖν. This is apparently an exact reversal of the true derivation, ἀνακῶς ἔχειν being probably in its origin applied to the care bestowed by the tutelary deity upon the objects of his care. PLATO, the comic poet, used the expression τὰς θύρας ἀνακῶς ἔχειν (*fragm. Incert.* xxiii.), which Meineke very ingeniously proposes to correct into τᾶς θύρας ἀνακῶς ἔχειν, supposing the phrase to have been put into the mouth of a Dorian, and quoting EROTIAN: ἀνακῶς· ἐπιμελῶς καὶ περιπεφυλαγμένως· ἔστι δὲ ἡ λέξις δωρική. It is used by Herodotus in another place (i. 24), and once by THUCYDIDES (viii. 102: ὅπως αὐτῶν ἀνακῶς ἕξουσιν, ἢν ἐκπλέωσι), and always with the genitive case.

[212] ἀποθήκην μέλλων ποιήσεσθαι. THUCYDIDES makes him plead the circumstance of the bridges not having been destroyed as a proof of the good will he had borne to the Persian monarch; he falsely representing it as entirely his doing (i. 137). If Xerxes found the bridges actually carried away on his arrival at the Hellespont (below, § 117)—it would be scarcely possible for Themistocles to have claimed merit for saving them; although nothing would be more natural than that he should (as Herodotus here puts it) have once contemplated doing so upon a certain contingency arising. At the same time it seems that the news of the destruction of the bridges had not reached the allied fleet at the time of the battle of Mycale; which is very strange if Xerxes really found them gone when he arrived at the strait.

[213] οἱ. The manuscripts S and V omit this word.

ἐπίστευσε σιγᾶν ἐς πᾶσαν βάσανον ἀπικνεομένοισι τὰ αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο βασιλέϊ φράσαι· τῶν καὶ Σίκιννος ὁ οἰκέτης αὖτις ἐγένετο· οἳ ἐπεί τε ἀπίκοντο πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, οἱ μὲν κατέμενον ἐπὶ τῷ πλοίῳ, Σίκιννος δὲ ἀναβὰς παρὰ Ξέρξεα ἔλεγε τάδε· "ἔπεμψέ με Θεμιστοκλέης ὁ Νεοκλέος, στρατηγὸς μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων πάντων ἄριστος καὶ σοφώτατος, φράσοντά τοι, ὅτι Θεμιστοκλέης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, σοὶ βουλόμενος ὑπουργέειν, ἔσχε τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὰς νῆας βουλομένους διώκειν καὶ τὰς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ γεφύρας λύειν· καὶ νῦν κατ' ἡσυχίην πολλὴν κομίζεο[214]." οἱ μὲν ταῦτα σημήναντες ἀπέπλωον ὀπίσω.

111 Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, ἐπεί τε σφι ἀπέδοξε μήτ' ἐπιδιώκειν ἔτι προσωτέρω τῶν βαρβάρων τὰς νῆας, μήτε ἐπιπλώειν[215] ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον λύσοντας τὸν πόρον, τὴν Ἄνδρον περικατέατο ἐξελέειν ἐθέλοντες· πρῶτοι γὰρ Ἄνδριοι νησιωτέων αἰτηθέντες πρὸς Θεμιστοκλέος χρήματα οὐκ ἔδοσαν· ἀλλὰ προϊσχομένου Θεμιστοκλέος λόγον τόνδε, ὡς ἥκοιεν Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ ἑωυτοὺς ἔχοντες δύο θεοὺς μεγάλους, Πειθώ τε καὶ Ἀναγκαίην[216], οὕτω τέ σφι κάρτα δοτέα εἶναι χρήματα, ὑπεκρίναντο πρὸς ταῦτα λέγοντες, ὡς κατὰ λόγον ἦσαν ἄρα αἱ Ἀθῆναι μεγάλαι τε καὶ εὐδαίμονες, καὶ θεῶν χρηστῶν ἥκοιεν εὖ[217]· ἐπεὶ Ἀνδρίους γε εἶναι γεωπείνας ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ἀνήκοντας, καὶ θεοὺς δύο ἀχρήστους οὐκ ἐκλείπειν σφέων τὴν νῆσον, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ φιλοχωρέειν, Πενίην τε καὶ Ἀμηχανίην· καὶ τούτων τῶν θεῶν ἐπηβόλους ἐόντας Ἀνδρίους οὐ δώσειν χρήματα· οὐδέκοτε γὰρ τῆς ἑωυτῶν ἀδυναμίης τὴν Ἀθηναίων δύναμιν εἶναι κρέσσω· οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὑποκρινάμενοι καὶ οὐ δόντες τὰ χρήματα, ἐπολιορκέοντο.

Themistocles, on its being determined not to proceed further in pursuit of the enemy, besieges the *Andrians*, who refuse a subsidy.

112 Θεμιστοκλέης δὲ, οὐ γὰρ ἐπαύετο πλεονεκτέων, ἐσπέμπων ἐς τὰς ἄλλας νήσους

He also privately

214 In the time of PLUTARCH the popular view of the matter seems to have been, that Themistocles *hastened* the retreat of Xerxes, by sending him word that the Greeks intended to sail to the Hellespont, and destroy the bridge. (*Themist.* § 16.)

215 *ἐπιπλώειν*. This is the reading of S and V, adopted by Gaisford. The other MSS vary between the simple forms *πλώειν* and *πλέειν*.

216 Πειθώ τε καὶ Ἀναγκαίην. PLUTARCH, in telling this story, substitutes Βία for Ἀναγκαίη, and Ἀπορία for Ἀμηχανίη in the pair of Andrian deities. At Corinth there was actually a temple dedicated to Ἀνάγκη and Βία, into which no one was allowed to enter. (PAUSANIAS, ii. 4, 5.)

217 *θεῶν χρηστῶν ἥκοιεν εὖ*. Compare i. 30: *τοῦ βίου εὖ ἥκοντι*, and vii. 157: *σὺ δὲ δυνάμιος ἥκεις μεγάλης*.

extorts money from the *Carystians* and *Parians*, and others.

ἀπειλητηρίους λόγους, αἴτεε χρήματα διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀγγέλων, χρεώμενος λόγοισι τοῖσι καὶ πρὸς Ἀνδρίους ἐχρήσατο [218], λέγων ὡς εἰ μὴ δώσουσι τὸ αἰτεόμενον, ἐπάξει τὴν στρατιὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ πολιορκέων ἐξαιρήσει· λέγων ὦν ταῦτα, συνέλεγε χρήματα μεγάλα παρὰ Καρυστίων τε καὶ Παρίων· οἳ πυνθανόμενοι τήν τε Ἄνδρον ὡς πολιορκέοιτο διότι ἐμήδισε, καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα ὡς εἴη ἐν αἴνῃ μεγίστῃ τῶν στρατηγῶν, δείσαντες ταῦτα, ἔπεμπον χρήματα. εἰ δὲ δή τινες καὶ ἄλλοι ἔδοσαν νησιωτέων, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν· δοκέω δέ τινας καὶ ἄλλους δοῦναι, καὶ οὐ τούτους μούνους· καίτοι Καρυστίοισί γε οὐδὲν τούτου εἵνεκα τοῦ κακοῦ ὑπερβολὴ [219] ἐγένετο· Πάριοι δὲ Θεμιστοκλέα χρήμασι ἱλασάμενοι διέφυγον τὸ στράτευμα. Θεμιστοκλέης μέν νυν, ἐξ Ἄνδρου ὁρμεώμενος, χρήματα παρὰ νησιωτέων ἐκτέετο λάθρῃ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν.

113 Οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ Ξέρξεα ἐπισχόντες ὀλίγας ἡμέρας [220] μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίην, ἐξέλαυνον ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδόν· ἔδοξε γὰρ καὶ Μαρδονίῳ, ἅμα μὲν προπέμψαι βασιλέα ἅμα δὲ ἀνωρίην εἶναι τοῦ ἔτεος πολεμέειν· χειμερίσαι [221] τε ἄμεινον εἶναι ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ, καὶ ἔπειτα ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Πελοποννήσου. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκατο ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίην, ἐνθαῦτα Μαρδόνιος ἐξελέγετο πρώτους [μὲν Πέρσας [222]] πάντας τοὺς Ἀθανάτους καλεομένους, πλὴν Ὑδάρνεος

The land army of Xerxes, after a few days, moves into *Bœotia*, and from thence to *Thessaly*, where 300,000 of the best

[218] *χρεώμενος λόγοισι τοῖσι καὶ πρὸς Ἀνδρίους ἐχρήσατο*. The manuscripts M, P, K, F, have a very important variation: *χρεώμενος τοῖσι καὶ πρὸς βασιλέα ἐχρήσατο*, "employing *the same agents* which he had in his transaction with the king." This reading gives a sense which seems more accordant with the condemnatory phrase: *οὐ γὰρ ἐπαύετο πλεονεκτέων*, and with the notice in the sequel: *χρήματα παρὰ νησιωτέων ἐκτέετο λάθρῃ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν*, than the reading adopted by Gaisford is. It is quite clear that the money extorted from the islanders was not the regular contribution for carrying on the war, which was afterwards collected; for only Carystians and Parians were positively known to the author to have paid the demand.

[219] *τοῦ κακοῦ ὑπερβολή*, "a putting off of the evil." This use of the word *ὑπερβολή* is found in Polybius: *ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν πέμπειν ἠξίουν, καὶ μηδεμίαν ὑπερβολὴν ποιησαμένους ἐξελέγχειν καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἐλπίδα* (xiv. 9. 8); but only in that one passage; and in Herodotus it always signifies "excess." But *ὑπερβαλλομένους*, "deferring," is found in vii. 206, and *ὑπερβάλλωνται* in the same sense, ix. 51.

[220] *ἐπισχόντες ὀλίγας ἡμέρας*. See note 191 on § 97, above.

[221] *χειμερίσαι*, "to winter." The word is formed after the analogy of *θερίζειν* and *ἐαρίζειν*. Herodotus habitually uses it. See vi. 31: *χειμερίσας περὶ Μίλητον*, and below: *χειμερίζοντος περὶ Θεσσαλίην* (§ 126): *ἐχειμέριζε ἐν Κύμῃ* (§ 130). But in § 133, below, the more usual word *ἐχείμαζε* is employed. See the note on that passage.

[222] [*μὲν Πέρσας*]. The MSS vary between these words, *μὲν τοὺς Πέρσας*, *μὲν τοὺς μυρίους*, and *μυρίους*. The whole seem to me to be glosses.

τοῦ στρατηγοῦ[223]· (οὗτος γὰρ οὐκ ἔφη λείψεσθαι βασιλέος[224]·) μετὰ δὲ, τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων τοὺς θωρηκοφόρους, καὶ τὴν ἵππον τὴν χιλίην· καὶ Μήδους τε καὶ Σάκας, καὶ Βακτρίους τε καὶ Ἰνδοὺς, καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὴν ἵππον. ταῦτα μὲν ἔθνεα ὅλα εἵλετο· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἐξελέγετο κατ' ὀλίγους[225], τοῖσι εἴδεά τε ὑπῆρχε διαλέγων καὶ εἴ τέοισί τι χρηστὸν συνείδεε πεποιημένον. ἐν δὲ, πλεῖστον ἔθνος Πέρσας αἱρέετο, ἄνδρας στρεπτοφόρους τε καὶ ψελιοφόρους[226]· ἐπὶ δὲ, Μήδους· (οὗτοι δὲ πλῆθος μὲν οὐκ ἐλάσσονες ἦσαν τῶν Περσέων ῥώμῃ δὲ ἕσσονές·) ὥστε σύμπαντας τριήκοντα μυριάδας γενέσθαι σὺν ἱππεῦσι[227]. troops are selected to remain with Mardonius.

114 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἐν τῷ Μαρδόνιός τε τὴν στρατιὴν διέκρινε καὶ Ξέρξης ἦν περὶ Θεσσαλίην, χρηστήριον ἐληλύθεε ἐκ Δελφῶν Λακεδαιμονίοισι, Ξέρξεα αἰτέειν δίκας τοῦ Λεωνίδεω φόνου, καὶ τὸ διδόμενον ἐξ ἐκείνου δέκεσθαι· πέμπουσι δὴ κήρυκα τὴν ταχίστην Σπαρτιῆται· ὃς ἐπειδὴ κατέλαβε ἐοῦσαν ἔτι πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὴν ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ, ἐλθὼν ἐς ὄψιν τὴν Ξέρξεω ἔλεγε τάδε· "ὦ βασιλεῦ Μήδων, Λακεδαιμόνιοί τέ σε καὶ Ἡρακλεῖδαι οἱ ἀπὸ Σπάρτης[228] αἰτέουσι φόνου δίκας, ὅτι σφέων τὸν βασιλέα ἀπέκτει- Anecdote of an ominous saying of Xerxes to a Spartan herald, who demanded satisfaction of him for the death of Leonidas.

223 πλὴν Ὑδάρνεος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. Of this chief see note 254 on vii. 83.

224 οὗτος γὰρ οὐκ ἔφη λείψεσθαι βασιλέος. This is the way in which alone a Greek of the time of Herodotus would be able to account for Hydarnes's conduct. But the analogy of other great empires renders it probable that he held some office about the person of the sovereign, the functions of which were regarded as more important than his presence at the head of his corps. In the same way, English officers used in the late war to return to England from Spain to attend to their duties in parliament. See the remarks on military rank in Persia, in the note 192 on vii. 61.

225 κατ' ὀλίγους. Compare ii. 93: τῶν γὰρ ὠῶν ἀπορραίνουσι κατ' ὀλίγους.

226 στρεπτοφόρους τε καὶ ψελιοφόρους. The στρεπτοὶ and ψέλια by which the selected individuals were distinguished, perhaps served the same purpose as the stripes in the English army, or the cross of the Legion of Honour in the French; that is, were an indication of special deserts. They seem to have been made of gold (see ix. 80). They are found among the presents of honour which Cambyses is related to have sent by the hands of the Ichthyophagi to the king of the Ethiopians (iii. 20).

227 Independently of the resources of Thessaly, the harbour of Pagasæ was an excellent station for the store ships which had accompanied the expedition; so that magazines were doubtless formed there for the supply of the enormous force left behind. But it seems likely that no rations were issued to the irregular troops which formed the bulk of the army; for it is in this part of the retreat that ÆSCHYLUS represents the great loss by famine to have taken place:

κἀντεῦθεν ἡμᾶς γῆς Ἀχαιΐδος πέδον
καὶ Θεσσαλῶν πόλισμ' ὑπεσπανισμένους
βορᾶς ἐδέξαντ'· ἔνθα δὴ πλεῖστοι 'θανον
δίψῃ τε λιμῷ τ'· ἀμφότερα γὰρ ἦν τάδε.
(*Pers.* 488—491.)

228 Ἡρακλεῖδαι οἱ ἀπὸ Σπάρτης. This would be in contra-distinction to the Heraclides of Argos and Macedonia, and perhaps also to those of Lydia.

νας, ῥυόμενον τὴν Ἑλλάδα·" ὁ δὲ γελάσας τε καὶ κατασχὼν πολλὸν χρόνον, ὥς οἱ ἐτύγχανε παρεστεὼς Μαρδόνιος, δεικνὺς ἐς τοῦτον εἶπε· "τοιγάρ σφι Μαρδόνιος ὅδε δίκας δώσει τοιαύτας οἵας ἐκείνοισι πρέπει." ὁ μὲν δὴ δεξάμενος τὸ ῥηθὲν[229] ἀπαλλάσσετο.

115 Ξέρξης δὲ Μαρδόνιον ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ καταλιπὼν, αὐτὸς ἐπορεύετο κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον· καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὸν πόρον τῆς διαβάσιος ἐν πέντε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἡμέρῃσι, ἀπάγων τῆς στρατιῆς οὐδὲν μέρος[230], ὡς εἰπεῖν. ὅκου δὲ πορευόμενοι γινοίατο, καὶ κατ' οὕστινας ἀνθρώπους, τὸν τούτων καρπὸν[231] ἁρπάζοντες ἐσιτέοντο· εἰ δὲ καρπὸν μηδένα εὕροιεν, οἱ δὲ τὴν ποίην τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναφυομένην καὶ τῶν δενδρέων τὸν φλοιὸν περιλέποντες, καὶ τὰ φύλλα καταδρέποντες κατήσθιον, ὁμοίως τῶν τε ἡμέρων καὶ τῶν ἀγρίων· καὶ ἔλειπον οὐδέν· ταῦτα δ' ἐποίευν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ· ἐπιλαβὼν δὲ λοιμός τε τὸν στρατὸν καὶ δυσεντερίη, κατ' ὁδὸν διέφθειρε· τοὺς δὲ καὶ νοσέοντας αὐτῶν κατέλιπε, ἐπιτάσσων τῇσι πόλισι, ἵνα ἑκάστοτε γίνοιτο ἐλαύνων, μελεδαίνειν τε καὶ τρέφειν· ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ τέ τινας, καὶ ἐν Σίρι τῆς Παιονίης, καὶ ἐν Μακεδονίῃ· ἔνθα καὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἅρμα καταλιπὼν τοῦ Διὸς, ὅτε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἤλαυνε, ἀπιὼν οὐκ ἀπέλαβε· ἀλλὰ δόντες οἱ Παίονες τοῖσι Θρήϊξι, ἀπαιτέοντος Ξέρξεω, ἔφασαν νεμομένας[232] ἁρπαχθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἄνω Θρηΐκων τῶν περὶ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Στρυμόνος οἰκημένων.

Terrible sufferings of the remainder of the troops who accompanied the king from Thessaly to the Hellespont.

Loss of the horses of the sacred chariot which had been left on the way.

116 Ἔνθα καὶ ὁ τῶν Βισαλτέων βασιλεὺς γῆς τε τῆς Κρηστωνικῆς, Θρήϊξ, ἔργον ὑπερφυὲς ἐργάσατο· ὃς οὔτε αὐτὸς ἔφη τῷ Ξέρξῃ ἑκὼν εἶναι δουλεύσειν, ἀλλ' οἴχετο ἄνω ἐς τὸ οὖρος τὴν Ῥοδόπην, τοῖσί τε παισὶ ἀπηγόρευε μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν

Anecdote of the Thracian king of the Bisaltæ and his six sons.

229 δεξάμενος τὸ ῥηθὲν, "having accepted what was said [as an omen]." Compare § 137, below: δεκόμεθα ὦ βασιλεῦ τὰ διδοῖς, and ix. 91: δέκομαι τὸν οἰωνὸν τὸν Ἡγησίστρατον.

230 οὐδὲν μέρος, "a mere nothing." The account which the messenger gives in ÆSCHYLUS agrees with this:

ἥκουσιν ἐκφυγόντες οὐ πολλοί τινες
ἐφ' ἑστιοῦχον γαῖαν.—(*Pers.* 510.)

231 τὸν τούτων καρπόν. This could not have been the growing harvest; for there would be none at such a season of the year. It probably refers to the stores laid up in the barns of private proprietors.

232 νεμομένας. From the gender we may suppose the idea of the narrator of this story to have been, that the chariot of the sun was drawn by *mares*. This, however, does not seem at all likely. In vii. 55, οἱ ἵπποι οἱ ἱροὶ are mentioned; and the horse of Cyrus which was drowned in the Gyndes (i. 189) appears by the description to have been a male. But the known habit of the Persians to use mares for ordinary purposes, possibly caused the adoption of this feature of the story.

Ἑλλάδα· οἱ δὲ ἀλογήσαντες, ἢ ἄλλως σφι θυμὸς ἐγένετο θεήσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον, ἐστρατεύοντο ἅμα τῷ Πέρσῃ· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνεχώρησαν ἀσινέες πάντες, ἓξ ἐόντες, ἐξώρυξε αὐτῶν ὁ πατὴρ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς διὰ τὴν αἰτίην ταύτην· καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τοῦτον τὸν μισθὸν ἔλαβον.

Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὡς ἐκ τῆς Θρηΐκης πορευόμενοι ἀπίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν 117
πόρον, ἐπειγόμενοι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον τῇσι νηυσὶ διέβησαν ἐς Ἄβυδον· τὰς γὰρ σχεδίας οὐκ εὗρον ἔτι ἐντεταμένας, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ χειμῶνος διαλελυμένας [233]. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ κατεχόμενοι, σιτία τε πλέω ἢ κατ' ὁδὸν ἐλάγχανον, οὐδένα τε κόσμον ἐμπιπλάμενοι καὶ ὕδατα μεταβάλλοντες, ἀπέθνησκον τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ περιεόντος πολλοί· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἅμα Ξέρξῃ ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδις.

On arriving at the Hellespont, the remnant of the army passes over in boats, finding the bridge destroyed. Xerxes arrives at Sardis.

Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὅδε λόγος λεγόμενος, ὡς ἐπειδὴ Ξέρξης 118
ἀπελαύνων ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ἀπίκετο ἐπ' Ἠϊόνα [234] τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι, ἐνθεῦτεν οὐκέτι ὁδοιπορίῃσι διεχρέετο, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν στρατιὴν Ὑδάρνεϊ ἐπιτρέπει ἀπάγειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ νηὸς Φοινίσσης ἐπιβὰς, ἐκομίζετο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην· πλώοντα δέ μιν ἄνεμον Στρυμονίην ὑπολαβεῖν μέγαν καὶ κυματίην· καὶ δὴ, μᾶλλον γάρ τι χειμαίνεσθαι, γεμούσης τῆς νηὸς, ὥστε ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ἐπεόντων συχνῶν Περσέων τῶν σὺν Ξέρξῃ κομιζομένων, ἐνθαῦτα ἐς δεῖμα πεσόντα τὸν βασιλέα, εἴρεσθαι βώσαντα τὸν κυβερνήτεα, εἴ τις ἐστί σφι σωτηρίη, καὶ τὸν εἶπαι· "δέσποτα, οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεμία, ἢν μὴ τούτων ἀπαλλαγή τις γένηται τῶν πολλῶν ἐπιβατέων". καὶ Ξέρξεα λέγεται ἀκούσαντα ταῦτα εἶπαι·

Another story of the return of Xerxes by sea from *Eion*, and of the self-devo-

[233] ὑπὸ χειμῶνος διαλελυμένας. It seems doubtful whether this really was the case. See above, note 212 on § 109. The story which presently follows shows how entirely uncertain all the details of the retreat of Xerxes must have been.

[234] ἐπ' Ἠϊόνα. There was a bridge here by which the invading army crossed, and there is no mention in Herodotus of its having been destroyed. Yet it is in crossing the Strymon *on the ice* that Æschylus represents a terrific loss to have been incurred by the army on its retreat:

——— νυκτὶ δ' ἐν ταύτῃ θεὸς
χειμῶν' ἄωρον ὦρσε, πήγνυσιν δὲ πᾶν
ῥέεθρον ἁγνοῦ Στρυμόνος· θεοὺς δέ τις
τὸ πρὶν νομίζων οὐδαμοῦ, τότ' ηὔχετο
λιταῖσι, γαῖαν οὐρανόν τε προσκυνῶν.
ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλὰ θεοκλυτῶν ἐπαύσατο
στρατὸς, περᾷ κρυσταλλοπῆγα διὰ πόρον·
χὤστις μὲν ἡμῶν πρὶν σκεδασθῆναι θεοῦ
ἀκτῖνας ὡρμήθη, σεσωσμένος κυρεῖ.
φλέγων γὰρ αὐγαῖς λαμπρὸς ἡλίου κύκλος
μέσον πόρον διῆκε, θερμαίνων φλογί·
'πῖπτον δ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι, κ.τ.λ.

(*Pers.* 495—506.)

Possibly that portion of the troops under Artabazus (§ 126) which was in immediate attendance on the king, passed by the bridge, while the mass of the irregulars, spread over the country for the greater facility of obtaining supplies, attempted to cross on the ice. If Xerxes himself had undergone any great personal peril, such as that of the troops described by Æschylus, it is unlikely that the tradition of it would not have remained and been related by Herodotus.

tion of the Persians.

"ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, νῦν τις διαδεξάτω ὑμέων βασιλέος κηδόμενος· ἐν ὑμῖν γὰρ οἴκε εἶναι ἐμοὶ ἡ σωτηρίη" τὸν μὲν ταῦτα λέγειν· τοὺς δὲ προσκυνέοντας ἐκπηδέειν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν· καὶ τὴν νῆα ἐπικουφισθεῖσαν, οὕτω δὴ ἀποσωθῆναι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην· ὡς δὲ ἐκβῆναι τάχιστα ἐς γῆν τὸν Ξέρξεα, ποιῆσαι τοιόνδε· ὅτι μὲν ἔσωσε βασιλέος τὴν ψυχὴν, δωρήσασθαι χρυσέῃ στεφάνῃ τὸν κυβερνήτεα· ὅτι δὲ Περσέων πολλοὺς ἀπώλεσε, ἀποταμεῖν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ.

Criticism of the story.

119 Οὗτος δὲ ἄλλος λέγεται λόγος[235] περὶ τοῦ Ξέρξεω νόστου, οὐδαμῶς ἔμοιγε πιστὸς, οὔτε ἄλλως οὔτε τὸ Περσέων τοῦτο πάθος· εἰ γὰρ δὴ ταῦτα οὕτω εἰρέθη ἐκ τοῦ κυβερνήτεω πρὸς Ξέρξεα, ἐν μυρίῃσι γνώμῃσι μίαν οὐκ ἔχω ἀντίξοον, μὴ οὐκ ἂν ποιῆσαι βασιλέα τοιόνδε· τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ καταστρώματος καταβιβάσαι ἐς κοίλην νῆα, ἐόντας Πέρσας καὶ Περσέων τοὺς πρώτους, τῶν δ' ἐρετέων, ἐόντων Φοινίκων, ὅκως οὐκ ἂν ἴσον πλῆθος τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ἐξέβαλε ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν[236]. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἴρηται[237], ὁδῷ

Another account makes Xerxes pass through Abdera, where he first takes off his clothes, considering himself safe.

120 χρεώμενος ἅμα τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. Μέγα δὲ καὶ τόδε μαρτύριον· φαίνεται γὰρ Ξέρξης ἐν τῇ ὀπίσω κομιδῇ ἀπικόμενος ἐς Ἄβδηρα, καὶ ξεινίην τέ σφι συνθέμενος[238], καὶ δωρησάμενος αὐτοὺς ἀκινάκῃ τε χρυσέῳ καὶ τιήρῃ χρυσοπάστῳ· καὶ ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι Ἀβδηρῖται, λέγοντες ἐμοί γε οὐδαμῶς πιστὰ, πρῶτον ἐλύσατο τὴν ζώνην φεύγων ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ὀπίσω, ὡς ἐν ἀδείῃ ἐών· τὰ δὲ Ἄβδηρα ἵδρυται πρὸς τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου μᾶλλον[239] ἢ τοῦ Στρυμόνος καὶ τῆς Ἠϊόνος, ὅθεν δή μιν φασὶ ἐπιβῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν νῆα.

[235] οὗτος δὲ ἄλλος λέγεται λόγος. So Gaisford prints on the authority of V and P. The other MSS have οὗτος δὲ ἄλλως λέγεται ὁ λόγος, which appears to be, if any thing, the preferable reading.

[236] ἐξέβαλε ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. Whatever discredit the story of the devotion of the Persians may deserve, no person who had ever been at sea in bad weather, would imagine that additional security would have been gained by drowning the crew, and putting in their places a number of landsmen, who probably had never touched an oar, and most likely were half dead from sea-sickness. I am inclined to think that §§ 119, 120, proceed, not from Herodotus, but from an ancient commentator or editor, perhaps an Alexandrine grammarian. (See notes 432 on ii. 145, and 99 on iv. 32.)

[237] ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἴρηται. Gaisford prints, on the authority of M, P, K, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται. But the other MSS omit the pronoun, and, I believe, with justice. See the last note.

[238] ξεινίην σφι συνθέμενος. See note 331 on vii. 120.

[239] τὰ δὲ Ἄβδηρα ἵδρυται πρὸς τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου μᾶλλον. So Gaisford prints on the authority of several MSS. But the others have πρὸς τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου δὲ μᾶλλον τὰ Ἄβδηρα ἵδρυται,—a variation which suggests the probability of the whole clause being originally a marginal note.

Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, ἐπεί τε οὐκ οἷοί τε ἐγένοντο ἐξελέειν τὴν Ἄνδρον, τραπόμενοι ἐς Κάρυστον καὶ δηϊώσαντες αὐτῶν τὴν χώρην, ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Σαλαμῖνα. πρῶτα μέν νυν τοῖσι θεοῖσι ἐξεῖλον ἀκροθίνια ἄλλα τε καὶ τριήρεας τρεῖς Φοινίσσας· τὴν μὲν ἐς Ἰσθμὸν ἀναθεῖναι, ἥπερ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν· τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ Σούνιον· τὴν δὲ τῷ Αἴαντι αὐτοῦ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο διεδάσαντο τὴν ληΐην, καὶ τὰ ἀκροθίνια ἀπέπεμψαν ἐς Δελφούς· ἐκ τῶν ἐγένετο ἀνδριὰς ἔχων ἐν τῇ χερὶ ἀκρωτήριον νηός, ἐὼν μέγαθος δυωκαίδεκα πήχεων· ἑστήκεε δὲ οὗτος τῇ περ ὁ Μακεδὼν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ χρύσεος[240]. 121

The allies break up from Andros, and after laying waste the domain of Carystus, return to Salamis and divide the spoils.

Πέμψαντες δὲ ἀκροθίνια οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐς Δελφούς, ἐπειρώτεον τὸν θεὸν κοινῇ, εἰ λελάβηκε πλήρεα καὶ ἀρεστὰ τὰ ἀκροθίνια; ὁ δὲ παρ' Ἑλλήνων μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἔφησε ἔχειν, παρ' Αἰγινητέων δὲ οὔ[241]· ἀλλὰ ἀπαίτεε αὐτοὺς τὰ ἀριστήϊα τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίης· Αἰγινῆται δὲ πυθόμενοι, ἀνέθεσαν ἀστέρας χρυσέους, οἳ ἐπὶ ἱστοῦ χαλκέου ἑστᾶσι τρεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς γωνίης, ἀγχοτάτω τοῦ Κροίσεω κρητῆρος[242]. 122

Special offering of the Æginetans.

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαίρεσιν τῆς ληΐης ἔπλωον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμόν, ἀριστήϊα δώσοντες τῷ ἀξιωτάτῳ γενομένῳ Ἑλλήνων ἀνὰ τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον· ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι οἱ στρατηγοὶ διένεμον τὰς ψήφους ἐπὶ τοῦ Ποσειδέωνος τῷ βωμῷ[243], 123

Afterwards the congress at the Isthmus awards the second

240 *ἑστήκεε δὲ οὗτος τῇ περ ὁ Μακεδὼν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ χρύσεος.* If this sentence be not the note of a later editor, it gives a very exalted notion of the wealth acquired by the kings of Macedonia at this early period. I am inclined to believe, however, that it is this, and that the Alexander whose golden statue was placed at Delphi was the conqueror of Asia. It is very doubtful whether *portrait statues* of living persons were ever put up before his time.

241 *παρ' Αἰγινητέων δὲ οὔ.* The answer of the god was in after-times attributed to Lacedæmonian intrigue. (See note 1 on § 131.) Although the Æginetans appear to have been thus chary of thank-offerings to the Delphic god, it is probable that their gratitude was more ready on their own soil. It has been suggested, with great ingenuity, that the temple discovered in 1811, from which the celebrated Ægina marbles in the Glyptothek at Munich were taken, was erected in commemoration of the victory at Salamis. The triumph of the Hellenic race over the Asiatics appears in the two tympana of the temple, symbolized by two triumphs of the Æacidæ, led by Athene, over Trojans, represented by figures combating. In the east gable (which refers to the expedition against Laomedon) it is the Æacid Telamon, in the western (referring to that against Priam) it is Ajax, who represents Æginetan valour. Athene appears in each gable. For the full description of the groupes, see THIERSCH, in *Boettiger's Amalthea*, i. p. 137. It has been shown by DR. WORDSWORTH (*Athens and Attica*, p. 265) that this temple, which is situated eight miles from the city of Ægina, in the N.E. corner of the island, is not, as has been supposed, identical with that of the Panhellenian Zeus. (See note on ix. 7.)

242 *τοῦ Κροίσεω κρητῆρος.* See i. 51.

243 *διένεμον τὰς ψήφους ἐπὶ τοῦ Ποσειδέωνος τῷ βωμῷ.* This phrase occasions some difficulty. When decision was made by ballot, the ψῆφοι were taken *from* the altar of the deity in order to be used. See MULLER on the *Eumenides* of Æschylus, p. 161. Perhaps we may suppose that in open voting, the appeal to the conscience of

prize of merit to *Themistocles*.

τὸν πρῶτον καὶ τὸν δεύτερον κρίνοντες ἐκ πάντων· ἐνθαῦτα πᾶς τις αὐτῶν ἑωυτῷ ἐτίθετο τὴν ψῆφον, αὐτὸς ἕκαστος δοκέων ἄριστος γενέσθαι· δεύτερα δὲ, οἱ πολλοὶ συνεξέπιπτον Θεμιστοκλέα κρίνοντες. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐμουνοῦντο· Θεμιστοκλέης δὲ δευτερείοισι

Great credit of Themistocles throughout Hellas, and honours paid to him at *Lacedæmon*.

124 ὑπερεβάλλετο πολλόν. Οὐ βουλομένων δὲ ταῦτα κρίνειν τῶν Ἑλλήνων φθόνῳ, ἀλλ' ἀποπλωόντων ἑκάστων ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῶν ἀκρίτων, ὅμως Θεμιστοκλέης ἐβώσθη τε καὶ ἐδοξώθη εἶναι ἀνὴρ πολλὸν Ἑλλήνων σοφώτατος ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ὅτι δὲ νικῶν οὐκ ἐτιμήθη πρὸς τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχησάντων, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἀπίκετο, θέλων τιμηθῆναι· καί μιν Λακεδαιμόνιοι καλῶς μὲν ὑπεδέξαντο, μεγάλως δὲ ἐτίμησαν· ἀριστήϊα μέν νυν ἔδοσαν Εὐρυβιάδῃ, ἐλαίης στέφανον· σοφίης δὲ καὶ δεξιότητος, Θεμιστοκλέϊ, καὶ τούτῳ στέφανον ἐλαίης· ἐδωρήσαντο δέ μιν ὄχῳ τῷ ἐν Σπάρτῃ καλλιστεύσαντι· αἰνέσαντες δὲ πολλὰ, προέπεμψαν ἀπιόντα τριηκόσιοι Σπαρτιητέων λογάδες, οὗτοι οἵπερ ἱππέες καλέονται, μέχρι οὔρων τῶν Τεγεητικῶν. μοῦνον δὴ τοῦτον πάντων ἀνθρώπων[214], τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, Σπαρτιῆται προέπεμψαν.

Anecdote of his reply to the cavil of *Timodemus*.

125 Ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἐνθαῦτα Τιμόδημος Ἀφιδναῖος[215], τῶν ἐχθρῶν μὲν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος ἐὼν, ἄλλως δὲ οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν, φθόνῳ καταμαργέων ἐνείκεε τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, τὴν ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἄπιξιν προφέρων, ὡς διὰ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔχοι τὰ γέρεα τὰ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἀλλ' οὐ δι' ἑωυτόν· ὁ δὲ, ἐπεί τε οὐκ ἐπαύετο ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Τιμόδημος, εἶπε· "οὕτω ἔχει τοι· οὔτ' ἂν ἐγὼ, ἐὼν Βελβινίτης[216],

the parties concerned was symbolized by the laying out the pebbles *upon* the altar, as in secret voting it was by taking them from it. Gaisford, following the minority of MSS, prints διενέμοντο. Two (S and V) have ἔφερον.

[214] *μοῦνον δὴ τοῦτον πάντων ἀνθρώπων.* This is entirely confirmed by the account of the Athenian orator in THUCYDIDES, who says of Themistocles, that he *αἰτιώτατος ἐν τῷ στενῷ ναυμαχῆσαι ἐγένετο, ὅπερ σαφέστατα ἔσωσε τὰ πράγματα· καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ τοῦτο δὴ μάλιστα ἐτιμήσατε ἄνδρα ξένον τῶν ὡς ὑμᾶς ἐλθόντων* (i. 74). The attendants on Themistocles were the *whole* body-guard of the king, not merely a portion of them. See note 130 *a* on vi. 56, and note 531 on vii. 205.

[215] Ἀφιδναῖος. The manuscript S has Ἀθηναῖος, and Valla's translation neither the one nor the other. There is some difficulty in understanding the gist of Themistocles's retort if Timodemus were a native either of Athens or Aphidna. Belbina is said to be a small island off cape Sunium. SCYLAX (p. 45), PLATO (*Polit.* i. § 4), and PLUTARCH (*Themist.* § 18) tell the story, but make the adversary of Themistocles a native of the little island *Seriphos*. See notes 494 on ii. 160; 368 on iv. 144; 262 on v. 92; 154 on vii. 46.

[216] ἐὼν Βελβινίτης. See the last note.

ἐτιμήθην οὕτω πρὸς Σπαρτιητέων· οὔτ' ἂν σὺ, ὤνθρωπε, ἐὼν Ἀθηναῖος." ταῦτα μέν νυν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο.

Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος, ἀνὴρ ἐν Πέρσῃσι λόγιμος καὶ 126
πρόσθε ἐὼν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Πλαταιϊκῶν καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι γενόμενος, ἔχων ἓξ μυριάδας στρατοῦ τὸν Μαρδόνιος ἐξελέξατο, προέπεμπε βασιλέα μέχρι τοῦ πόρου· ὡς δὲ ὁ μὲν ἦν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω πορευόμενος κατὰ τὴν Παλλήνην ἐγίνετο, ἅτε Μαρδονίου τε χειμερίζοντος περὶ Θεσσαλίην τε καὶ Μακεδονίην, καὶ οὐδέν κω κατεπείγοντος ἥκειν ἐς τὸ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον, οὐκ ἐδικαίου, ἐντυχὼν ἀπεστεῶσι Ποτιδαιήτῃσι, μὴ οὐκ ἐξανδραποδίσασθαί σφεας· οἱ γὰρ Ποτιδαιῆται, ὡς βασιλεὺς παρεξεληλάκεε καὶ ὁ ναυτικὸς τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι οἰχώκεε φεύγων ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος, ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἀπέστασαν ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων· ὡς δὲ καὶ ὤλλοι οἱ τὴν Παλλήνην ἔχοντες. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος ἐπολιόρκεε τὴν Ποτιδαίην.

Artabazus with 60,000 men on his return from escorting Xerxes besieges *Potidæa.*

Ὑποπτεύσας 127
δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέος, καὶ ταύτην ἐπολιόρκεε· εἶχον δὲ αὐτὴν Βοττιαῖοι οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Θερμαίου κόλπου ἐξαναστάντες ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων[247]· ἐπεὶ δέ σφεας εἷλε πολιορκέων, κατέσφαξε ἐξαγαγὼν ἐς λίμνην· τὴν δὲ πόλιν παραδιδοῖ Κριτοβούλῳ Τορωναίῳ ἐπιτροπεύειν, καὶ τῷ Χαλκιδικῷ γένεϊ[248]· καὶ οὕτω Ὄλυνθον Χαλκιδέες ἔσχον.

He also takes *Olynthus*, destroys the inhabitants, and fills the town with Chalcidians.

Ἐξελὼν δὲ ταύτην ὁ Ἀρτά- 128
βαζος τῇ Ποτιδαίῃ ἐντεταμένως προσεῖχε· προσέχοντι δέ οἱ προθύμως συντίθεται προδοσίην Τιμόξεινος ὁ τῶν Σκιωναίων στρατηγός· ὅντινα μὲν τρόπον ἀρχὴν, ἔγωγε οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ὦν λέγεται· τέλος μέντοι τοιάδε ἐγίνετο· ὅκως βυβλίον γράψειε ἢ Τιμόξεινος, ἐθέλων παρὰ Ἀρτάβαζον πέμψαι, ἢ Ἀρτάβαζος παρὰ Τιμόξεινον, τοξεύματος παρὰ τὰς γλυφίδας[249] περιειλίξαντες καὶ πτερώσαντες τὸ βυβλίον, ἐτόξευον ἐς συγκείμενον χωρίον. ἐπάϊστος

He concerts the betrayal of Potidæa with one *Timoxenus* of *Scione*,

[247] Βοττιαῖοι οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Θερμαίου κόλπου ἐξαναστάντες ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων. See note 349 on vii. 127.

[248] τῷ Χαλκιδικῷ γένεϊ. Probably the old feud between Chalcis and Eretria still survived sufficiently to render this step a politic one. See the note 291 on v. 99. The Chalcidians of these parts formed a portion of Xerxes's army (vii. 185), perhaps not altogether against their will, as the Persian vengeance had been especially aroused against Eretria.

[249] παρὰ τὰς γλυφίδας. This is the reading of all the MSS, and seems required. The course taken was, to wrap the parchment on which the communication was written round the shaft of the arrow till it reached the barbs, not round the barbs themselves. It was so managed as not to attract attention, except under such a close inspection as would arise when a man was wounded. Hence the feather was set *on* the parchment roll, which doubtless at a little distance was taken for the shaft.

δὲ ἐγίνετο ὁ Τιμόξεινος προδιδοὺς τὴν Ποτίδαιαν· τοξεύων γὰρ ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος ἐς τὸ συγκείμενον, ἁμαρτὼν τοῦ χωρίου τούτου, βάλλει ἀνδρὸς Ποτιδαιήτεω τὸν ὦμον· τὸν δὲ βληθέντα περιέδραμε ὅμιλος, οἷα φιλέει γίνεσθαι ἐν πολέμῳ· οἳ αὐτίκα τὸ τόξευμα λαβόντες, ὡς ἔμαθον τὸ βυβλίον, ἔφερον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς· παρῆν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Παλληναίων συμμαχίη· τοῖσι δὲ στρατηγοῖσι ἐπιλεξαμένοισι τὸ βυβλίον καὶ μαθοῦσι τὸν αἴτιον τῆς προδοσίης, ἔδοξε μὴ καταπλέξαι Τιμόξεινον προδοσίῃ, τῆς Σκιωναίων πόλιος εἵνεκα, μὴ νομιζοίατο εἶναι Σκιωναῖοι ἐς τὸν μετέπειτα χρόνον αἰεὶ προδόται· ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ ἐπάϊστος ἐγεγόνεε.

but the treason is detected.

129 Ἀρταβάζῳ δὲ ἐπειδὴ πολιορκέοντι ἐγεγόνεσαν τρεῖς μῆνες, γίνεται ἄμπωτις τῆς θαλάσσης μεγάλη καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν· ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι τέναγος γενόμενον, παρήϊσαν ἐς τὴν Παλλήνην· ὡς δὲ τὰς δύο μὲν μοίρας διοδοιπορήκεσαν, ἔτι δὲ τρεῖς ὑπόλοιποι ἦσαν, τὰς διελθόντας χρῆν ἔσω εἶναι ἐν τῇ Παλλήνῃ, ἐπῆλθε πλημμυρὶς τῆς θαλάσσης μεγάλη, ὅση οὐδαμά κω, ὡς οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λέγουσι, πολλάκις γινομένη. οἱ μὲν δὴ νέειν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι διεφθείροντο· τοὺς δὲ ἐπισταμένους οἱ Ποτιδαιῆται ἐπιπλώσαντες πλοίοισι ἀπώλεσαν. αἴτιον δὲ λέγουσι οἱ Ποτιδαιῆται τῆς τε ῥηχίης καὶ τῆς πλημμυρίδος[250] καὶ τοῦ Περσικοῦ πάθεος γενέσθαι τόδε, ὅτι τοῦ Ποσειδέωνος ἐς τὸν νηὸν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἠσέβησαν οὗτοι τῶν Περσέων τοίπερ καὶ διεφθάρησαν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης· αἴτιον δὲ τοῦτο λέγοντες, εὖ λέγειν ἔμοιγε δοκέουσι. τοὺς δὲ περιγενομένους[251] ἀπῆγε Ἀρτάβαζος ἐς Θεσσαλίην παρὰ Μαρδόνιον. οὗτοι μὲν οἱ προπέμψαντες βασιλέα οὕτω ἔπρηξαν[252].

After three months he loses a great part of his army in an attempt to pass the walls of the city during an ebb tide.

130 Ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς[253] ὁ Ξέρξεω περιγενόμενος, ὡς προσέμιξε τῇ

250 τῆς τε ῥηχίης καὶ τῆς πλημμυρίδος. It is apparently from a false interpretation of this passage that SUIDAS (v. Ῥαχίαν) lays it down as a fact that what the other Greeks called ἄμπωτις, was by the Ionians termed ῥηχίη. That the word is synonymous with "flood" in Herodotus, appears from ii. 11 and vii. 198, where ἄμπωτις and ῥηχίη are opposed to one another as "ebb" and "flow." The opinion of Valcknaer is, that καὶ τῆς πλημμυρίδος is a gloss in this passage. I should rather take it to be an alternative reading.

251 τοὺς δὲ περιγενομένους. Perhaps these may be considered two-thirds of the whole; for it is this number which are found under the independent command of Artabazus at the time of the battle of Platæa. See ix. 66.

252 οὕτω ἔπρηξαν. These words are omitted in the manuscripts M, P, K, F, and *b*.

253 ὁ δὲ ναυτικός. The use of Herodotus is to say either τὸ ναυτικὸν or ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατός. But the substantive is omitted, as here, in the next section.

Ἀσίῃ φεύγων ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος, καὶ βασιλέα τε καὶ τὴν στρατιὴν ἐκ Χερσονήσου διεπόρθμευσε ἐς Ἄβυδον, ἐχειμέριζε ἐν Κύμῃ· ἔαρος δὲ ἐπιλάμψαντος, πρώϊος[254] συνελέγετο ἐς Σάμον· αἱ δὲ τῶν νηῶν καὶ ἐχειμέρισαν αὐτοῦ· Περσέων δὲ καὶ Μήδων οἱ πλεῦνες ἐπεβάτευον· στρατηγοὶ δέ σφι ἐπῆλθον, Μαρδόντης τε ὁ Βαγαίου καὶ Ἀρταΰντης[255] ὁ Ἀρταχαίου· συνῆρχε δὲ τούτοισι καὶ ἀδελφιδέος, αὐτοῦ Ἀρταΰντεω προσελομένου, Ἰθαμίτρης[256]. ἅτε δὲ μεγάλως πληγέντες, οὐ προήϊσαν ἀνωτέρω[257] τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέρης, οὐδ' ἐπηνάγκαζε οὐδείς· ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ κατήμενοι, ἐφύλασσον τὴν Ἰωνίην μὴ ἀποστῇ, νῆας ἔχοντες σὺν τῇσι Ἰάσι τριηκοσίας. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ προσεδέκοντο τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐλεύσεσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην, ἀλλ' ἀποχρήσειν σφι τὴν ἑωυτῶν φυλάσσειν· σταθμεύμενοι ὅτι σφέας οὐκ ἐπεδίωξαν φεύγοντας ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος, ἀλλ' ἄσμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο. κατὰ μέν νυν τὴν θάλασσαν ἑσσωμένοι ἦσαν τῷ θυμῷ, πεζῇ δὲ ἐδόκεον πολλὸν[258] κρατήσειν τὸν Μαρδόνιον· ἐόντες δὲ ἐν Σάμῳ, ἅμα μὲν ἐβουλεύοντο εἴ τι δυναίατο κακὸν τοὺς πολεμίους ποιέειν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ὠτακούστεον ὅκῃ πεσέεται τὰ Μαρδονίου πρήγματα.

The Persian fleet winters at *Cuma*, and early in the spring moves to *Samos*, where it remains to observe Ionia.

Τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας τό τε ἔαρ γινόμενον ἤγειρε καὶ Μαρδόνιος ἐν 131
Θεσσαλίῃ ἐών. ὁ μὲν δὴ πεζὸς οὔκω συνελέγετο· ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς[259] ἀπίκετο ἐς Αἴγιναν, νῆες ἀριθμὸν δέκα καὶ ἑκατόν· στρατηγὸς δὲ καὶ ναύαρχος ἦν Λευτυχίδης ὁ Μενάρεος, τοῦ Ἡγησίλεω[260], τοῦ

In the spring the allied fleet under *Leotychides* assembles

[254] πρώϊος, "early." The manuscripts S, V, *d* have πρῶτον. But πρώϊος seems to be the true reading, both here and in *St. John's Gospel* (i. 42), where the trace of it remains in the Latin "mane" of the Codex Veronensis, although no Greek manuscript gives any thing but πρῶτος or πρῶτον.

[255] Ἀρταΰντης. It seems not unlikely that the two generals were connected with each other; for a *Bagæus*, son of an *Artontes*, appears elsewhere (iii. 128, where see note 353). There was also an *Artauntes*, son of an *Ithamitres* (vii. 67, where see note 219).

[256] Ἰθαμίτρης. The MSS have ὁ Ἀμίτρης, doubtless from the confusion in uncial copies between ΙΘΑΜΙΤΡΗC and ΗΟΑΜΙΤΡΗC. In ix. 102, all have Ἰθαμίτρης or Ἰθραμίτρης, where the same person is meant.

[257] ἀνωτέρω. The use of this word here is very singular. But there is a similar one below: ὥστε τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέρης ἀνωτέρω Σάμου μὴ τολμᾶν καταπλῶσαι, καταρρωδηκότας, τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας, χρηϊζόντων Χίων, τὸ πρὸς ἠῶ κατωτέρω Δήλου (§ 132). From the analogy of ἀνιέναι and κατέρχεσθαι, one may suppose that the phrases ἄνω and κάτω would respectively mean "away from" and "towards" some *port* regarded as a centre. In the present case this would be some place on the Asiatic main,—perhaps Ephesus, which was the port through which the commerce with Europe mainly passed. (See note 512 on i. 152.)

[258] πολλόν. So Gaisford prints from S and V. The other MSS have πολλῷ.

[259] ὁ δὲ ναυτικός. See above, note 253 on § 130.

[260] τοῦ Ἡγησίλεω. In vi. 65, all the MSS, without any exception, make Agis

at *Ægina* 110 sail strong. Ἱπποκρατίδεω, τοῦ Λευτυχίδεω, τοῦ Ἀναξίλεω, τοῦ Ἀρχιδήμου, τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδεω, τοῦ Θεοπόμπου, τοῦ Νικάνδρου, τοῦ Χαρίλλου, τοῦ Εὐνόμου, τοῦ Πολυδέκτεος, τοῦ Πρυτάνιος [261], τοῦ Εὐρυφῶντος, τοῦ Προκλέος, τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου, τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου, τοῦ Κλεοδαίου, τοῦ Ὕλλου, τοῦ Ἡρακλέος· ἐὼν τῆς ἑτέρης οἰκίης τῶν βασιλέων. οὗτοι πάντες, πλὴν τῶν δυῶν τῶν μετὰ Λευτυχίδεα πρώτων καταλεχθέντων, οἱ ἄλλοι, βασιλέες ἐγένοντο Σπάρτης· Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἐστρατήγεε Ξάνθιππος ὁ Ἀρίφρονος [262].

132 They are induced to move as far as *Delos* by some Ionian exiles, Ὡς δὲ παρεγένοντο ἐς τὴν Αἴγιναν πᾶσαι αἱ νῆες, ἀπίκοντο Ἰώνων ἄγγελοι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Ἑλλήνων· οἳ καὶ ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τούτων ἀπικόμενοι, ἐδέοντο Λακεδαιμονίων ἐλευθεροῦν τὴν Ἰωνίην· τῶν καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ὁ Βασιληΐδεω ἦν· οἳ στασιῶταί σφι γενόμενοι, ἐπεβούλευον θάνατον Στράττι τῷ Χίου τυράννῳ [263]· ἐόντες ἀρχὴν ἑπτά· ἐπιβουλεύοντες δὲ ὡς φανεροὶ

the grandfather of Leotychides,—a difference which can only be accounted for by supposing different sources. Clinton (*F. H.* ii. p. 209) considers the present passage corrupt. And there are doubtless many great difficulties in it. In the first place, Aristodemus and his three ancestors can in no way be said (conformably with ordinary accounts) to have been kings of Sparta, as the country was subdued in the time of Aristodemus at the very earliest. Again, all the descendants of Theopompus, from Anaxandrides to Hippocratides both inclusive, are unknown from any other authority as kings of Sparta. In their place Pausanias (iii. 7. 5) gives Zeuxidamus (grandson of Theopompus, his father Archidamus having died), Anaxidamus, Archidamus, Agasicles, and Ariston. This Ariston is the person mentioned by Herodotus (vi. 61). In some other details Pausanias's list of the Procleid house differs from that of Herodotus. He puts a *Soüs* between Procles and Euryphon, which latter he calls Eurypon, and reverses the order of Eunomus and Polydectes. But it would be very rash to place implicit dependance upon any one list, and to attempt to correct the others by it, as there is little probability that any one rests upon contemporaneous records. See note 217 on i. 65.

261 τοῦ Πρυτάνιος. One manuscript (F) omits this name.

262 Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἐστρατήγεε Ξάνθιππος ὁ Ἀρίφρονος. This was the father of the great Pericles. The reputation of Themistocles seems to have occasioned a difficulty in later times to account for his not appearing in command on this occasion; and Diodorus puts together a number of facts to explain the matter. According to him, the distinction gained by the Athenians at Salamis was such, that a general opinion prevailed that they would put forward a claim to the hegemony. In order to thwart this, the Lacedæmonians by their influence caused the ἀριστεῖα to be adjudged to the Æginetans, as it seems from Herodotus (§ 122, above) was done. But now, dreading the effects of this, they found it necessary to conciliate Themistocles personally; and hence the distinctions which were heaped upon *him*. The Athenians in their turn, angry with Themistocles for receiving these honours, deposed him, and appointed Xanthippus in his place (xi. 27). A more simple explanation is perhaps to be found in the fact, that a new campaign having begun, new commanders were naturally appointed; and certainly the most important post for an Athenian statesman would no longer be at the head of the fleet, after the enemy's navy had been destroyed, and while he had an enormous army in Thessaly.

263 Στράττι τῷ Χίου τυράννῳ. This Strattis was one of the Ionian dynasts who discussed the question whether they should destroy the bridge which Darius

ἐγένοντο, ἐξενείκαντος τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἑνὸς τῶν μετεχόντων, οὕτω δὴ οἱ λοιποὶ, ἐξ ἐόντες, ὑπεξέσχον [264] ἐκ τῆς Χίου, καὶ ἐς Σπάρτην τε ἀπίκοντο καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἐς τὴν Αἴγιναν, τῶν Ἑλλήνων δεόμενοι καταπλῶσαι ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην· οἳ προήγαγον αὐτοὺς μόγις μέχρι Δήλου· τὸ γὰρ προσωτέρω πᾶν δεινὸν ἦν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, οὔτε τῶν χώρων ἐοῦσι ἐμπείροισι, στρατιῆς τε πάντα πλέα ἐδόκεε εἶναι· τὴν δὲ Σάμον ἐπιστέατο δόξῃ καὶ Ἡρακλέας στήλας ἴσον ἀπέχειν [265]· συνέπιπτε δὲ τοιοῦτο, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέρης ἀνωτέρω Σάμου [266] μὴ τολμᾶν καταπλῶσαι, καταρρωδηκότας· τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας, χρηϊζόντων Χίων, τὸ πρὸς ἠῶ κατωτέρω Δήλου· οὕτω δέος τὸ μέσον ἐφύλασσέ σφεων.

but are afraid to go further.

133 Οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνες ἔπλωον ἐς τὴν Δῆλον· Μαρδόνιος δὲ περὶ τὴν Θεσσαλίην ἐχείμαζε [267]. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὁρμεώμενος, ἔπεμπε κατὰ τὰ χρηστήρια ἄνδρα Εὐρωπέα γένος [268], τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Μῦς, ἐν-

During the winter passed by Mardonius in

had thrown across the Ister, when the failure of his expedition into Scythia had become manifest (iv. 138). He had no doubt been replaced in his position by the Persians, when they recovered Ionia after the revolt had been crushed by the capture of Miletus (vi. 31). The dative case Στράττι is analogous to Κλέοβι (i. 31), and also to the adjectives ἄχαρι and ἄπολι (i. 41; ix. 61).

[264] ὑπεξέσχον. See note 186 on v. 72.

[265] τὴν δὲ Σάμον .... ἴσον ἀπέχειν. This observation has been noticed as an extravagant exaggeration on the part of the author. "His object is here, by an imaginary effect of contrast, to place in a more striking light the rapid increase during his own time, of nautical power and enterprize among his European fellow countrymen, of which result the victories he had just celebrated were a principal cause. And in his zeal to produce this illusive effect he would have us believe, that prior to the epoch of those victories the great central port of Samos, which was probably even in those days little less familiar to Attic merchants and seamen than the port of Piræus, was viewed by the Greek commanders stationed at Delos, within sight of this very Samos, much in the light of some *terra incognita* or *ultima Thule* of the eastern waters." (MURE, *Critical History of the Language and Literature of Ancient Greece*, iv. p. 405.) These remarks seem to leave out of consideration that the fleet was under the command of a *Lacedæmonian*, totally unused to operations by sea, and that the "Hellenes" in the text have reference merely to the commandant and his staff. The feeling remarked with regard to the distance of Samos (not from Delos, but from Sparta) probably arose in a great measure from the failure of the enterprize against that island, recorded in iii. 56. That expedition, the first undertaken to Asia since the Dorian invasion, turned out so badly, that it is not wonderful if "a voyage to Samos" became proverbial at Sparta for an unlucky enterprize. It will be seen that next year, when the Spartan admiral adopted a more venturous policy, it was in the sequel of an *omen*, which in ancient ways of thinking would be regarded as a most important matter. If any superstitious persons thought that a spell was laid upon all expeditions to Samos, here was an indication that the spell was broken.

[266] ἀνωτέρω Σάμου. See note 257 on § 130, above.

[267] ἐχείμαζε. Herodotus elsewhere uses the form χειμερίζειν in this sense (see note 221 on § 113, above). And it is the more extraordinary that he should not have done so here, as he employs the word χειμάζειν in a different sense (vii. 191). See the note on that passage.

[268] Εὐρωπέα γένος. There was a town called *Europus* in Macedonia, and another in Syria, the latter of which however is of later times than the conquest of Alexan-

Thessaly, he consults various oracles by one *Mys*,

τειλάμενος πανταχῆ μιν χρησόμενον ἐλθεῖν τῶν οἷά τε ἦν σφι ἀποπειρήσασθαι. ὅ τι μὲν βουλόμενος ἐκμαθέειν πρὸς τῶν χρηστηρίων ταῦτα ἐνετέλλετο, οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι· οὐ γὰρ ὦν λέγεται· δοκέω δ' ἔγωγε περὶ τῶν παρεόντων πρηγμάτων, καὶ οὐκ ἄλλων πέρι πέμψαι.

134 who for that purpose visits the cave of Trophonius at *Lebadea*, *Abæ* in Phocis, and the temple of the Ismenian Apollo at *Thebes*; also the

Οὗτος ὁ Μῦς ἔς τε Λεβάδειαν φαίνεται ἀπικόμενος, καὶ μισθῷ πείσας τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἄνδρα καταβῆναι παρὰ Τροφώνιον, καὶ ἐς Ἄβας τὰς Φωκέων[269] ἀπικόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Θήβας πρῶτα ὡς ἀπίκετο, τοῦτο μὲν τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐχρήσατο· (ἔστι δὲ, κατάπερ ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ[270], ἱροῖσι αὐτόθι χρηστηριάζεσθαι·) τοῦτο δὲ ξεῖνόν τινα[271] καὶ οὐ Θηβαῖον χρήμασι πείσας κατεκοίμισε ἐς Ἀμφιάρεω[272]. Θηβαίων δὲ οὐδενὶ ἔξεστι μαντεύεσθαι αὐτόθι, διὰ τόδε[273]· ἐκέλευσέ σφεας ὁ Ἀμ-

der. Stephanus Byzantinus also speaks of an Europus in Caria, and it has been generally assumed that Mys must have been a native of this. But the only colour for such a supposition seems to be the circumstance, that the Carians in subsequent times appear to have frequently acted as interpreters between the Greeks and the Persian officials. Tissaphernes sent with the Spartan admiral Mindarus πρεσβευτὴν τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ, Γαυλείτην ὄνομα, Κᾶρα δίγλωσσον. (Thucydides, viii. 85.) Compare too Xenophon, *Anabasis*, i. 2. 17. Stephanus, however, expressly says that the gentile name from the *Carian* Europus is Εὐρώπιος. I should be more disposed to think Mys a Macedonian, and belonging to a part of the population which was of Pelasgian or Achæan blood. (See below, note 276 on § 135.) The name *Europë* was a surname of Demeter in the ritual of Trophonius, whose nurse she was said to have been. (Pausanias, ix. 39. 5.) It was therefore doubtless an Achæan or Pelasgian word.

269 ἐς Ἄβας τὰς Φωκέων. The temple having been sacked and burnt the year before (see § 33, above), it seems at first sight strange that Mardonius should have endeavoured to conciliate the favour of the oracle. But certainly this outrage was committed by a division of the army which Mardonius did not command in person (see notes 69, 71, and 72 on §§ 33, 34), and perhaps on the present occasion compensation was tendered.

270 κατάπερ ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ, "in the same way as at Olympia." This was through the appearances presented by the entrails of the victim while burning. Pindar says: Ὀλυμπία δέσποιν' ἀλαθείας, ἵνα μάντιες ἄνδρες Ἐμπύροις τεκμαιρόμενοι παραπειρῶνται Διὸς ἀργικεραύνου. (*Olymp.* viii. *init.*) Hence Sophocles (*Œd. Tyr.* 21) uses the expression, ἐπ' Ἰσμηνοῦ τε μαντείᾳ σποδῷ, where the Scholiast, on the authority of Philochorus, explains the words by asserting that the priests there resorted to this method of divination.

271 ξεῖνόν τινα. Doubtless one of the periœcians to whom the temple originally belonged. See the next note but one. Plutarch in one passage says that this individual was a Lydian (*Aristid.* § 19); in another he calls him a servant (*De oraculorum defectu*, § 5), and makes him receive the oracle φωνῇ Αἰολίδι.

272 ἐς Ἀμφιάρεω. Some of the MSS have ἐς Ἀμφιάραον. But although the usage of language seems to have been to speak of Amphiaraus himself, and not his oracle, as giving advice, and even to say, πέμπειν παρὰ Ἀμφιάρεων (i. 46), and not παρὰ Ἀμφιάρεω μαντεῖον, yet κατακοιμίζειν τινὰ ἐς Ἀμφιάραον would certainly not be good Greek. Hyperides (*Pro Euxenippo*, col. 28) asks respecting his client, τί καὶ ἀδικεῖ ἃ ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ προσέταττε ταῦτ' ἐξαγγείλας; but describes his duty as having been commissioned, with two others, ἐγκατακλιθῆναι εἰς τὸ ἱερόν. Of the ritual of Amphiaraus, see note 164 on i. 52. Gaisford prints κατεκοίμησε on the authority of a single MS, instead of κατεκοίμισε.

273 διὰ τόδε. The story which follows seems to be a mythical form of what may very reasonably be expected to have hap-

φιάρεως διὰ χρηστηρίων ποιεύμενος ὁκότερα βούλονται ἑλέσθαι τούτων, ἑωυτῷ ἢ ἅτε μάντι χρέεσθαι, ἢ ἅτε συμμάχῳ τοῦ ἑτέρου ἀπεχομένους· οἱ δὲ σύμμαχόν μιν εἵλοντο εἶναι· διὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἔξεστι Θηβαίων οὐδενὶ αὐτόθι ἐγκατακοιμηθῆναι. Τόδε δὲ θῶμά 135 μοι μέγιστον γενέσθαι λέγεται ὑπὸ Θηβαίων· ἐλθεῖν ἄρα τὸν Εὐρωπέα Μῦν, περιστρωφώμενον πάντα τὰ χρηστήρια, καὶ ἐς τοῦ Πτώου Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ τέμενος· τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἱρὸν καλέεται μὲν Πτῷον, ἔστι δὲ Θηβαίων, κέεται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Κωπαΐδος λίμνης πρὸς οὔρεϊ, ἀγχοτάτω Ἀκραιφνίης[274] πόλιος· ἐς τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν ἐπεί τε παρελθεῖν τὸν καλεόμενον τοῦτον Μῦν, ἕπεσθαί οἱ τῶν ἀστῶν αἱρετοὺς ἄνδρας τρεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ, ὡς ἀπογραψομένους τὰ θεσπιέειν ἔμελλε· καὶ πρόκατε[275] τὸν πρόμαντιν βαρβάρῳ γλώσσῃ χρᾶν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἑπομένους τῶν Θηβαίων ἐν θώματι ἔχεσθαι ἀκούοντας βαρβάρου γλώσσης ἀντὶ Ἑλλάδος, οὐδὲ ἔχειν ὅ τι χρήσονται τῷ παρεόντι πρήγματι· τὸν δὲ Εὐρωπέα Μῦν ἐξαρπάσαντα παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν ἐφέροντο δέλτον, τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτεω γράφειν ἐς αὐτήν· φάναι δὲ Καρίῃ μιν γλώσσῃ χρᾶν[276]. συγγραψάμενον δὲ οἴχεσθαι ἀπιόντα ἐς Θεσσαλίην.

shrine of *Amphiaraus*; that of Apollo Ptoüs at *Acræphnia*, where the response was made in a strange language, but one understood by Mys, who called it *Carian*.

pened upon the final settlement of the struggle between the Cadmean invaders and the aboriginal population of the country. Amphiaraus was a hero belonging to the mythology of the latter. He was propitiated and converted into an ally by respecting the privileges of his worshippers, or, in other words, by leaving his ritual in the hands of that race to which it belonged. It is to be remarked, that just before the battle of Leuctra, which led to the re-establishment of a Messenian and Arcadian influence in the Peloponnese, the Thebans consulted exactly the *same* oracles which Mys did on the occasion of Mardonius's commission, with the addition only of that of Delphi. And some connexion of the oracle at Delphi with that of Amphiaraus at Oropus appears from the argument of Hyperides (*Pro Euxenippo*, col. 28, line 21).

[274] Ἀκραιφνίης. This is the reading of F, *b*, *d*. Gaisford, with the majority of MSS, has Ἀκραιφίης. But in Pausanias (ix. 23. 5) the town is called Ἀκραίφνιον. It was a mere hamlet within the territory of Thebes until the destruction of that city by Alexander, when a portion of the population found refuge there. The temple of Apollo Ptoüs was fifteen *stades* from the town, on the right of the road which led to it from Thebes. The legend made *Ptoüs*, from whom the surname of the god was derived, a son of *Athamas* and *Themisto*. The poet *Asius* of Samos is regarded by Pausanias as the authority for it.

[275] πρόκατε. See note 392 on i. 111.

[276] Καρίῃ μιν γλώσσῃ χρᾶν. In the time of Pausanias, the local accounts related that Mys *consulted* the oracle in his own language, and not merely, as Herodotus puts it, understood the latter when speaking in a foreign tongue. This would be the more natural proceeding, if we suppose (which there is every reason to believe) that the oracle was originally founded antecedently to the invasion of the Cadmeans, and belonged to the old inhabitants of the country,—a population pretty nearly identical with the autocthonous part of the population of Attica, and with that of the Megarid at the time when the acropolis of Megara was called *Caria*. (See note 167 on v. 66.) An acquaintance with the ancient language would doubtless be preserved by the functionaries of the temple

136 Μαρδόνιος δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος ὅ τι δὴ ἦν λέγοντα τὰ χρηστήρια, μετὰ ταῦτα ἔπεμψε ἄγγελον ἐς Ἀθήνας Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀμύντεω[277], ἄνδρα Μακεδόνα[278]· ἅμα μὲν ὅτι οἱ προσκηδέες οἱ Πέρσαι ἦσαν· (Ἀλεξάνδρου γὰρ ἀδελφεὴν Γυγαίην, Ἀμύντεω δὲ θυγατέρα, Βουβάρης ἀνὴρ Πέρσης ἔσχε, ἐκ τῆς οἱ ἐγεγόνεε Ἀμύντης ὁ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, ἔχων τὸ οὔνομα τοῦ μητροπάτορος· τῷ δὴ ἐκ βασιλέος τῆς Φρυγίης ἐδόθη Ἀλάβανδα[279] πόλις μεγάλη νέμεσθαι·) ἅμα δὲ ὁ Μαρδόνιος, πυθόμενος ὅτι πρόξενός τε εἴη καὶ εὐεργέτης[280] ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἔπεμπε· τοὺς γὰρ Ἀθηναίους οὕτω ἐδόκεε μάλιστα προσκτήσεσθαι, λεών τε πολλὸν ἄρα ἀκούων εἶναι καὶ ἄλκιμον, τά τε κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν συντυχόντα σφι παθήματα κατεργασαμένους μάλιστα Ἀθηναίους ἐπίστατο· τούτων δὲ προσγενομένων, κατήλπιζε εὐπετέως τῆς θαλάσσης κρατήσειν, τάπερ ἂν καὶ ἦν· πεζῇ τε ἐδόκεε πολλὸν εἶναι κρέσσων· οὕτω τε ἐλογίζετο κατύπερθέ οἱ τὰ πρήγματα ἔσεσθαι [τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν[281].] τάχα

On receiving the responses of the several oracles, Mardonius despatches Alexander the Macedonian prince as a commissioner to Athens.

long after it ceased to exist, as a living one, in the neighbourhood. Most probably formularies in it constituted a portion of the religious service of the deity. The proceeding of Mys would be, in this view, analogous to that of a person who should address the Brahmins of Benares in Sanscrit, or the ecclesiastics of a Transalpine Romanist church in Latin. It would be a stroke of policy in Mardonius to employ as his agent an individual familiar with the religious system to which the temples visited by him belonged.

277 Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀμύντεω. For the conduct of this Alexander, in his younger days, to the Persian embassy at his father's court, see v. 19—21. But his Persian brother-in-law was the son of Megabazus, the chief who had organized the European continent from the Hellespont to the Strymon, and who stood in the highest favour with Darius. (See note 111 on vi. 44.) He therefore had doubtless modified his views, and probably hoped to become in Europe what Histiæus had been in Asia. Compare the overtures of Hydarnes to the Spartans, Sperthias and Bulis (vii. 135).

278 ἄνδρα Μακεδόνα. This is the description by which Alexander is introduced to notice in vii. 173, where see the note.

279 Ἀλάβανδα. Stephanus Byzantinus appears to have found the reading Ἀλάβαστρα in his copy. But although Alabanda in *Caria* is well known, there is no notice elsewhere of an Alabanda in *Phrygia*, or of an Alabastra any where whatever.

280 πρόξενός τε εἴη καὶ εὐεργέτης. This connexion was probably one not with Athens, but with the Pisistratid dynasty. Amyntas, the father of Alexander, had offered Hippias the town Anthemus on his final abandonment of the attempt to recover Athens (v. 94). But after the discomfiture of the Persians at Salamis, and the growth of the power of the commonalty (which took such a start from that event; Aristotle, *Polit.* v. p. 1304), it became an absolute necessity to represent the relations which formerly subsisted between the great dynastic families in a false light. See notes 197 and 201 on i. 60; notes 213 and 214 on i. 63; note 165 on v. 65; and note 315 on vi. 140. It is perhaps out of delicacy to democratic feelings that Alexander, both here and above, vii. 173 (where see the note), being spoken of as a friend to the Athenians, is described without any reference to his exalted position.

281 [τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν]. One manuscript (S) has Ἑλλήνων, another Ἑλληνικῶν, and a third τὰ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, variations which induce the belief that the whole originate in a marginal gloss.

δ' ἂν καὶ τὰ χρηστήρια ταῦτά οἱ προλέγοι, συμβουλεύοντα σύμμαχον τὸ Ἀθηναῖον οἱ ποιήσασθαι· τοῖσι δὴ πειθόμενος ἔπεμπε[282].

137 Τοῦ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τούτου ἕβδομος γενέτωρ Περδίκκης ἐστὶ, ὁ κτησάμενος τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν τυραννίδα τρόπῳ τοιῷδε[283]. ἐξ Ἄργεος ἔφυγον ἐς Ἰλλυριοὺς τῶν Τημενοῦ ἀπογόνων τρεῖς ἀδελφεοὶ, Γαυάνης τε καὶ Ἀέροπος καὶ Περδίκκης· ἐκ δὲ Ἰλλυριῶν ὑπερβαλόντες ἐς τὴν ἄνω Μακεδονίην, ἀπίκοντο ἐς Λεβαίην πόλιν· ἐνθαῦτα δὲ ἐθήτευον ἐπὶ μισθῷ παρὰ τῷ βασιλέϊ, ὁ μὲν ἵππους νέμων, ὁ δὲ βοῦς, ὁ δὲ νεώτατος αὐτῶν Περδίκκης τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων· ἦσαν δὲ τὸ πάλαι καὶ αἱ τυραννίδες τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀσθενέες χρήμασι[284], οὐ μοῦνον ὁ δῆμος· ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τοῦ βασιλέος αὐτὴ τὰ σιτία σφι ἔπεσσε· ὅκως δὲ ὀπτῷτο ὁ ἄρτος τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ θητὸς Περδίκκεω, διπλήσιος ἐγίνετο αὐτὸς ἑωυτοῦ· ἐπεὶ δὲ αἰεὶ τὠυτὸ τοῦτο ἐγίνετο, εἶπε πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἑωυτῆς· τὸν δὲ ἀκούσαντα ἐσῆλθε αὐτίκα, ὡς εἴη τέρας καὶ φέροι ἐς μέγα τι· καλέσας δὲ τοὺς θῆτας, προηγόρευέ σφι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ γῆς τῆς ἑωυτοῦ· οἱ δὲ τὸν μισθὸν ἔφασαν δίκαιοι εἶναι ἀπολαβόντες, οὕτω ἐξιέναι· ἐνθαῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ μισθοῦ πέρι ἀκούσας, ἦν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν καπνοδόκην ἐς τὸν οἶκον ἐσέχων ὁ ἥλιος, εἶπε θεοβλαβὴς γενόμενος· "μισθὸν δὲ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ ὑμέων ἄξιον τόνδε ἀποδίδωμι·" δείξας τὸν ἥλιον. ὁ μὲν δὴ Γαυάνης τε καὶ ὁ Ἀέροπος, οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, ἕστασαν ἐκπεπληγμένοι, ὡς ἤκουσαν ταῦτα· ὁ δὲ παῖς, ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἔχων μάχαιραν, εἴπας τάδε· "δεκόμεθα, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ διδοῖς[285]." περιγράφει τῇ μαχαίρῃ ἐς

Pedigree of the Macedonian dynasty, which originally sprang from Argos; and legend of their first establishment in Macedonia.

282 τάχα δ' ἂν καὶ τὰ χρηστήρια . . . πειθόμενος ἔπεμπε. The manuscripts S and V have τάχα δὲ τὰ χρηστήρια ταῦτά οἱ προλέγουσι, and S has τὸν Ἀθηναῖον. Instead of οἱ ποιήσασθαι, all but S and V have ποιεῖσθαι. There can certainly be little doubt that Mardonius's object was not a purely superstitious one; but that he was endeavouring to shake the Greek confederacy by means of an appeal to the religious predilections of a portion of it.

283 ὁ κτησάμενος τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν τυραννίδα τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. THUCYDIDES so far coincides with Herodotus in his account of the origin of the Macedonian kings, as to make Perdiccas the first of them, and Archelaus (the son of Alexander) the eighth (ii. 100). The traditions therefore which both these writers follow are entirely distinct from those which make the original founder of the empire to be *Caranus*, a brother of Phidon the dynast of Argos.

284 ἦσαν δὲ τὸ πάλαι καὶ αἱ τυραννίδες τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀσθενέες χρήμασι. The instances in the Homeric poems of Nausicaa employed in washing the garments of the family (*Odyss.* vi. 57, seqq.), and of the brothers of Andromache slain while tending their father's herds (*Iliad.* vi. 422) will recur to every one.

285 δεκόμεθα, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ διδοῖς. There is no "ambiguous answer" here as has been supposed. According to ancient

τὸ ἔδαφος τοῦ οἴκου τὸν ἥλιον· περιγράψας δὲ, ἐς τὸν κόλπον τρὶς ἀρυσάμενος τοῦ ἡλίου, ἀπαλλάσσετο αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ μετ' ἐκείνου.

138 Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπήϊσαν· τῷ δὲ βασιλέϊ σημαίνει τις τῶν παρέδρων οἷόν τι χρῆμα ποιήσειε ὁ παῖς, καὶ ὡς σὺν νόῳ κείνων ὁ νεώτατος λάβοι τὰ διδόμενα· ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας, καὶ ὀξυνθεὶς, πέμπει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἱππέας ἀπολέοντας. ποταμὸς δέ ἐστι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ταύτῃ, τῷ θύουσι οἱ τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπ' Ἄργεος ἀπόγονοι σωτήρια[286]· οὗτος, ἐπεί τε διέβησαν οἱ Τημενίδαι, μέγας οὕτω ἐρρύη ὥστε τοὺς ἱππέας μὴ οἵους τε γενέσθαι διαβῆναι. οἱ δὲ, ἀπικόμενοι ἐς ἄλλην γῆν τῆς Μακεδονίης, οἴκησαν πέλας τῶν κήπων τῶν λεγομένων εἶναι Μίδεω τοῦ Γορδίεω· ἐν τοῖσι φύεται αὐτόματα ῥόδα, ἓν ἕκαστον ἔχον ἑξήκοντα φύλλα, ὀδμῇ τε ὑπερφέροντα τῶν ἄλλων. ἐν τούτοισι καὶ ὁ Σιληνὸς[287] τοῖσι κήποισι ἥλω, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων· ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν κήπων οὖρος κέεται, Βέρμιον[288] οὔνομα, ἄβατον ὑπὸ χειμῶνος. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὁρμεώμενοι, ὡς ταύτην ἔσχον, κατεστρέφοντο καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Μακεδονίην.

The *Gardens of Midas*, where the Macedonian legend places the *Capture of Silenus.*

139 Ἀπὸ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Περδίκκεω Ἀλέξανδρος ὧδε ἐγεγόνεε· Ἀμύντεω παῖς ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος· Ἀμύντης δὲ Ἀλκέτεω· Ἀλκέτεω δὲ πατὴρ ἦν Ἀέροπος· τοῦ δὲ Φίλιππος· Φιλίππου δὲ Ἀργαῖος· τοῦ δὲ Περδίκκης ὁ κτησάμενος τὴν ἀρχήν. ἐγεγόνεε μὲν δὴ ὧδε Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀμύντεω.

140 Ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας[289] ἀποπεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου, ἔλεγε τάδε· "ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Μαρδόνιος τάδε λέγει[290]· ἐμοὶ

Legation of Alexander to Athens,

ways of thinking the offer and the omen are inseparable from each other, and both from the actual object which was visible to the eye,—the sunlight streaming into the hut. Hence the gesture of Perdiccas, as if securing his new possession. See notes on ix. 91, 92.

[286] σωτήρια, "a thank-offering for preservation." Several of the MSS have σωτῆρι, which Gaisford adopts. But although the name σωτὴρ is applied as a surname to many of the ancient deities, the position of the word at the end of the sentence, without any explanation that it was a surname, would be unusual.

[287] ὁ Σιληνός. The legend of *Silenus*, and his dialogue with Midas, upon physical subjects as well as the philosophy of life, appears to have been a very popular one in antiquity. Theopompus seems to have gone most fully into the details of the matter. He made Silenus the son of a nymph, and to be something greater than a man (for he was represented as immortal), although less than a deity (*ap. Ælian. Var. Hist.* iii. 18). Aristotle (*ap. Plutarch. Consolat.* § 27) introduced an allusion to Silenus in one of his own *exoteric* works, written in dialogue, entitled *Eudemus*, or *On the soul.* But this does nothing more than impute to him a peculiarly dark view of human existence. His sentiment is: ἄριστον γὰρ πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις μὴ γενέσθαι· τὸ μέντοι μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ πρῶτον τῶν ἄλλων ἀνυστὸν, δεύτερον δὲ, τὸ γενομένους ἀποθανεῖν ὡς τάχιστα.

[288] Βέρμιον. S and K have Βέρβιον, which is confirmed by Valla's *fons Berbinus.* Another (*d*) has Κέρμιον.

[289] ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. The Athenians apparently returned home immediately after the retreat of Xerxes's army northwards (§ 113), although the circumstance is not mentioned by Herodotus.

[290] Μαρδόνιος τάδε λέγει. See note

ἀγγελίη ἥκει παρὰ βασιλέος λέγουσα οὕτω· Ἀθηναίοισι τὰς ἁμαρτάδας τὰς ἐς ἐμὲ ἐξ ἐκείνων γενομένας πάσας μετίημι· νῦν τε ὧδε, Μαρδόνιε, ποίεε· τοῦτο μὲν τὴν γῆν σφι ἀπόδος· τοῦτο δὲ, ἄλλην πρὸς ταύτῃ ἑλέσθων αὐτοὶ ἥντινα ἂν ἐθέλωσι ἐόντες αὐτόνομοι· ἱρά τε πάντα σφι, ἢν δὴ βούλωνταί γε ἐμοὶ ὁμολογέειν, ἀνόρθωσον, ὅσα ἐγὼ ἐνέπρησα. τούτων δὲ ἀπιγμένων, ἀναγκαίως ἔχει μοι ποιέειν ταῦτα, ἢν μὴ τὸ ὑμέτερον ἀντίον[291] γένηται· λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν τάδε· νῦν τί μαίνεσθε πόλεμον βασιλέϊ ἀνταειρόμενοι; οὔτε γὰρ ἂν ὑπερβάλοισθε οὔτε οἷοί τε ἐστὲ ἀντέχειν τὸν πάντα χρόνον· εἴδετε μὲν γὰρ τῆς Ξέρξεω στρατηλασίης τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὰ ἔργα· πυνθάνεσθε δὲ καὶ τὴν νῦν παρ' ἐμοὶ[292] ἐοῦσαν δύναμιν· ὥστε καὶ ἢν ἡμέας ὑπερβάλησθε, καὶ νικήσητε, (τοῦπέρ ὑμῖν οὐδεμία ἐλπὶς εἴπερ εὖ φρονέετε,) ἄλλη παρέσται πολλαπλησίη. μὴ ὦν βούλεσθε παρισεύμενοι βασιλέϊ,[293], στέρεσθαι μὲν τῆς χώρης, θέειν δὲ αἰεὶ περὶ ὑμέων αὐτῶν[294]· ἀλλὰ καταλύσασθε· παρέχει δὲ ὑμῖν κάλλιστα καταλύσασθαι, βασιλέος ταύτῃ ὡρμημένου. ἔστε ἐλεύθεροι, ἡμῖν ὁμαιχμίην συνθέμενοι ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης. Μαρδόνιος μὲν ταῦτα, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐνετείλατό μοι εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὑμέας· ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν εὐνοίης τῆς πρὸς ὑμέας ἐούσης ἐξ ἐμεῦ οὐδὲν λέξω· (οὐ γὰρ ἂν νῦν πρῶτον ἐκμάθοιτε[295].) προσχρηΐζω δὲ ὑμέων, πείθεσθαι Μαρδονίῳ· ἐνορέω γὰρ ὑμῖν οὐκ οἵοισί τε ἐσομένοισι τὸν πάντα χρόνον πολεμέειν Ξέρξῃ· (εἰ γὰρ ἐνώρων τοῦτο ἐν ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἄν κοτε ἐς ὑμέας ἦλθον ἔχων λόγους τούσδε·) καὶ γὰρ δύναμις ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον ἡ βασιλέος ἐστὶ, καὶ χεὶρ ὑπερμήκης[296]. ἢν ὦν μὴ αὐτίκα ὁμολογήσητε, μεγάλα προτεινόντων ἐπ' οἷσι ὁμολογέειν

118 on iii. 40. One manuscript (K) has for ἔλεγε τάδε simply λέγει, and then proceeds: ἀγγελίη ἥκει παρὰ βασιλέος, κ.τ.λ.

291 ἀντίον. This is the ingenious emendation of Valcknaer, all the MSS having αἴτιον.

292 παρ' ἐμοί. This is the reading of one manuscript (*a*). The rest, with one exception, have παρ' ἐμέ.

293 παρισεύμενοι βασιλέϊ, "putting yourselves on a footing with the king." The expression is used elsewhere of the proceeding of Aryandes, who, by issuing a coinage, put himself on the footing of an independent prince: παρισεύμενος Δαρείῳ διεφθάρη (iv. 166). By refusing to become the vassals of the Persian king, the Athenians indirectly matched themselves with him.

294 θέειν δὲ αἰεὶ περὶ ὑμέων αὐτῶν. A similar expression is used above (vii. 57): περὶ ἑωυτοῦ τρέχων.

295 οὐ γὰρ ἂν νῦν πρῶτον ἐκμάθοιτε. This apparently refers to the communication made to the allies when they were encamped in the valley of the Peneus. See above, vii. 173.

296 χεὶρ ὑπερμήκης. Ovid has rendered this proverbial expression into Latin: "An nescis longas regibus esse manus?" (*Heroid.* xvii. 166.)

ἐθέλουσι, δειμαίνω ὑπὲρ ὑμέων, ἐν τρίβῳ τε μάλιστα οἰκημένων τῶν συμμάχων πάντων αἰεί τε φθειρομένων μούνων, ἐξαίρετόν τι μεταίχμιον τὴν γῆν κεκτημένων. ἀλλὰ πείθεσθε· πολλοῦ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἄξια ταῦτα, εἰ βασιλεύς γε ὁ μέγας μούνοισι ὑμῖν Ἑλλήνων τὰς ἁμαρτάδας ἀπιεὶς ἐθέλει φίλος γενέσθαι."

to get up a separate alliance with Persia

141 Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ πυθόμενοι ἥκειν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐς Ἀθήνας ἐς ὁμολογίην ἄξοντα τῷ βαρβάρῳ Ἀθηναίους, ἀναμνησθέντες τῶν λογίων [297], ὥς σφεας χρεόν ἐστι ἅμα τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Δωριεῦσι ἐκπίπτειν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ὑπὸ Μήδων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων, κάρτα τε ἔδεισαν μὴ ὁμολογήσωσι τῷ Πέρσῃ Ἀθηναῖοι, αὐτίκα τέ σφι ἔδοξε πέμπειν ἀγγέλους· καὶ δὴ συνέπιπτε ὥστε ὁμοῦ σφέων γίνεσθαι τὴν κατάστασιν· ἐπανέμειναν γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διατρίβοντες, εὖ ἐπιστάμενοι ὅτι ἔμελλον Λακεδαιμόνιοι πεύσεσθαι ἥκοντα παρὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου ἄγγελον ἐπ' ὁμολογίῃ, πυθόμενοί τε πέμψειν κατὰ τάχος ἀγγέλους· ἐπίτηδες ὦν ἐποίευν, ἐνδεικνύμενοι τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι τὴν ἑωυτῶν γνώμην.

is opposed by the Lacedæmonians.

142 Ὡς δὲ ἐπαύσατο λέγων Ἀλέξανδρος, διαδεξάμενοι ἔλεγον οἱ ἀπὸ Σπάρτης ἄγγελοι· "ἡμέας δὲ ἔπεμψαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι δεησομένους ὑμέων, μήτε νεώτερον ποιέειν μηδὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, μήτε λόγους ἐνδέκεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου· οὔτε γὰρ δίκαιον οὐδαμῶς οὔτε κόσμον φέρον οὔτε γε ἄλλοισι Ἑλλήνων οὐδαμοῖσι, ὑμῖν δὲ δὴ καὶ διὰ πάντων ἥκιστα, πολλῶν εἵνεκα· ἠγείρατε γὰρ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ὑμεῖς, οὐδὲν ἡμέων βουλομένων, καὶ περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρης ἀρχῆς [298]

Their arguments against it.

[297] ἀναμνησθέντες τῶν λογίων. These prophecies are perhaps what Cleomenes had brought with him from Athens, after the failure of his attempt to establish Isagoras in power at that place. See v. 90. Possibly they may have been composed by Onomacritus, who appears to have been retained as a sort of family seer by the Pisistratids. The oracles, on the strength of which Hippias foretold ill to the Corinthians (v. 93), appear to have had the same general bearing as those referred to in the text.

[298] περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρης ἀρχῆς. Wesseling, very naturally surprised at such language as this from Lacedæmonian commissioners to the Athenians, was at one time inclined to read περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρης ἀρχῆθεν ὁ ἀγὼν ἐγένετο, in accordance with what Themistocles says to the Ionians: ἀρχῆθεν ἡ ἔχθρη πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον ἀπ' ὑμέων ἡμῖν γέγονε (above, § 22). But the speech, although put into the mouth of a Spartan, is from an Athenian mint, and of a coinage later than the time when the ἡγεμονία was transferred from Lacedæmon to Athens. See the note 243 on v. 91. A similar remark is suggested by what presently follows: οἵ τινες αἰεὶ καὶ τὸ πάλαι φαίνεσθε πολλοὺς ἐλευθερώσαντες ἀνθρώπων. The Lacedæmonians had enjoyed the reputation of universal liberators while their supremacy lasted, which was owing to their habitual policy of substituting aristocratic for dynastic government wherever they could extend their influence. (See the beginning of the speech of the Corinthian Sosicles, v. 92, and THUCYDIDES, cited in the note 245 on the same.) When the Athenians stepped into their place as the leading city in Hellas, they earned the same title

ὁ ἀγὼν ἐγένετο· νῦν δὲ φέρει καὶ ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ἄλλως τε τούτων ἁπάντων αἰτίους γενέσθαι δουλοσύνης τοῖσι Ἕλλησι Ἀθηναίους, οὐδαμῶς ἀνασχετόν[299]· οἵτινες αἰεὶ καὶ τὸ πάλαι φαίνεσθε πολλοὺς ἐλευθερώσαντες ἀνθρώπων. πιεζευμένοισι μέντοι ὑμῖν συναχθόμεθα, καὶ ὅτι καρπῶν ἐστερήθητε διξῶν ἤδη καὶ ὅτι οἰκοφθόρησθε χρόνον ἤδη πολλόν· ἀντὶ τούτων δὲ ὑμῖν Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐπαγγέλλονται γυναῖκάς τε καὶ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἄχρηστα οἰκετέων ἐχόμενα[300] πάντα ἐπιθρέψειν, ἔστ' ἂν ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε συνεστήκῃ. μὴ δὲ ὑμέας Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν ἀναγνώσῃ, λεήνας[301] τὸν Μαρδονίου λόγον· τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα ποιητέα ἐστί· τύραννος γὰρ ἐὼν τυράννῳ συγκατεργάζεται· ὑμῖν δέ γε οὐ ποιητέα, εἴπερ εὖ τυγχάνετε φρονέοντες, ἐπισταμένοισι ὡς βαρβάροισί ἐστι οὔτε πιστὸν οὔτε ἀληθὲς οὐδέν." ταῦτα ἔλεξαν οἱ ἄγγελοι.

143 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πρὸς μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε[302]· "καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦτό γε ἐπιστάμεθα, ὅτι πολλαπλησίη ἐστὶ τῷ Μήδῳ δύναμις ἤπερ ἡμῖν· ὥστε οὐδὲν δέει τοῦτό γε ὀνειδίζειν· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐλευθερίης γλιχόμενοι ἀμυνεύμεθα οὕτω ὅκως ἂν καὶ δυνώμεθα· ὁμολογῆσαι δὲ τῷ βαρβάρῳ μήτε σὺ ἡμέας πειρῶ ἀναπείθειν, οὔτε ἡμέες πεισόμεθα. νῦν δὲ ἀπάγγελλε Μαρδονίῳ, ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι, ἔστ' ἂν ὁ ἥλιος τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἴῃ τῇπερ καὶ νῦν ἔρχεται, μήκοτε ὁμολογήσειν ἡμέας Ξέρξῃ· ἀλλὰ θεοῖσί τε συμμάχοισι πίσυνοί μιν ἐπέξιμεν ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ τοῖσι ἥρωσι·

Answer of the Athenians to Alexander,

by supporting the commonalty against an aristocracy of families, whenever they could. In later times these two policies were popularly confounded with each other, which furnished the orators with abundant material for flattering the national vanity.

[299] ἄλλως τε τούτων ἁπάντων αἰτίους γενέσθαι δουλοσύνης τοῖσι Ἕλλησι Ἀθηναίους, οὐδαμῶς ἀνασχετόν. This sentence is not easy to explain. Schäfer reads ἀπαντώντων for ἁπάντων. Matthiæ explains the passage as if the word αἰτίους were intended to do double duty, and be, as it were, repeated: "and that Athenians, the cause of all these things, should become the cause of slavery to Hellas, is a matter not to be thought of." This view of the passage is considered to be supported by § 80, above: ἴσθι γὰρ ἐξ ἐμέο τὰ ποιεύμενα ὑπὸ Μήδων, where see note 160. I should be more disposed to take τούτων ἁπάντων to mean "all these Hellenes," gathered inferentially from πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, and to translate: "and besides, that *among* all these Hellenic powers, Athenians should become the cause of slavery to Hellas," &c.

[300] οἰκετέων ἐχόμενα. Compare i. 120: τά γε τῶν ὀνειράτων ἐχόμενα. i. 193: τὰ εἰρημένα καρπῶν ἐχόμενα.

[301] λεήνας. See note 48 on vii. 9.

[302] ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε. According to PLUTARCH (*Aristid.* § 10) the answer to Alexander was made by *Aristides*, who was authorized to return it by a public decree. The terms are, as was to be expected, more energetic than they appear in Herodotus.

τῶν ἐκεῖνος οὐδεμίαν ὄπιν ἔχων[303], ἐνέπρησε τούς τε οἴκους καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα. σύ τε τοῦ λοιποῦ λόγους ἔχων τοιούσδε μὴ ἐπιφαίνεο Ἀθηναίοισι, μηδὲ δοκέων χρηστὰ ὑπουργέειν ἀθέμιστα ἔρδειν παραίνεε· οὐ γάρ σε βουλόμεθα οὐδὲν ἄχαρι πρὸς Ἀθη-
144 ναίων παθέειν[304], ἐόντα πρόξεινόν τε καὶ φίλον[305]." Πρὸς μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ Σπάρτης ἀγγέλους τάδε· "τὸ μὲν δεῖσαι Λακεδαιμονίους μὴ ὁμολογήσωμεν τῷ βαρβάρῳ, κάρτα ἀνθρωπήϊον ἦν· ἀτὰρ αἰσχρῶς γε οἴκατε, ἐξεπιστάμενοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ φρόνημα, ἀρρωδῆσαι· ὅτι οὔτε χρυσός ἐστι γῆς οὐδαμόθι τοσοῦτος οὔτε χώρη κάλλεϊ καὶ ἀρετῇ μέγα ὑπερφέρουσα, τὰ ἡμεῖς δεξάμενοι ἐθέλοιμεν ἂν μηδίσαντες καταδουλῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα. πολλά τε γὰρ καὶ μεγάλα ἐστὶ τὰ διακωλύοντα ταῦτα μὴ ποιέειν, μηδ' ἢν ἐθέλωμεν· πρῶτα μὲν καὶ μέγιστα[306], τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα ἐμπεπρησμένα τε καὶ συγκεχωσμένα· τοῖσι ἡμέας ἀναγκαίως ἔχει τιμωρέειν ἐς τὰ μέγιστα μᾶλλον, ἤπερ ὁμολογέειν τῷ ταῦτα ἐργασαμένῳ· αὖτις δὲ, τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐὸν ὅμαιμόν τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον, καὶ θεῶν ἱδρύματά τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι, ἤθεά τε ὁμότροπα· τῶν προδότας

to the Spartan commissioners.

[303] *οὐδεμίαν ὄπιν ἔχων.* The word ὄπιν is used below, ix. 76. But the word is otherwise peculiar to the Homeric poems, or rather is to be considered as an Ionic phrase, remaining only in them.

[304] *οὐδὲν ἄχαρι πρὸς Ἀθηναίων παθέειν.* In the time of the orators it was currently believed that Alexander narrowly escaped stoning at the hands of the Athenians on this occasion. (LYCURGUS, *c. Leocrat.* § 72, p. 156.) He represents him however as coming from *Xerxes*, not from Mardonius.

[305] *ἐόντα πρόξεινόν τε καὶ φίλον.* See above, note 280 on § 136.

[306] *πρῶτα μὲν καὶ μέγιστα.* After the victory of the allies at Platæa, it became a popular view of the war at Athens to represent it as one waged against the Persians in revenge for the outrages they had committed in destroying the temples of the Hellenic deities. In this spirit is the oath conceived, which according to the orator LYCURGUS (*c. Leocrat.* § 82, p. 158) was taken by the *collective allies* just before the battle at Platæa: *οὐ ποιήσομαι περὶ πλείονος τὸ ζῆν τῆς ἐλευθερίας, οὐδὲ καταλείψω τοὺς ἡγεμόνας οὔτε ζῶντας οὔτε ἀποθανόντας· ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τελευτήσαντας τῶν συμμάχων ἅπαντας θάψω· καὶ κρατήσας τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν βαρβάρων οὐδεμίαν τῶν ἀγωνισαμένων πόλεων ἀνάστατον ποιήσω· τὰς δὲ τὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου προελομένας ἁπάσας δεκατεύσω· καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν ἐμπρησθέντων καὶ καταβληθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων οὐδὲν οἰκοδομήσω παντάπασιν, ἀλλ' ὑπόμνημα τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις ἐάσω καταλείπεσθαι τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀσεβείας.* ISOCRATES (*Panegyric.* p. 73) attributes the resolution respecting the temples to the *Ionians;* and as no temple was burnt in the Peloponnese (from which the greater part of the allied force was drawn), this seems the more probable statement of the two. But in fact THEOPOMPUS, who was himself a scholar of Isocrates, asserted that the oath is an Athenian fiction (*fragm.* 167); a circumstance which peeps out from under the observation of Lycurgus, that the allies drew up the formula *οὐ παρ' αὐτῶν εὑρόντες, ἀλλὰ μιμησάμενοι τὸν παρ' ὑμῖν εἰθισμένον ὅρκον* (§ 81). The resolution sworn to at the commencement of the war by the Peloponnesian confederates (vii. 132) is of a much more practical character.

γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίους οὐκ ἂν εὖ ἔχοι. ἐπίστασθέ τε οὕτω, εἰ μὴ καὶ πρότερον ἐτυγχάνετε ἐπιστάμενοι· ἔστ' ἂν καὶ εἷς περιῇ Ἀθηναίων, μηδαμὰ ὁμολογήσοντας ἡμέας Ξέρξῃ[307]. ὑμέων μέντοι ἀγάμεθα τὴν προνοίην τὴν ἐς ἡμέας ἔχουσαν[308], ὅτι προείδετε ἡμέων οἰκοφθορημένων οὕτω, ὥστε ἐπιθρέψαι ἐθέλειν ἡμέων τοὺς οἰκέτας· καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν ἡ χάρις ἐκπεπλήρωται· ἡμέες μέντοι λιπαρήσομεν οὕτω ὅκως ἂν ἔχωμεν, οὐδὲν λυπέοντες ὑμέας. νῦν δὲ, ὡς οὕτω ἐχόντων, στρατιὴν ὡς τάχιστα ἐκπέμπετε· ὡς γὰρ ἡμέες εἰκάζομεν, οὐκ ἑκὰς χρόνου παρέσται ὁ βάρβαρος ἐσβαλὼν ἐς τὴν ἡμετέρην, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα πύθηται τὴν ἀγγελίην ὅτι οὐδὲν ποιήσομεν τῶν ἐκεῖνος ἡμέων προσεδέετο. πρὶν ὦν παρεῖναι ἐκεῖνον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἡμέας καιρός ἐστι προσβωθῆσαι ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίην." οἱ μὲν, ταῦτα ὑποκριναμένων Ἀθηναίων, ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Σπάρτην.

[307] ἔστ' ἂν καὶ εἷς περιῇ Ἀθηναίων ... ἡμέας Ξέρξῃ. It is difficult not to feel some scepticism about the sincerity of these sentiments, when it is considered how very soon afterwards (according to Herodotus's own account) the Athenians pressed upon the Lacedæmonians (ix. 6) that they had the option of an alliance with Persia. After the entire discomfiture of the invaders, and the developement of Hellenic national power which immediately followed, it became an object of emulation among the several states to make themselves out deadly enemies to the barbarian. Just in the same way the Parisians under the Directory took pride in having had relations guillotined during the reign of terror.

[308] τὴν ἐς ἡμέας ἔχουσαν. This is the reading of Gaisford and the manuscripts S and V. The others have the variation τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐοῦσαν. Here the difference is apparently to be attributed to an original diversity of διασκευαὶ, and not, as in v. 81, to the introduction into the text of an explanatory gloss.

ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ Η'.

EXCURSUS ON VIII. 76.

In describing the details of the battle of Salamis, modern writers have, without any exception so far as I am aware, been almost exclusively guided by the narrative of Herodotus; bestowing little or no attention on those features of the transaction which appear in other writers, and which are in some cases altogether incompatible with the details of the historian's account. This is the more to be wondered at, as Herodotus himself plainly intimates, that there were many particulars about which he was unable to speak positively [1]; while about some there was a very great disagreement at the time he wrote [2]. Colonel Leake, whose view of the matter seems to have been adopted unhesitatingly by the best modern historians of Greece, gives what appears to me a very false turn to these facts, by the remark, "that, instead of giving a consecutive narrative of the battle, Herodotus has related only a few of the most interesting occurrences; *consistently with that determination not to be responsible for any but ascertained facts*, which is observable in every part of his history of the Persian invasion [3]."

No person can have a higher opinion of the truthfulness of the so-called Father of History than myself, if by this is meant no more than an honest desire to relate such accounts as he received, in the form in which he received them,—to judge on principles of common sense between conflicting statements,—and to avoid the appearance

[1] viii. 87. [2] viii. 94, where see note 185.

[3] *Athens and the Demi of Attica*, Appendix II. p. 264.

To face p. 406. Vol. II.

London: Whittaker & Co. and George Bell. 1854.

of bestowing credence upon such stories as seemed to him manifestly not to merit it. For this, and for the clear eye of an observer, he deserves entire credit. But neither the character of Herodotus's work, nor any thing which has been related of himself by the ancients, warrant us in attributing to him that searching criticism which should lead us (as it might in the case of Thucydides or Aristotle) to prefer his statements to those of a contemporary witness of the events described,—especially if such a one's position had made him an active participator in them.

Now in the case of the battle of Salamis we have the account of a contemporary, deserving of the closest attention,—which, if it had proceeded from a prose-writer, it would probably have received. But the unconscious association in modern minds between the ideas of *poetry* and *fiction* has, I believe, deprived the great Greek dramatist of his due weight with our historians. Æschylus, who, even if he did not himself take a part in the action [4], most undoubtedly was perfectly familiar with it under the aspect which it must have borne to those who did take part in it, produced his play *The Persians*, of which it constitutes the main feature, only seven years afterwards, before an audience chiefly made up of the very men who had manned the victorious gallies; to whom consequently every line of his description must have vividly recalled circumstances with which they were perfectly familiar. If his availableness for the purpose of the modern historian is somewhat curtailed in one respect, that before such an audience he could not enter into details with which they were well acquainted, although it would be most interesting for us to know them,—details most appropriate to the historian, and which we are thankful to Herodotus for preserving [5],—there is on the other hand an advantage which he possesses without a rival. It was alto-

[4] Late writers assert, or assume, that he did (PAUSANIAS, i. 14. 5). But though it is very possible that such was the case, these writers are little to be depended upon for a fact, six centuries old if true, unless it appears that there is some intermediate authority to which they had access. Pausanias seems merely to speak on the strength of the current opinion of his time.

[5] It is only through an indirect allusion that we can at all infer from Æschylus that Athens had been burnt, and that the whole hopes of the citizens lay in the fleet at Salamis:—

ἔτ' ἆρ' Ἀθηνῶν ἐστ' ἀπόρθητος πόλις,
ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ὄντων, ἕρκος ἐστὶν ἀσφαλές.—v. 348, 9.

gether impossible for him, without the certainty of disapproval, to present any view of the transaction which did not commend itself to *Athenian eye-witnesses*,—full, we may allow, of national prejudices and personal vanity, and quite ready to accept any *grouping* of the facts which actually occurred that might most flatter themselves, but still eye-witnesses, who would be at once revolted by any picture which contradicted their actual experience. Herodotus, it should be remembered, whatever weight we may please to attach to his individual judgment, is exempted from this corrective influence. Supposing him to have been actuated by even a *critical* spirit, in the modern sense of the word,—of which however there is not the slightest trace,—his facts were a generation old; the Athenians of his time were the sons and grandsons of those before whom the *Persians* was acted; and in the forty years or more that had elapsed since the battle, its story had been told over and over again in every family, as the twentieth day of Boëdromion returned, and the schoolboys had a holiday to go and see the procession of Iacchus. It is not at all necessary to suppose wilful misrepresentation on the part of those who fought their battles over again to their children and grandchildren on their knees, in order to believe that the gallant bearing of the Athenian sailors, and the brilliant acts of individual commanders, together with such exciting incidents as the device of Artemisia to escape destruction, were more interesting both to tell and hear, than the accurate notice of times and places and other circumstances attending the movements of the forces engaged; although these were of far more vital importance to success, and by the actual combatants would at the time be felt to be so.

I assume it, therefore, as an axiom, that when Æschylus does relate any particulars of the action of such a kind as *must* have come under the notice of eye-witnesses, his narrative possesses paramount authority; and that if any incident, or any special notice of time or place appears in Herodotus irreconcilable with these, it must be regarded as erroneous. On the other hand, if any circumstance recorded by the historian, of difficult explanation when we merely regard its agreement with his main story, be yet found to harmonize well with the course of events contemplated in the dramatic narrative, it is to be received without hesitation.

Now, in the description of Herodotus there is room for the appli-

cation of each of these principles. It is, I believe, quite incompatible with the view of the battle taken by Æschylus, that the engagement should have commenced—which Herodotus *implies* it to have done—with the Persian fleet formed in line *along* the strait between Salamis and the main. This is the position assigned to it by Leake, and it is a view in which he has been unhesitatingly followed. Assuming this position to be the true one, Leake naturally finds a difficulty in the well-known passage of Herodotus [6], in which it is stated that with a view of enclosing the Greeks between the island Salamis and the main, the Persians caused a squadron of ships at *Ceos* and another at *Cynosura* to close up. Cynosura was the name of the cape forming the northern headland of the bay of Marathon [7], and as this was more than sixty geographical miles from Salamis,—a distance which could not be completed in the time required,—and as HESYCHIUS adds that it was a generic name given to every thing like a peninsula, Leake identifies it with the cape of *St. Barbara* (Aghía Varvára), in the island Salamis. But independently of there being no foundation in ancient writers for this arbitrary allocation, Ceos, the island to the S.E. of Sunium, is more than forty geographical miles from Salamis;—a distance almost equally unmanageable in the time which Herodotus allows for the operation. Leake is therefore driven to the necessity of supposing "it is possible that Ceos may have been a place in Salamis, or on the Attic coast opposite to Cape Cynosura: it is also possible that there is some error in the text [8]." I will endeavour to show in the sequel that Ceos and Cynosura are respectively the well-known island and cape, and that the real difficulty is occasioned, not by their distance, but by the erroneous notion conceived by Herodotus of the operations of the Persian fleet, which is to be corrected by the help of the description of Æschylus.

Before, however, proceeding to contrast the narrative of the two writers who come near to the time of the events they describe, it will be well to turn for a while to that of DIODORUS. Of course no one would wish to compare so vague and modern a compiler with Herodotus, if the question were merely between the judgment of the one and the other; but in this instance our attention is attracted by the fact that in his description of this celebrated action, he is not

[6] viii. 76. [7] HESYCHIUS, *sub v.* [8] See note 154 on viii. 76.

epitomizing from Herodotus and superadding further facts from his various collections, but is undoubtedly following an entirely different authority;—a circumstance the more remarkable, as a very short time before, he had been taking Herodotus as his text-book. According to the latter, after the Persian fleet had been collected in the bay of Phalerum, the army having in the mean time overrun the whole of Attica and burnt Athens, a council of war is held, and the result of this is, that on the day before the great engagement, it having been determined to fight by sea in the presence of the king, the fleet (or at least the main portion of it) advances to Salamis, and makes dispositions at its leisure with the intention of engaging the next day; while the vanguard of the army marches the same evening upon the isthmus of the Peloponnese, where the Greeks were assembled to oppose it. Diodorus, for his part, makes the Persian fleet proceed at once from the open sea, to attack the Greeks who are drawn up *across* the strait of Salamis, their line occupying the ferry between the island and the Heracleum on the main[9]. Other circumstances in which he differs from Herodotus will be mentioned in the sequel; but here it is sufficient to direct attention to the important point, that according to the authority he followed (whatever it may have been), the great engagement begins by the Persians attempting to force their way into the eastern entrance of the strait of Salamis, the Greek line being drawn up *across it* to oppose them; while in Herodotus they are supposed to be already within the strait and drawn up in line *along* it, the Greeks being ranged opposite to them along the northern coast of Salamis.

Now if we turn to Æschylus, we find another important variation. His description makes the Persians completely taken by surprise, the Greeks advancing upon them at daybreak quite unexpectedly, and they themselves having made preparations, not for fighting, but only for intercepting an enemy which they imagine to be dispersing stealthily. The narrator attributes the whole calamity which has befallen his countrymen to the false intelligence sent by Themistocles. So indeed do Herodotus and Diodorus. But in those two writers the only benefit resulting to the Greeks from the movements which that intelligence occasioned is, that they are compelled to give up all

[9] xi. 19.

thoughts of retreating, and to put confidence in themselves. Far different is it in the view of the dramatic poet. With him the intelligence becomes the cause of the Persians altering a disposition which was favourable for fighting,—taking up one in which they were quite disqualified for engaging,—and, *while in this*, being brought unexpectedly to an action. This will be plain if attention be given to the several features brought prominently forward in his description, although the very fact of his audience having been engaged in the battle would necessarily (as observed above) prevent him from detailing the manœuvres in the way that would be proper for an historian.

Taking Herodotus as our guide up to the point where Æschylus's description commences, we have the great bulk of the Persian war gallies, on the day before the action, advanced from Phalerum to Salamis, too late in the day to render it desirable to fight; so that all they do is to make at their leisure arrangements for engaging the next day. There is every reason to believe that their disposition was *within* the strait of Salamis, along the coast of the main, from the roots of Mt. Ægaleos on the west to the headland opposite Cape St. Barbara, in Salamis, on the east. This would, in fact, be a very advantageous position. The whole of the coast behind them was lined with the flower of the Persian army, so that if in the approaching engagement the gallies should chance to be driven on shore, they would be secure of protection. Their ships were high out of the water, so that a strong breeze would have been productive of much inconvenience to them by rendering them difficult to steer[10]. Here, being land-locked, they would be to a great extent protected from this evil. The great numbers of their vessels would enable them to extend their line beyond that of the enemy, without at the same time weakening it; and the narrow channel being unfavourable to manœuvring, there seemed every prospect of using with great effect the Sacan and Persian archers from the forecastles of their vessels,—the archers being an arm in which they placed the greatest confidence[11], and as the

[10] PLUTARCH, *Themistocles*, § 14.

[11] In addition (it would seem) to the native marines, thirty Persians, Sacans, or Medes were embarked in that capacity on each of the ships furnished by the foreign dependencies (vii. 184). These would probably be all archers. The Athenian ships at Salamis had only sixteen marines, of which four were archers, on board of each.

battle of Platæa showed[12], with perfect reason. It is after this position has been taken up, opposite to the allied fleet of probably less than half the number of vessels, lying in the bight of Salamis to the west of the Silenian promontory (Aghía Varvára), that the treacherous message of Themistocles is brought to the Persian commander. Here the detailed narrative of Æschylus begins; and every single particular of it was doubtless intended to have weight. The instant the Persian admiral receives the intelligence, he obviously dismisses all thoughts of a battle from his mind, and bends his whole attention to taking measures for preventing the escape of the supposed fugitives. Orders are *at once* issued to all the captains for a movement, which is to be carried out as soon as it should be dark[13]. In the mean time every thing is done which could be done, without attracting attention, to facilitate the intended operations. The men have their supper rations distributed to them, and make their oars fast to the pins[14]. *As soon as it is dark*, sailors and marines embark at once, and, encouraging one another with cheers, repair to their respective stations[15], the orders having been to block each entrance

(Plutarch, *Themistocles*, § 14.) Hence the appropriateness of the complaint of the Persian messenger in the play of Æschylus, that the course of events prevented this superiority from being made available:—

οὐδὲν γὰρ ἤρκει τόξα· πᾶς δ' ἀπώλλυτο
στρατὸς δαμασθεὶς ναΐοισιν ἐμβολαῖς.—*Pers.* 278.

[12] See ix. 61.

[13] *ὁ δ' εὐθὺς ὡς ἤκουσεν, οὐ ξυνεὶς δόλον*
Ἕλληνος ἀνδρὸς, οὐδὲ τὸν θεῶν φθόνον,
πᾶσιν πρόφωνεῖ τόνδε ναυάρχοις λόγον.—vv. 361—3.

[14] *δεῖπνόν τ' ἐπορσύνοντο, ναυβάτης τ' ἀνὴρ*
ἐτροποῦτο κώπην σκαλμὸν ἀμφ' εὐήρετμον.—vv. 375, 6.

[15] *ἐπεὶ δὲ φέγγος ἡλίου κατέφθιτο*
καὶ νὺξ ἐπῄει, πᾶς ἀνὴρ κώπης ἄναξ
ἐς ναῦν ἐχώρει, πᾶς θ' ὅπλων ἐπιστάτης.
τάξις δὲ τάξιν παρεκάλει νεὼς μακρᾶς,
πλέουσι δ' ὡς ἕκαστος ἦν τεταγμένος.—vv. 377—81.

Herodotus, who makes the Persian movement begin *at midnight*, says that it was executed in silence, that the Greeks might not perceive what was being done (viii. 76). But in the view of Æschylus, the only object was to *get the start* of the Greeks in a race to the outlets of the channel. Accordingly, though preparations for getting rapidly under weigh are made in secrecy before sunset, yet when once off, there is no occasion for the observance of silence, and the men encourage one another by cheers as they push for their several stations. The outlets once blocked, the Greeks were caught.

of the channel of Salamis with a triple line of gallies, and to post others all round the island[16]. If the Greeks escape, they are to lose their heads[17]. All night long they are kept cruising: strange! time passes, and the Greeks have never attempted to get away[18]. Morning breaks, and the first thing they hear is the clear sound of the Greek pæan re-echoed from the island rocks. A panic comes over them: they have been deluded! that solemn pæan means any thing but flight[19]! A trumpet sound kindles up all the region where the enemy is, and immediately there is the simultaneous dash of oars in water, and he is plainly discovered advancing in full force[20]. First, the right wing led, in perfect order, and next the whole fleet advanced; and at the same instant loud shouts were heard, "On, children of Greece! now have ye every thing at stake[21]." The cry of the Persians responds to the sound; there is no time for delay, and ship *at once* turns upon ship with brazen beak[22], the onset commencing by a Greek galley crippling a Phœnician one. Surprised however as the barbarians are, they do not fly. *A stream* of ships at

16 *τάξαι νεῶν στῖφος μὲν ἐν στίχοις τρισὶν*
ἔκπλους φυλάσσειν καὶ πόρους ἁλιρρόθους,
ἄλλας δὲ κύκλῳ νῆσον Αἴαντος πέριξ.—vv. 366—8.

17 *ὡς εἰ μόρον φευξοίαθ' Ἕλληνες κακὸν,*
ναυσὶν κρυφαίως δρασμὸν εὑρόντες τινὰ,
πᾶσιν στέρεσθαι κρατὸς ἦν προκείμενον.—vv. 369—71.

18 *καὶ πάννυχοι δὴ διάπλοον καθίστασαν*
ναῶν ἄνακτες πάντα ναυτικὸν λεών·
καὶ νὺξ ἐχώρει, κοὐ μάλ' Ἑλλήνων στρατὸς
κρυφαῖον ἔκπλουν οὐδαμῇ καθίστατο.—vv. 382—5.

19 — *φόβος δὲ πᾶσι βαρβάροις παρῆν*
γνώμης ἀποσφαλεῖσιν· οὐ γὰρ ὡς φυγῇ
παιᾶν' ἐφύμνουν σεμνὸν Ἕλληνες τότε,
ἀλλ' ἐς μάχην ὁρμῶντες εὐψύχῳ θράσει.—vv. 391—4.

20 *σάλπιγξ δ' ἀϋτῇ πάντ' ἐκεῖν' ἐπέφλεγεν·*
εὐθὺς δὲ κώπης ῥοθιάδος ξυνεμβολῇ
ἔπαισαν ἅλμην βρύχιον ἐκ κελεύσματος,
θοῶς δὲ πάντες ἦσαν ἐκφανεῖς ἰδεῖν.—vv. 395—8.

21 *τὸ δεξιὸν μὲν πρῶτον εὐτάκτως κέρας*
ἡγεῖτο κόσμῳ· δεύτερον δ' ὁ πᾶς στόλος
ἐπεξεχώρει, καὶ παρῆν ὁμοῦ κλύειν
πολλὴν βοήν· ὦ παῖδες Ἑλλήνων, ἴτε, κ.τ.λ.—vv. 399—405.

22 — *κοὐκ ἔτ' ἦν μέλλειν ἀκμὴ,*
εὐθὺς δὲ ναῦς ἐν νηῒ χαλκήρη στόλον
ἔπαισεν.—vv. 407—9. Compare note 11, above.

first makes head against the assailants; but their numbers crowded together in a narrow space prevent mutual aid. They run into each other and sweep away one another's oars. In the mean time the Greeks with no little skill *surround* them, keeping up a continued onset with their beaks[23], till the whole sea is concealed from view by the wrecks of capsized gallies and the corpses of men. Finally, the whole fleet takes to flight in disorder, followed closely by the victors, who present the spectacle of fishermen pursuing a shoal of tunny-fish and destroying them with broken oars and fragments of wreck. The wail of despair spreads over the *open* sea[24], until night puts an end to the pursuit.

It appears to me perfectly impossible to reconcile this account with the view which Colonel Leake (justified as he certainly appears to be by the narrative of Herodotus[25]) takes of the relative positions of the two navies at the commencement of the battle. If the triple line of the Persians had been drawn up, as he imagines, *along* the strait which separates Salamis from the main, immediately opposite to the line of the Greeks, they could not have been attacked unexpectedly[26]; the right wing of the enemy would not have been first seen leading the onset; they themselves in their efforts to get into action would have presented nothing like the appearance of a *stream* of ships; there is no reason why they should have run aboard of each other; and least of all—their line extending from the entrance of the Piræus to beyond the western extremity of Mount Ægaleos—would the enemy, who can have extended scarcely half the distance, have been able to *surround* them. It may be added, that when they began to retreat, none but the easternmost part of the line could by any possibility have escaped into the open sea; neither would it have occurred to them to attempt it, when in their immediate rear

[23] *τὰ πρῶτα μὲν δὴ ῥεῦμα Περσικοῦ στρατοῦ*
ἀντεῖχεν· ὡς δὲ πλῆθος ἐν στενῷ νεῶν
ἤθροιστ', ἀρωγὴ δ' οὔτις ἀλλήλοις παρῆν,
αὐτοὶ δ' ὑφ' αὑτῶν ἐμβολαῖς χαλκοστόμοις
παίοντ', ἔθραυον πάντα κωπήρη στόλον,
Ἑλληνικαί τε νῆες οὐκ ἀφραδμόνως
κύκλῳ πέριξ ἔθεινον, κ.τ.λ.

[24] *— οἰμωγὴ δ' ὁμοῦ*
κωκύμασιν κατεῖχε πελαγίαν ἅλα.—vv. 426, 427.

[25] viii. 70, compared with §§ 76, 84, and 91.

[26] Herodotus makes not the Greeks but the Persians the attacking party (viii. 84).

the whole coast was lined with their own troops, who, on their beaching their gallies, would have furnished them with effectual protection,—a course as natural in ancient warfare as running under the guns of a friendly battery would be in modern. Moreover the island Psyttalea would not have been in the middle of the line of collision[29], but quite at the extremity; and the wrecks would have been carried by the afternoon swell rather into the bay at the head of which stands the Heracleum, than, as they actually were, on to Cape Colias[30].

All these difficulties will be avoided if we take a different view of the object of Themistocles's stratagem, and suppose that his design was not merely to induce the enemy to surround the Greeks and so compel them to fight, but also to bring him into such a position as, at the beginning of the engagement, to be just *entering* the narrow channel where Leake supposes him to be already drawn up in fighting order. Supposing the invading fleet to have taken up the position which Leake assigns to them, the afternoon before the battle—a supposition which has the apparent sanction of Herodotus, and is not opposed to Æschylus—the movements which would follow the change of plan produced by Themistocles's message would naturally bring about this result. The westernmost squadron of the Persian line would move on to block the narrow outlet between Salamis and the coast of Megaris. The squadron at Ceos might from the point of Sunium be signaled to close up near to Ægina, and that at Cynosura to make sail round Sunium; and the remainder of the fleet in the channel, passing outwards by the eastern strait, would take their stations round the S.E. side of the island Salamis, the last of them (which we shall presently see would be the Phœnicians) blocking the narrow entrance with a triple line of gallies. When morning broke the land breeze would be blowing; and if they desired to re-enter the channel, the Phœnician ships, their crews fatigued with their labour throughout the night, would be obliged to pull against it round the head of the Silenian promontory (Aghía Varvára) and through the narrow channel between Psyttalea and the main. The Greeks (I apprehend) timed their movements so as to

29 *ἐν γὰρ δὴ πόρῳ τῆς ναυμαχίης τῆς μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι ἔκειτο ἡ νῆσος* (viii. 76).
30 viii. 96.

attack them just at this conjuncture. The right wing would thus be seen by the enemy apparently leading, but the object being to wheel into line by bringing forward the extreme left, the Athenians (which were there stationed) would be quite as likely as any others to be well up in front when the actual shock took place[31]. They would make this with the advantage of the wind, and success would be nearly certain. The headmost ships of the Persians would be crippled, and would drift back upon those who advanced to support them from the rear; these as they pressed forward would enter a continually narrowing channel, and not only fall aboard of each other, but have their oars swept away by those which had been previously crippled. The triple line would be thrown into disorder, and the crowd of advancing vessels, each pressing forward as it best might, would present the appearance so graphically described by Æschylus as "a stream" of ships. As the head of the column got clear of the narrow passage, it would be "surrounded" by the Hellenic line and at once destroyed. This state of things would continue so long as the invaders continued their attempt to force the passage; but when they gave this up and retreated, the pursuit would continue on the *open* sea, over which (as Æschylus says) the cries of the enemy were heard as they were being destroyed.

The description of the naval part of the engagement by the dramatic poet ceases here. The formidable resistance made by the Ionians, of which Herodotus speaks[32], finds no mention in him. This is exactly what might be expected. At the time *The Persians* was acted liberty had been restored to the Asiatic Greeks, and good taste forbade the mention of any passage of arms between them and their European brethren. But still the course of proceedings in the engagement which the description of Æschylus indicates affords an explanation of what is related in Herodotus respecting

[31] Athenian vanity, a generation afterwards, would scarcely fail to turn this movement to account. To effect the manœuvre it would be necessary for the extreme right of the allies to remain stationary, or even back their gallies, while the speed of the others would be proportioned to their distance from the right, the pivot on which the whole wheeled. This is, I believe, the fact, which in a distorted form became the statement of Herodotus: *οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ πρύμνην ἀνεκρούοντο, καὶ ὤκελλον τὰς νῆας· Ἀμεινίης δὲ Παλληνεὺς, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, ἐξαναχθεὶς, νηῒ ἐμβάλλει* (viii. 84).

[32] viii. 85.

the Ionians. If the Persian fleet had, in the night before the battle, taken up the position I have supposed in the order which Diodorus's authority gives, the Ionians would be the furthest removed from the narrow channel where the action commenced, and in fact so placed that they could not have acted until the Phœnicians were out of the way. If, too, the Athenians were the part of the Greek fleet which began the battle, the remainder of the allies would not have come into the front until after the enemy had been forced back through the eastern strait. Hence the Peloponnesian force would be the part of the fleet brought into collision with the Ionian contingent; but this would not be until the channel was cleared and they had got out into the open sea, where naturally the efforts of the Ionians would be more fruitful. But still at the time these were brought into action, they would have been rowing ever since sunset on the preceding day, and would be encouraged to the treason previously suggested to them by Themistocles, by seeing the entire ruin that had fallen upon the Phœnician squadron. It is not therefore a matter of surprise that they too should have given way, although their resistance was beyond all comparison the most effective of any rendered by the several contingents that made up the navy of the invaders.

Various insulated particulars which appear here and there in the narratives of Plutarch and Diodorus, as well as that of Herodotus, receive some illustration from the above remarks. Plutarch says that Themistocles did not begin the action until the usual breeze *set in from the sea*, causing a swell to set into the straits; and that the effect of this was most detrimental to the Persian ships, which were high out of the water and top-heavy, and being caught by the wind could not be steered well; so that they laid their flanks open to the beaks of the Hellenic gallies [33]. Here what Plutarch does is merely to confound the *land* breeze which is blowing at daybreak—the time at which the engagement really commenced—and the *sea* breeze—which sets in late in the forenoon, and which doubtless had the effect he mentions,—not indeed upon ships engaged *within* the channel (where the island Salamis, as above observed, would have served as a breakwater), but upon vessels in the open sea, which, in

[33] *Themist.* § 14.

the course of events I have sketched out, would naturally first come into action several hours after daybreak.

Diodorus also, although here, as elsewhere, his notions of the course of proceeding are extremely vague, goes to confirm the view above taken. He makes (as I have observed) the Greek line of battle to be formed *across* the strait between Salamis and the main (τὸν πόρον μεταξὺ Σαλαμῖνος καὶ Ἡρακλείου κατεῖχον), not, as Leake makes it, *along* the same. And he also supposes the advance of the Persians to be from the open sea into the narrow. "They held their course," he says, "at first in good order, for they had plenty of sea-room; but on entering the channel they were obliged to withdraw some of the ships from the line, and made terrible confusion. The admiral, too, who led and began the action, was killed after a brilliant struggle, and when his ship was sunk, confusion spread over the barbarian fleet; for orders were given by many, and each one issued different commands; so that they desisted from a forward course, and, backing their gallies, retired into the open sea; upon which the Athenians, seeing the confusion of the barbarians, advanced upon them[34]." .... It is obvious that this description is quite compatible with the view which I have taken, and agrees with the narrative of Æschylus as well as the vague account of a writer compiling his history hastily from books five hundred years after the event can be expected to agree with the vivid description of an eye-witness; but that it is altogether incompatible with the notion of Leake.

It is also to be observed that the naval force of the Persians was arranged, according to Diodorus, *by nations*, in order (he says) that the crews who understood one another's language might be near to each other, and able to express to one another the need they might have for assistance. Arranged on this principle, he says, the Phœnicians occupied the right wing, and the Greeks in the Persian service the left[35]. But if this idea was really acted upon, the most natural place for the *Egyptians* would be beyond the Phœnicians on the extreme right: for the great intercourse between Phœnicia and Egypt would certainly produce some facility of oral communication between the maritime and fluvial population of these two countries. Now if the Egyptians really did occupy the extreme right, when the

[34] xi. 19. [35] xi. 17.

Persian fleet took up the position along the strait of Salamis, which Herodotus indicates, (although Diodorus himself says nothing about it,) *the day before* the battle,—and if the movements were such as I have above supposed[36],—the Egyptian squadron would be exactly the one whose position rendered it desirable for it to move westward for the purpose of blocking the western channel; and after it had been detached for this purpose, the Phœnicians would *remain* (as Diodorus places them) the extreme right of the Persian fleet. And it also happens that the especial service of blocking the western channel actually was, according to Diodorus's express statement, assigned to the *Egyptians*, although, by the way he mentions the matter, he does not imagine that at the time they were moved they were actually in line in the channel of Salamis, but rather conceives of them as despatched from Phalerum[37].

Again, Herodotus mentions that when the battle was over, the victorious Greeks towed in to Salamis "as much of the wreck of the destroyed vessels as remained still in that part," but that a large quantity was carried by the west wind on to Cape Colias[38]. This is exactly the description of what would occur under the circumstances which have been sketched out. The conflict beginning at the entrance of the channel of Salamis, just as the head of the Persian column rounded the Silenian headland and the northern extremity of Psyttalea (*the land breeze* blowing at the time), part of the wrecks would be caught by the point and the island[39], but a large portion would drift out into the open water till the *sea breeze* sprang up, which, as it took them, would carry them in the direction of which

[36] Herodotus says that the Persians surrounded their opponents by moving their right wing round to the island and closing up the eastern channel with the squadrons from Ceos and Cynosura: *ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο μέσαι νύκτες, ἀνῆγον μὲν τὸ ἀπ' ἑσπέρης κέρας κυκλούμενοι πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα· ἀνῆγον δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὴν Κέον τε καὶ τὴν Κυνόσουραν τεταγμένοι, κατεῖχόν τε μέχρι Μουνυχίης πάντα τὸν πορθμὸν τῇσι νηυσί* (§ 76). This, as Leake says, is an impossibility.

[37] xi. 17.

[38] viii. 96.

[39] As, for instance, the body of Artembares was, which

στύφλους παρ' ἀκτὰς θείνεται Σειληνίων.—*Pers.* 303.

The bodies would not float like the wrecks, and therefore it was the island Salamis and the immediate neighbourhood where *they* were chiefly found.

πλήθουσι νεκρῶν δυσπότμως ἐφθαρμένων
Σαλαμῖνος ἀκταὶ πᾶς τε πρόσχωρος τόπος.—*Pers.* 273.

Herodotus speaks. Had the action taken place where Leake supposes, the wreck could not have been carried any thing like so far along the coast of Attica.

That eminent topographer appears to have been led in no small degree to form the view which he has taken of the position of the Persian fleet, from the interpretation which he has put upon an oracle which Herodotus records and mentions as having been strikingly fulfilled by the course of events. Ruin is predicted in a prophecy of Bacis to the arrogant invaders, "when they with their ships shall have made a bridge from the sacred shore of Artemis, bearer of the sword of gold, to sea-girt Cynosura[40]." Leake imagines this to refer to the Persian line of battle extending, as he supposes it to have done, from a cape of Salamis opposite to the Silenian promontory, on which he believes a temple of Artemis to have stood. As the Silenian headland, which he identifies with Cynosura, would lie opposite to the centre of their assumed line, he argues that by taking up this position they fulfilled the conditions of the prophecy; and that in fact this circumstance was the main cause of Herodotus mentioning Cynosura at all in the passage above quoted[41]. This appears to me a most unsatisfactory explanation of the passage, to say nothing of the gratuitous assumptions which it involves. The way in which the prophecy was fulfilled will be plain

[40] viii. 77. The words are:—

> ὅταν Ἀρτέμιδος χρυσαόρου ἱερὸν ἀκτὴν
> νηυσὶ γεφυρώσωσι καὶ εἰναλίην Κυνόσουραν.

Leake translates this erroneously, "when the barbarians shall *cover with their ships* the sacred shore of Diana and that of Cynosura," and the erroneous translation masks the meaning of the oracle.

[41] "Thus the point of Cynosura [by which he understands the Silenian headland] and the island of Psyttalea were opposite to the centre of the triple line of the Persians, and near their right was a cape of Salamis, upon or adjacent to which, as we have already seen from Pausanias, stood a temple of Diana; and hence the words of the oracle of Bacis relating to the shore of Diana, which Herodotus has quoted." (Appendix ii. p. 261.) "On the *one side* of the city a temple of Diana, and on *the other* the trophy erected in honour of the victory gained over the Persians." (vol. ii. p. 169.) All that Pausanias really says is, that there is *at* Salamis the temple and the trophy (i. 36. 1), while Leake has apparently considered that the expression τοῦτο μὲν—τοῦτο δὲ was intended to denote a position such as he has assigned to the two. "Herodotus seems to have introduced the name of Cynosura [in § 76, quoted in note 36, above] solely for the purpose of noticing the fulfilment of the prophecy of an oracle." (Appendix ii. p. 259.)

enough, if we only consider the manner in which the armada of the invaders was moved, before the land and sea forces were united for the last time at Phalerum. It is obvious that with an enormous multitude like that under Xerxes (even allowing an unlimited amount of exaggeration as to its numbers), the great difficulty must have been to move the forces and provide them with supplies. And the way in which this problem was attempted to be solved may be made out by the *indirect* notices of Herodotus, although he was (as may be proved from various passages of his work) quite unable to comprehend the vast scale of oriental strategics [42]. The endeavour of the Persian commander was as much as possible to proceed *pari passu* with the army and the fleet. This was desirable, because wherever opposition was encountered, it was important they should be able to act together; consequently, although great preparation had been made beforehand in forming magazines, it would be impossible to dispense with the attendance of vessels to carry supplies. An army of such magnitude as even to be reported able to drink considerable streams dry, could not by any possibility be moved except in bodies separated from each other by a considerable interval. The same would be the case with the fleet, the crews of which (as is notorious) were in ancient times compelled continually to land. A supply of food and water in a ship of war sufficient to render it able to keep the sea even for a very few days is a thing unheard of in ancient history. And if we turn to Herodotus's account of the march from Doriscus (where the whole force was first assembled) to Acanthus [43], we see that the mode of advance is obviously planned with a reference to the means of providing supplies. The army moved on three lines; one considerably inland; another along the coast, keeping up a communication with the fleet; and a third between the two. This last was the line of march taken by the guards and the king in person. That the main force of the army was included in the second of these divisions can scarcely be questioned. The first having to pass through a mountainous region, would be lightly equipped, and thus would be more able to provide for its own subsistence by foraging, without depending altogether upon the commissariat. The third, with the king in person, moving

[42] See notes 268 on i. 77, and 234 on iv. 83. [43] vii. 121.

along the line of the inhabited towns, where stores were laid up[44], would also be provided for. But the second must have been mainly supplied through the medium of the fleet, with which it kept up a close communication. The extreme importance of maintaining this was perhaps the cause that the division advanced under the immediate command of Mardonius[45], the general of greatest reputation in the service. When the central division arrived at Acanthus, the nature of the shore necessitated a change of plan for a time. It was no longer possible to keep up a constant communication between the army and the fleet; and accordingly the latter was ordered to make all sail for that point at which such a communication could be restored, viz. the bay of Therme[46]. There a halt was again made, and the land force encamped along a considerable line of coast, "from the city Therme and Mygdonia, as far as the river Lydias and the Haliacmon, which form the boundary between Bottiæa and Macedonia[47]."

From Therme a second simultaneous move of both army and navy took place. And in fact here their difficulties really began. There was now a prospect of meeting an enemy in force, which involved the necessity of concentrating the war gallies to a considerable extent; and when steps for securing this had been taken, the evil that had been foreseen occurred,—there was no port large enough to receive the whole in the event of foul weather[48]. There can be no question that it was the expectation of resistance from the Greek fleet at Artemisium, that induced the Persians to bring on the same day to Sepias, so large a force as to be obliged to anchor in eight lines off the shore[49]. The land forces were being pushed forward to Thermopylæ, and it was necessary to get the fleet into the bay of Pagasæ to cooperate with them[50]. The enormous loss which was sustained on this occasion would undoubtedly prevent a similar risk from being unnecessarily incurred; and when the pass of Thermopylæ was at last forced, and the Greek fleet retreated to Salamis[51], the two arms of the invading force once more found themselves united, with nothing in the shape of an enemy to stop them until another concen-

[44] vii. 109, *et seq.* [45] vii. 121. [46] vii. 121. [47] vii. 127.
[48] vii. 49. [49] vii. 183. [50] vii. 193. Compare viii. 66.
[51] viii. 40.

tration should be effected in the ports of Attica. The army advanced without the least resistance, over-running Attica and sacking Phocis; and Xerxes had his head-quarters at Athens [52], with a large force ready to be pushed on to the isthmus [53], at the time when the fleet entered the port of Phalerum. The question now is, what was the nature of their movements to reach this point: and common sense would suggest that squadrons were advanced in succession, perhaps within signal distance of each other, but at any rate not so near as gratuitously to risk the safety of the ships, and increase the difficulty of procuring water and other necessaries for the crews. Wherever there was an extensive beach upon which the gallies might be hauled up, there, in the nature of things, it would be arranged for a large number to assemble. This would doubtless be the case at *Eretria* in Eubœa, which lies most opportunely for re-assembling the fleet after its necessary delay in passing through the narrow channel between Aulis and Chalcis. After Eretria, the next beach of any capacity would be that of the bay of *Marathon*, some fifteen miles off, in running for which the point *Cynosura*, its northern extremity, would be the natural landmark. And here, I apprehend, is to be found the solution of the problem offered by Bacis's prophecy. Seven *stades* only from Eretria, at the hamlet Amarynthus, was the temple of *Artemis Amarusia* [54], a deity worshipped with the greatest pomp under this name by Athenians as well as Eretrians [55]. A fleet of 800 or 1000 ships crossing to Marathon in the order in which they would have to take up their station on their arrival, when seen from the hills overhanging Rhamnus or Tricorythus, could hardly fail to suggest to the imagination of a spectator the notion of bridging over the sea between the two points. Again, as between Marathon and Phalerum there is no facility for beaching any large number of ships, the advance from the one to the other would naturally be by detached squadrons, and the great bulk of the fleet might very well be reported at head-quarters while the rear still remained on the safe shore of Marathon (ἀμφὶ τὴν Κυνόσουραν), and while an intermediate squadron had been advanced only as far as Ceos in their course round the southern foreland of Attica. In such circumstances the signaling them to close up, under the impression which the Persian admiral had

[52] viii. 66.

[53] viii. 71.

[54] STRABO, x. p. 324.

[55] PAUSANIAS, i. 31. 5.

formed of the intentions of the Greeks, would be exactly what we might look for. By so doing the more advanced ships would be in a position to sweep the channel between the islands of Salamis and Ægina; and it is exactly here that if any Greek vessels had stolen out from Salamis in the night, they would have been found when day broke.

I will conclude these remarks by a reference to one other passage of Herodotus, which confirms the view just taken of the movement of the squadron from Ceos. When Aristides, in the night before the engagement, arrived suddenly in Salamis and informed Themistocles that the enemy's fleet had surrounded the island, he said "that he had come from Ægina, and found great difficulty in getting *out to sea* without being seen by the squadron of observation[56]." Herodotus indeed makes him add, by way of explanation, "that the whole Greek position was surrounded by Xerxes' vessels." But this circumstance would have been a hindrance to him, not in *getting out from* Ægina, but in *getting in to* Salamis. If however the squadron of observation he meant was the one which had been signaled to close up from Ceos, the difficulty is exactly what would have occurred. According to Æschylus's view, the false intelligence of Themistocles is conveyed to the Persian commander-in-chief a considerable time before sunset [57]. Orders would instantly be telegraphed to the squadrons at Ceos and Cynosura, and they would get under way with all speed: and this would easily bring the former into the neighbourhood of the island Ægina before it was too dark to distinguish them. Thus commanding the space between the two islands, the difficulty of Aristides would be to get *past* them, which is exactly what appears to be indicated by the phrase (μόγις ἐκπλῶσαι). The vessels actually surrounding Salamis would occasion him comparatively little difficulty. He was probably only in a small boat, much more speedy, and less distinguishable at night-time than a trireme would be; and when he approached the southern shore of Salamis, it would be easy for him to watch his moment, row in to land, and proceed over the hills to the Grecian camp on foot.

[56] viii. 81: ἐξ Αἰγίνης τε ἥκειν, καὶ μόγις ἐκπλῶσαι λαθὼν τοὺς ἐπορμέοντας.

[57] This must have been the case; for the time was sufficient to give orders to each of the captains, and for them in their turn to get their several gallies ready to start the instant it should be dark. The entirely different view of Herodotus is remarked above, note 15.

The battle of Salamis has so long been popularly considered as an example of what may be effected by mere valour against enormous odds, that possibly some may experience a feeling of unwillingness to take any view of the subject which diminishes the disparity between the contending navies. But this is scarcely a reasonable way of looking at a matter of history. Bravery does much when directed by skill; but all experience leads us to doubt statements of any great results effected by it when without this guidance. If the foregoing views are well-founded, our wonder at the extraordinary success of the Greek fleet may perhaps be diminished; but certainly in at least as great a degree must our admiration of the acuteness and resolution of its commander be increased. With an overwhelming force opposed to him actually drawn up in order of battle, a friendly coast lined with the flower of the Persian army in its rear, he succeeds, first of all in detaching a large portion of the ships opposed to him, and placing them in a quarter where it was out of the question that they should be active; secondly, in getting the remainder out of the position they occupied into one incomparably inferior; thirdly, in exhausting the enemy's crews by keeping them in motion all night[58]; and, finally, in bringing them on a sudden to action in a way which rendered their peculiar armament unavailable, and under circumstances which must have made them feel, not only that their estimate of their foes had been totally wrong, but that probably they had traitors in their own ranks.

58 It should not be overlooked, that according to Æschylus's view the crews of the Persian fleet *get their suppers early*,—not as they would under ordinary circumstances, at nightfall. Hence, when day broke, they had not only been at the oar all night, but likewise fasting for a longer period than customary.

ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ

ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΕΝΝΑΤΗ.

ΚΑΛΛΙΟΠΗ.

On the return of Alexander, Mardonius moves towards Athens, assisted by the Thessalian chiefs.

1 ΜΑΡΔΟΝΙΟΣ δὲ[1], ὥς οἱ ἀπονοστήσας Ἀλέξανδρος τὰ παρὰ Ἀθηναίων ἐσήμηνε, ὁρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θεσσαλίης ἦγε τὴν στρατιὴν σπουδῇ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας· ὅκου δὲ ἑκάστοτε γίνοιτο, τούτους παρελάμβανε[2]. τοῖσι δὲ Θεσσαλίης ἡγεομένοισι οὔτε τὰ πρὸ τοῦ πεπρηγμένα μετέμελε οὐδὲν, πολλῷ τε μᾶλλον ἐπῆγον τὸν Πέρσην· καὶ συμπροέπεμψέ τε Θώρηξ ὁ Ληρισσαῖος[3] Ξέρξεα φεύγοντα, καὶ τότε ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ παρῆκε Μαρδόνιον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

The Thebans wish

2 Ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενος γίνεται ὁ στρατὸς ἐν Βοιωτοῖσι, οἱ Θηβαῖοι κατελάμβανον τὸν Μαρδόνιον[4] καὶ συνεβούλευον αὐτῷ, λέγοντες

[1] *Μαρδόνιος δέ.* The close connexion of this clause with the one which terminates the last book, shows plainly the arbitrary nature of the present division,—which however (it should be remembered) is an essential part of LUCIAN's story relative to the recitation at Olympia: *παρελθὼν ἐς τὸν ὀπισθόδομον οὐ θεατὴν, ἀλλὰ ἀγωνιστὴν Ὀλυμπίων παρεῖχεν ἑαυτὸν, ᾄδων τὰς ἱστορίας καὶ κηλῶν τοὺς παρόντας, ἄχρι τοῦ καὶ Μούσας κληθῆναι τὰς βίβλους αὐτοῦ, ἐννέα καὶ αὐτὰς οὔσας.* (*Aetion.* § 1.)

[2] *ὅκου δὲ ἑκάστοτε γίνοιτο, τούτους παρελάμβανε.* DIODORUS makes the number of troops levied by Mardonius, in addition to the 300,000 left with him by Xerxes, to be 200,000 (xi. 28).

[3] *Θώρηξ ὁ Ληρισσαῖος.* Thorax was one of the Aleuadæ. He is mentioned together with his two brothers, Eurypylus and Thrasydæus, below (§ 58).

[4] *κατελάμβανον τὸν Μαρδόνιον*, "tried to *stop* Mardonius." This sense is readily deducible from the original idea of the word *καταλαμβάνειν*, on which see note 139 on i. 46, and note 55 on v. 21. Compare iii. 36: *ἴσχε καὶ καταλάμβανε σεωυτόν*, "restrain and controul yourself;" iii. 128: *κατελάμβανε ἐρίζοντας*, "stopped their disputing;" iii. 52: *Περίανδρος τούτοισι αὐτὸν κατελάμβανε*, "Periander at-

ὡς οὐκ εἴη χῶρος ἐπιτηδεώτερος ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι ἐκείνου· οὐδὲ ἔων ἰέναι ἑκαστέρω, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἱζόμενον[5] ποιέειν ὅκως ἀμαχητὶ τὴν πᾶσαν Ἑλλάδα καταστρέψηται[6]. "κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν Ἕλληνας ὁμοφρονέοντας, οἵπερ καὶ πάρος ταὐτὰ ἐγίνωσκον, χαλεπὰ εἶναι περιγίνεσθαι καὶ ἅπασι ἀνθρώποισι[7]· εἰ δὲ ποιήσεις τὰ ἡμεῖς παραινέομεν," ἔφασαν λέγοντες, "ἕξεις ἀπόνως ἅπαντα τὰ κείνων βουλεύματα. πέμπε χρήματα ἐς τοὺς δυναστεύοντας ἄνδρας ἐν τῇσι πόλισι· πέμπων δὲ, τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαστήσεις· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τοὺς μὴ τὰ σὰ φρονέοντας ῥηϊδίως μετὰ τῶν στασιωτέων[8] καταστρέψεαι." οἱ μὲν ταῦτα συνεβούλευον· ὁ δὲ οὐκ 3 ἐπείθετο[9], ἀλλά οἱ δεινός τις ἐνέστακτο ἵμερος τὰς Ἀθήνας δεύτερα

Mardonius to halt in Bœotia, and from thence to attempt to gain partizans in the several Hellenic states; but he persists in ad-

tempted to manage him by these remarks."

[5] ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἱζόμενον. Before these words is to be supplied the verb ἐκέλευον, or some one of similar sense, derived by inference from the οὐκ ἔων which has gone before. See note 301 on vii. 104.

[6] καταστρέψηται. This is the reading of all the MSS. But Bekker adopts the correction καταστρέψεται, which is in accordance with the invariable use of Herodotus. Compare i. 8: ποίεε ὅκως ἐκείνην θεήσεαι γυμνήν. i. 9: σοὶ μελέτω τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ὅκως μή σε ὄψεται ἰόντα διὰ θυρέων. iii. 36: ὅρα ὅκως μή σευ ἀποστήσονται Πέρσαι. iii. 135: ἐδέετο αὐτοῦ ὅκως ἐξηγησάμενος πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὀπίσω ἥξει. v. 109: ποιέειν χρεόν ἐστι ὑμέας ὅκως τὸ κατ' ὑμέας ἔσται ἡ Ἰωνίη ἐλευθέρη. ix. 91: ποίεε ὅκως αὐτὸς ἀποπλεύσεαι.

[7] κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν Ἕλληνας ὁμοφρονέοντας . . . ἀνθρώποισι, "for that in point of actual force, those Hellenes who before acted together, were enough to make it difficult for even all the world to hold their own against them." The sentence if continued as begun would have ended with the words: καὶ ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους καταπολεμεῖν οἵους τε, or some equivalent phrase. But as good manners would have forbidden the putting this sentiment in its direct form to the Persian commander, the normal structure is abandoned, and an *anacoluthon* results. See notes 412 on i. 117, and 200 on viii. 100. So too is to be explained the sentence ii. 66: ταῦτα δὲ γινόμενα πένθεα μεγάλα τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους καταλαμβάνει. The normal structure would have been ταῦτα δὲ γινόμενα τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους λυπεῖ. But the author rightly understanding that it was not affection for the animals perishing, but a superstitious interpretation of the phenomenon which caused the mourning, intimates as much by changing the form of the sentence.

[8] μετὰ τῶν στασιωτέων, "with the aid of your partizans." That there was a very powerful party, even in Athens, favourable to Persian schemes, is plain from the story told by Plutarch (*Aristid.* § 13). A number of Athenians of noble families, who had been ruined by the war, met together in a house at Platæa, at the very time the two armies were in position over against one another, to concoct a scheme for betraying their country to the invader; and it was only the tact of Aristides which baffled their attempt. The manuscripts S and V have μετὰ στρατιωτέων, "with the aid of a military force." Neither of these readings appear to me to be a corruption of the other. See a similar variation in iii. 144, and note 398, thereon.

[9] ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐπείθετο. The Attic orators assert that one Arthmius of Zela was sent into the Peloponnese with a large amount of secret-service money, for the purpose of sowing dissension among the allies. Demosthenes professes to quote from an inscription on the acropolis at Athens, in which a sentence of outlawry against him for that offence stood registered. (*Philipp.* iii. p. 122.) There is no direct notice of this in Herodotus, but there is not wanting very plain indirect evidence that such a policy was pursued. See note 34 on § 12, below.

vancing on Athens, which he occupies, ten months after its first capture.

ἑλέειν· ἅμα μὲν ὑπ' ἀγνωμοσύνης, ἅμα δὲ πυρσοῖσι διὰ νήσων ἐδόκεε βασιλέϊ δηλώσειν ἐόντι ἐν Σάρδισι, ὅτι ἔχοι Ἀθήνας. ὃς οὐδὲ τότε ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εὗρε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἀλλ' ἔν τε Σαλαμῖνι τοὺς πλείστους ἐπυνθάνετο εἶναι, ἔν τε τῇσι νηυσί· αἱρέει τε ἐρῆμον τὸ ἄστυ. ἡ δὲ βασιλέος αἵρεσις ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην τὴν Μαρδονίου ἐπιστρατηΐην δεκάμηνος ἐγένετο.

4 He sends one Murichides, a Hellespontine, to Salamis, with new overtures.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι ἐγένετο ὁ Μαρδόνιος, πέμπει ἐς Σαλαμῖνα Μουρυχίδην ἄνδρα Ἑλλησπόντιον, φέροντα τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους τοὺς καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι διεπόρθμευσε. ταῦτα δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἀπέστελλε, προέχων μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐ φιλίας γνώμας[10], ἐλπίζων δέ σφεας ὑπήσειν τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης[11], ὡς δοριαλώτου ἐούσης πάσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς χώρης καὶ ἐούσης ἤδη ὑπ' ἑωυτῷ· τούτων μὲν εἵνεκα ἀπέπεμψε Μουρυχίδην ἐς

5 Lycidas, a member of

Σαλαμῖνα. Ὁ δὲ, ἀπικόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν, ἔλεγε τὰ παρὰ Μαρδονίου· τῶν δὲ βουλευτέων Λυκίδης εἶπε γνώμην[12], ὡς οἱ

[10] προέχων μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐ φιλίας γνώμας. As this passage is commonly interpreted, προέχων is taken in a very unusual sense, as meaning "previously aware of." But both προέχω and its derivative πρόσχημα uniformly express the notion of "standing forward," or "putting forward." And the meaning of this passage seems to be that Mardonius sent a communication to the Athenians, *on the face of which* he acknowledged their enmity to Persia, but appealed to their sense of their own interest. I should translate, "putting forward indeed the unfriendly disposition of the Athenians, but hoping that they would relax in their perverseness, seeing that the land of Attica was overrun entirely, and now under his absolute command." This is exactly the view of the case, which, after the final defeat of the Persians, would be most palatable to Athenian vanity. Their enemy is made to bear testimony to their disinterested patriotism in the very wording of his overtures to them.

[11] ἐλπίζων δέ σφεας ὑπήσειν τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης, "but expecting that they would relax *something* of their perverseness." The construction is the same as that of ὑπεὶς τῆς ὀργῆς (i. 156; iii. 52).

[12] Λυκίδης εἶπε γνώμην. BISHOP THIRLWALL, who follows the account given by Herodotus of the outrage which follows, remarks that "it is somewhat perplexing to find this incident related by DEMOSTHENES (*De Cor.* p. 296) of one *Cyrsilus*, whom, as it would appear from the comparison he draws, he conceived to have excited the anger of his countrymen by opposing Themistocles the year before, when he proposed the evacuation of Attica. It can scarcely be doubted, that the orator alludes to the same occurrence which the historian describes. Perhaps the easiest solution of the difficulty would be to suppose that Lycidas had also been called Cyrsilus,—a name which might imply that he had already made himself odious or contemptible by overbearing manners." (*History of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 327, note.) This explanation is, in my opinion, scarcely more satisfactory than the one offered by Valckenaer, viz. that on two occasions happening within a year of each other, two different persons brought upon themselves the fury of the populace by the same proceeding, and that while the one of these is noticed by Herodotus, the other is alluded to by Demosthenes. In the time of the orators, the battle of Salamis and the energetic conduct of the Athenians antecedently to it, had become so completely the principal national boast, that it is only natural that anecdotes of which the character was mainly ethical should be referred to that time rather than the year following. See, for an exemplification of

ἐδόκεε ἄμεινον εἶναι δεξαμένους τὸν λόγον τόν σφι Μουρυχίδης προφέρει, ἐξενεῖκαι ἐς τὸν δῆμον· ὁ μὲν δὴ ταύτην τὴν γνώμην ἀπεφαίνετο, εἴ τε δὴ δεδεγμένος χρήματα παρὰ Μαρδονίου εἴ τε οἱ καὶ ταῦτα ἑάνδανε· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ αὐτίκα δεινὸν ποιησάμενοι, οἵ τε ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ οἱ ἔξωθεν, ὡς ἐπύθοντο, περιστάντες Λυκίδεα κατέλευσαν βάλλοντες, τὸν δὲ Ἑλλησπόντιον Μουρυχίδεα ἀπέπεμψαν ἀσινέα· γενομένου δὲ θορύβου ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι περὶ τὸν Λυκίδεα, πυνθάνονται τὸ γινόμενον αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν Ἀθηναίων· διακελευσαμένη δὲ γυνὴ γυναικὶ, καὶ παραλαβοῦσα, ἐπὶ τὴν Λυκίδεω οἰκίην ἤϊσαν αὐτοκελέες [13], καὶ κατὰ μὲν ἔλευσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα κατὰ δὲ τὰ τέκνα.

the council, is stoned to death for proposing to entertain them.

The women stone his wife and children afterwards.

6 Ἐς δὲ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα διέβησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὧδε· ἕως μὲν προσεδέκοντο τὸν [14] ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου στρατὸν ἥξειν τιμωρήσοντά σφι, οἱ δὲ ἔμενον ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν μακρότερά τε καὶ σχολαίτερα ἐποίεον, ὁ δὲ ἐπιὼν καὶ δὴ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίῃ ἐλέγετο εἶναι [15], οὕτω δὴ ὑπεξεκομίσαντό τε πάντα καὶ αὐτοὶ διέβησαν ἐς Σαλαμῖνα· ἐς Λακεδαίμονά τε ἔπεμπον ἀγγέλους [16], ἅμα μὲν μεμψομένους τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι ὅτι περιεῖδον ἐμβαλόντα τὸν βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἀλλ' οὐ μετά σφεων ἠντίασαν ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίην, ἅμα δὲ ὑπομνήσοντας ὅσα σφι ὑπέσχετο ὁ Πέρσης μεταβαλοῦσι δώσειν· προεῖπαί τε, ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἀμυνεῦσι Ἀθηναίοισι, ὡς καὶ αὐτοί τινα ἀλεωρὴν εὑρήσονται [17]. οἱ γὰρ δὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι

Circumstances under which the Athenians cross to the island

at the time

the way in which the historic details of an ethical story vary, notes 90 on ii. 30, and 9 on iii. 4.

[13] αὐτοκελέες. One manuscript (F) has αὐτομολέες. But the word seems to be genuine, and to have the force of αὐτόκλητοι.

[14] τόν. Gaisford, on the authority of five MSS, omits the article. But it is found in the rest.

[15] καὶ δὴ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίῃ ἐλέγετο εἶναι. The manuscripts A, B, S, V, have ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίην ἐλέγετο εἶναι, which may perhaps be defended, if the reading of Gaisford and the MSS in i. 21, ἐς τὴν Μίλητον ἦν, is the true one. But such a construction is not the usual one in Herodotus. (See note 72 on that passage.) The connexion of the particle δὴ with ἤδη is well shown by this expression. The rumour of the enemy having reached Bœotia was what made the cup of impatience run over. The Athenians were uneasy at the Lacedæmonian slowness, but still refrained from incurring the inconveniences of crossing to Salamis; when however *at last* (καὶ δὴ) accounts reached them of Mardonius being in Bœotia, then, under such circumstances (οὕτω δὴ), they transported all their moveables, and went over in person. See note 21 on § 7, below, and note 6 on i. 1.

[16] ἔπεμπον ἀγγέλους. Aristides appears to have been the framer of the resolution in virtue of which these commissioners were sent. In subsequent times he himself was said to be one. But PLUTARCH remarks that his name does not occur in the decree, but those of Cimon, Xanthippus, and Myronides. (*Aristid.* § 10.)

[17] ὡς καὶ αὐτοί τινα ἀλεωρὴν εὑρήσονται. See above, note 307 on viii. 144.

of the Lacedæmonian *Hyacinthia.* ὁρταζόν τε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καί σφι ἦν Ὑακίνθια [18]· περὶ πλείστου δ' ἦγον τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πορσύνειν· ἅμα δὲ τὸ τεῖχός σφι τὸ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἐτείχεον· καὶ ἤδη ἐπάλξεις ἐλάμβανε.

7 Commissioners arrive in Sparta with strong representations from the Athenians, and a demand that an army shall accompany them back.

Ὡς δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων ἅμα ἀγόμενοι ἔκ τε Μεγάρων ἀγγέλους καὶ ἐκ Πλαταιέων, ἔλεγον τάδε ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους· "ἔπεμψαν ἡμέας Ἀθηναῖοι, λέγοντες ὅτι ἡμῖν βασιλεὺς ὁ Μήδων, τοῦτο μὲν τὴν χώρην ἀποδιδοῖ, τοῦτο δὲ συμμάχους ἐθέλει ἐπ' ἴσῃ τε καὶ ὁμοίῃ ποιήσασθαι, ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης· ἐθέλει δὲ καὶ ἄλλην χώρην πρὸς τῇ ἡμετέρῃ διδόναι τὴν ἂν αὐτοὶ ἑλώμεθα, ἡμεῖς δὲ Δία τε Ἑλλήνιον αἰδεσθέντες [19] καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα δεινὸν ποιεύμενοι προδοῦναι, οὐ καταινέσαμεν, ἀλλὰ ἀπειπάμεθα, καίπερ ἀδικεόμενοι ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων καὶ καταπροδιδόμενοι, ἐπιστάμενοί τε ὅτι κερδαλεώτερόν ἐστι ὁμολογέειν τῷ Πέρσῃ μᾶλλον [20] ἤπερ πολεμέειν· οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ὁμολογήσομεν ἑκόντες εἶναι. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀπ' ἡμέων οὕτω ἀκίβδηλον ἐὸν νέμεται ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας· ὑμεῖς δὲ, ἐς πᾶσαν ἀρρωδίην τότε ἀπικόμενοι μὴ ὁμολογήσωμεν τῷ Πέρσῃ, ἐπεί τε ἐξεμάθετε τὸ ἡμέτερον φρόνημα σαφέως, ὅτι οὐδαμὰ προδώσομεν

[18] καί σφι ἦν Ὑακίνθια. The celebration of the *Carnea* had last year interposed an obstacle to the concentration of a force at Thermopylæ (vii. 44); nevertheless king Leonidas absented himself from it. The *Hyacinthia* however was a festival which seems to have been of a more popular character; for all the citizens, and indeed the slaves also, took a part in it. This would be very natural if it were a festival of the ante-dorian times; and that it was so seems certain, both from its nature (see note 207 on ii. 79) and from the circumstance that during its celebration Sparta was deserted for *Amyclæ*. (POLYCRATES *ap. Athenæum*, iv. p. 139.) See note 189 on v. 72. To neglect the ceremonial would consequently have been a much more dangerous experiment on the temper of the bulk of the citizens, than the proceeding of Leonidas was, even supposing the Spartan magnates to have been strongly inclined to march—itself a doubtful matter. (See note 34 on § 12.)

[19] Δία τε Ἑλλήνιον αἰδεσθέντες. It is not very plain to what *Zeus* the ambassadors refer under this title. Perhaps it may be the Olympian. But, on the other hand, it is far from impossible that it was the deity worshipped under the name of Πανελλήνιος at Ægina; for the temple there was regarded as possessing a peculiar sanctity. It was mythically connected with *Æacus*, by whose mediation alone the Delphic oracle declared that Hellas could be relieved from a drought which desolated both the region within and that without the isthmus. (PAUSANIAS, ii. 29. 6.) It will be remembered, that the presence of the Æginetan Æacids was considered of vital importance at Salamis, as well as on another occasion (v. 80; vi. 84), and that the Delphic deity expressly required an offering from the Æginetans after that victory. Up to this time, therefore, the reputation of the Æginetan Zeus must have been very great. *After* the battle of Platæa (in which the Æginetans appear not to have taken any active part), the Olympian Zeus may reasonably have been preferred. See below, § 81.

[20] κερδαλεώτερον . . . . μᾶλλον. See note on vii. 143, above.

τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ διότι τεῖχος ὑμῖν διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐλαυνόμενον ἐν τέλεΐ ἐστι, καὶ δὴ λόγον οὐδένα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιέεσθε[21]· συνθέμενοί τε ἡμῖν τὸν Πέρσην ἀντιώσεσθαι ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίην προδεδώκατε, περιείδετέ τε ἐσβαλόντα ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὸν βάρβαρον. ἐς μέν νυν τὸ παρεὸν Ἀθηναῖοι ὑμῖν μηνίουσι· οὐ γὰρ ἐποιήσατε ἐπιτηδέως· νῦν δὲ ὅτι τάχος στρατιὴν ἅμα ἡμῖν ἐκέλευσαν ὑμέας ἐκπέμπειν, ὡς ἂν τὸν βάρβαρον δεκώμεθα ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡμάρτομεν τῆς Βοιωτίης, τῆς γε ἡμετέρης ἐπιτηδεώτατόν ἐστι ἐμμαχέσασθαι τὸ Θριάσιον πεδίον[22]." Ὡς δὲ ἄρα ἤκουσαν οἱ 8
ἔφοροι ταῦτα, ἀνεβάλλοντο ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην ὑποκρίνασθαι· τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ, ἐς τὴν ἑτέρην. τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ δέκα ἡμέρας ἐποίεον, ἐξ ἡμέρης ἐς ἡμέρην ἀναβαλλόμενοι· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἐτείχεον, σπουδὴν ἔχοντες πολλὴν πάντες Πελοποννήσιοι· καί σφι ἦν πρὸς τέλεϊ. οὐδ᾽ ἔχω εἶπαι τὸ αἴτιον, διότι ἀπικομένου μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος ἐς Ἀθήνας σπουδὴν μεγάλην ἐποιήσαντο μὴ μηδίσαι Ἀθηναίους, τότε δὲ ὤρην ἐποιήσαντο οὐδεμίαν, ἄλλο γε ἢ ὅτι ὁ Ἰσθμός σφι ἐτετείχιστο, καὶ ἐδόκεον Ἀθηναίων ἔτι δέεσθαι οὐδέν· ὅτε δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν, οὔκω ἀπετετείχιστο· ἐργάζοντο δὲ μεγάλως καταρρωδηκότες τοὺς Πέρσας.

The Ephors put off giving them an answer day by day for ten days, until at last the lines at the Isthmus are complete.

Τέλος δέ, τῆς τε ὑποκρίσιος καὶ ἐξόδου τῶν Σπαρτιητέων 9
ἐγένετο τρόπος τοιόσδε· τῇ προτεραίῃ τῆς ὑστάτης καταστάσιος μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι[23], Χίλεος, ἀνὴρ Τεγεήτης, δυνάμενος ἐν Λακεδαίμονι μέγιστα ξείνων[24], τῶν ἐφόρων ἐπύθετο πάντα λόγον τὸν

A strong representation in behalf of the Athenian de-

[21] καὶ δὴ λόγον οὐδένα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιέεσθε, "*come to* take no account of the Athenians." So above (§ 6), καὶ δὴ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίῃ ἐλέγετο εἶναι, "*came to be* talked of as being in Bœotia." See note 15, above.

[22] ἐπιτηδεώτατόν ἐστι ἐμμαχέσασθαι τὸ Θριάσιον πεδίον. The suggestion of the Thriasian plain as a desirable locality for engaging an enemy who was possessed of an overwhelming force of cavalry, strikes at first as somewhat strange. But apparently the Athenians considered that the command of the sea would give them great advantages if the enemy were brought to action there. They would have menaced his rear by crossing over from Salamis; and in the event of his being defeated, might have closed up the pass from the Thriasian plain into the plain of Athens. This would have compelled Mardonius to retire into Bœotia by Phyle alone, if the victorious Peloponnesians succeeded, as they probably would have done, in stopping the road by Œnoe, by which alone Cithæron could be crossed.

[23] τῇ προτεραίῃ τῆς ὑστάτης καταστάσιος μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι, "on the eve of the last audience there was to be." Compare viii. 141.

[24] δυνάμενος ἐν Λακεδαίμονι μέγιστα ξείνων. That a *Tegean* should then have great influence at Lacedæmon, probably arose from the circumstance of the Achæan party being likewise strong there, and at the time jealous of their influence

mand is made by one Chileus, a Tegean,

δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔλεγον· ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Χίλεος ἔλεγε ἄρα σφι τάδε· "οὕτω ἔχει, ἄνδρες ἔφοροι· Ἀθηναίων ἡμῖν ἐόντων μὴ ἀρθμίων τῷ δὲ βαρβάρῳ συμμάχων, καίπερ τείχεος διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐληλαμένου καρτεροῦ, μεγάλαι κλισιάδες ἀναπεπτέαται[25] ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον τῷ Πέρσῃ. ἀλλ' ἐσακούσατε, πρίν τι ἄλλο Ἀθη-

10 ναίοισι δόξαι σφάλμα φέρον τῇ Ἑλλάδι." Ὁ μέν σφι ταῦτα συνεβούλευε· οἱ δὲ φρενὶ λαβόντες τὸν λόγον, αὐτίκα, φράσαντες οὐδὲν τοῖσι ἀγγέλοισι τοῖσι ἀπιγμένοισι ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων, νυκτὸς ἔτι ἐκπέμπουσι πεντακισχιλίους Σπαρτιητέων, [καὶ ἑπτὰ περὶ ἕκαστον τάξαντες τῶν εἱλώτων[26],] Παυσανίῃ τῷ Κλεομβρότου ἐπιτρέψαντες ἐξάγειν. ἐγένετο μέν νυν ἡ ἡγεμονίη Πλειστάρχου τοῦ Λεωνίδεω· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἦν ἔτι παῖς, ὁ δὲ τούτου ἐπίτροπός τε καὶ ἀνεψιός· Κλεόμβροτος γάρ, ὁ Παυσανίεω μὲν πατὴρ Ἀναξανδρίδεω δὲ παῖς, οὐκέτι περιῆν· ἀλλὰ ἀπαγαγὼν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν τὸ τεῖχος δείμασαν[27], μετὰ ταῦτα οὐ πολλὸν

and 5000 Spartans under Pausanias are despatched before daybreak by the Ephors, unknown to the embassy,

being impaired. Leonidas, the hero of Thermopylæ, had married the daughter and heiress of Cleomenes, who scorned the name of Dorian, and called himself an Achæan. The child Pleistarchus was therefore the representative both of the Eurystheneid line of kings and of the Achæan party, while his uncle Cleombrotus (his legal guardian) was by a different mother from Cleomenes, and (by the death of his elder brother Dorieus) had become representative of the Dorian party. That his son Pausanias should have retained the partialities of his grandmother's connexions, seems likely from his association of Dorieus's son Euryanax with himself in the command of the army (§ 10). Under these circumstances there was apparently some cause for uneasiness on the part of the Achæan faction; and the existence of this would give great weight to the representations of an ally who belonged to the same race.

[25] μεγάλαι κλισιάδες ἀναπεπτέαται. This phrase appears to have been taken by Polyænus as if specially referring to the means of invading the Peloponnese, which the possession of the Athenian fleet would confer upon the Persians: πολλὰς διαβάσεις ἕξουσιν εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον οἱ βάρβαροι (v. 30). And Plutarch puts the matter with special reference to the utility of the lines at the isthmus: τοῦ διατειχίσματος οὐδὲν ὄφελός ἐστι Πελοποννήσῳ, ἂν Ἀθηναῖοι Μαρδονίῳ προσγένωνται (ii. p. 871). The phrase became in subsequent times almost a proverbial one. Plutarch has μεγάλας ἐπ' Ἀντίοχον Ῥωμαίοις ἀναπετάσας κλισιάδας (*Comparat. Arist. c. Cat.* § 2): μεγάλας αὐτῷ κλισιάδας ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἀνοίγοντος τοῦ τε γένους καὶ τοῦ πλούτου (*Alcibiad.* § 10): μεγάλας μὲν τῷ ἀθέῳ λεῷ κλισιάδας ἀνοίγοντες (*De Iside et Osiride*, § 23). St. Paul uses the same figure in 1 *Cor.* xvi. 9, and 2 *Cor.* ii. 12; but in *Coloss.* iv. 3, ἵνα ὁ Θεὸς ἀνοίξῃ ἡμῖν θύραν τοῦ λόγου, this does not seem so clear.

[26] [καὶ ἑπτὰ περὶ ἕκαστον τάξαντες τῶν εἱλώτων.] These words do not exist in S and V, nor in the translation of Valla. Wesseling supposes them to have been introduced into the text from § 28.

[27] ἀπαγαγὼν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν τὸ τεῖχος δείμασαν. Thirlwall considers that the retirement of Cleombrotus to Sparta from the lines across the isthmus, took place during the time that the Athenian envoys were at Sparta; and he endeavours to explain the conduct of the Lacedæmonians,—which on the face of things he regards as capricious and childish,—from this circumstance. "If Cleombrotus brought his army back during the ten days that the envoys were detained, his illness and death, and the appointment of the new

χρόνον τινὰ βιοὺς ἀπέθανε. (ἀπῆγε δὲ τὴν στρατιὴν ὁ Κλεόμ-
βροτος ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ διὰ τόδε[28]· θυομένῳ οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ,
ὁ ἥλιος ἀμαυρώθη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ[29].) προσαιρέεται δὲ ἑωυτῷ
Παυσανίης Εὐρυάνακτα τὸν Δωριέος, ἄνδρα οἰκίης ἐόντα τῆς
αὐτῆς. Οἱ μὲν δὴ σὺν Παυσανίῃ ἐξεληλύθεσαν ἔξω Σπάρτης· 11
οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι, ὡς ἡμέρη ἐγεγόνεε, οὐδὲν εἰδότες περὶ τῆς ἐξόδου
ἐπῆλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους, ἐν νόῳ δὴ ἔχοντες[30] ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι
καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ἕκαστος· ἐπελθόντες δὲ ἔλεγον τάδε·
ὑμεῖς μὲν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, αὐτοῦ τῇδε μένοντες, Ὑακίνθιά τε
ἄγετε, καὶ παίζετε καταπροδόντες τοὺς συμμάχους· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ,
ὡς ἀδικεόμενοι ὑπὸ ὑμέων, χήτι συμμάχων[31], καταλύσονται τῷ
Πέρσῃ οὕτω ὅκως ἂν δύνωνται· καταλυσάμενοι δὲ, δῆλα γὰρ δὴ
ὅτι σύμμαχοι βασιλέος γινόμεθα, συστρατευσόμεθα ἐπὶ τὴν ἂν
ἐκεῖνοι ἐξηγέωνται· ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν μαθήσεσθε ὁκοῖον ἄν τι

commander-in-chief, might render so long a delay unavoidable, and the departure of Pausanias, instead of having been deferred to the last moment, may have taken place at the very first that admitted of it; yet it may at last have been both sudden and secret." (*History of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 329.) But it seems extremely unlikely that the army of the confederates should have been employed during the winter months in completing the lines. There is no instance of any thing like such a continued retention of a whole army under arms in ancient history, and the commissariat requisite for the purpose would have far exceeded the resources of the country. The course of events seems to have been, that immediately after the battle of Salamis, the thought of attacking the Persian army occurred to Cleombrotus. But the eclipse seemed to forbid the step. The Persian army appeared to be in full retreat, and it was the Spartan principle to give a *pont d'or* to a flying enemy. Accordingly he broke up his position and returned home, imagining the war at an end. But in the spring Mardonius showed that he was going to try his fortune again. He had halted in Thessaly, and his movements "woke the Greeks up" (ἤγειρε). The land force had been disbanded and not reassembled: οὔκω συνελέγετο (viii. 13).

[28] ἀπῆγε δὲ τὴν στρατιὴν . . . διὰ τόδε. There is nothing at all in the text to justify the assertion that the eclipse "*terrified* Cleombrotus so that he returned home with his army." All that would be gathered from the omen by the Spartan chief would be, that the step he contemplated was not to be made. If he put any more special interpretation upon the appearance of the sun, it would probably be one unfavourable to the prospects of Xerxes. See the passage of ARISTOPHANES cited in note 133 on vii. 37.

[29] ὁ ἥλιος ἀμαυρώθη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. LARCHER states, on the authority of M. Pingré, that there was an eclipse of the sun of from six to seven digits on the 2nd of October, B.C. 479. Petavius had considered the one in the text to have happened on the 2nd of October, the year before. Larcher believes that it is the eclipse of 479 to which Herodotus refers, but that he puts it *before* the battle of Platæa, whereas it did not occur until afterwards. If so, the story relative to Cleombrotus (who would have been dead when the eclipse really took place) must have grown up some time after the actual event. See, for what appears like a parallel case to this, note 132 on vii. 37.

[30] ἐν νόῳ δὴ ἔχοντες, "intending, *at last*." See above, note on § 6.

[31] χήτι συμμάχων. This is the reading adopted by Gaisford, on the authority of S and V. Most of the MSS have χήτεϊ τε, and two χήτι τε.

which is surprised on hearing it, and follows with 5000 more picked hoplites from the periœcian Lacedæmonians.

ὑμῖν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐκβαίνῃ." ταῦτα λεγόντων τῶν ἀγγέλων, οἱ ἔφοροι εἶπαν ἐπ' ὅρκου, καὶ δὴ δοκέειν εἶναι ἐν Ὀρεστείῳ[32] στείχοντας ἐπὶ τοὺς ξείνους· (ξείνους γὰρ ἐκάλεον τοὺς βαρβάρους[33].) οἱ δὲ ὡς οὐκ εἰδότες ἐπειρώτεον τὸ λεγόμενον, ἐπειρόμενοι δὲ ἐξέμαθον πᾶν τὸ ἐόν· ὥστε ἐν θώματι γενόμενοι, ἐπορεύοντο τὴν ταχίστην διώκοντες· σὺν δέ σφι, τῶν περιοίκων Λακεδαιμονίων λογάδες πεντακισχίλιοι ὁπλῖται τὠυτὸ τοῦτο ἐποίεον.

The Argives send intelligence of this move to Mardonius,

12 Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἠπείγοντο. Ἀργεῖοι δὲ, ἐπεί τε τάχιστα ἐπύθοντο τοὺς μετὰ Παυσανίεω ἐξεληλυθότας ἐκ Σπάρτης, πέμπουσι κήρυκα, τῶν ἡμεροδρόμων ἀνευρόντες τὸν ἄριστον, ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, πρότερον αὐτοὶ Μαρδονίῳ ὑποδεξάμενοι σχήσειν τὸν Σπαρτιήτην μὴ ἐξιέναι[34]· ὃς ἐπεί τε ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἔλεγε τάδε· "Μαρδόνιε, ἐπεμψάν με Ἀργεῖοι φράσοντά τοι ὅτι ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος ἐξελήλυθε ἡ νεότης, καὶ ὡς οὐ δυνατοὶ αὐτὴν ἴσχειν εἰσὶ Ἀργεῖοι μὴ οὐκ ἐξιέναι. πρὸς ταῦτα τύγχανε εὖ

13 βουλευόμενος." Ὁ μὲν δὴ, εἴπας ταῦτα, ἀπαλλάσσετο ὀπίσω· Μαρδόνιος δὲ οὐδαμῶς ἔτι πρόθυμος ἦν μένειν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ,

[32] ἐν Ὀρεστείῳ. Two manuscripts (F and c) have Ὀρεσθείῳ. The *Oresteum* here mentioned is apparently in the vicinity of Tegea, upon the mountain Mænalus, τὸ Ὀρέστειον Μαιναλίας as THUCYDIDES calls it (v. 64). The town was a very ancient one, and in the local traditions reputed to have been founded in the third generation after *Pelasgus*, by his grandson *Orestheus*, from whom it was at first called Oresthasium. The name was afterwards called *Oresteum*, from Orestes. (PAUSANIAS, viii. 3. 2.) From an anecdote related of an heroic action of a hundred volunteers of the town, who, by the sacrifice of themselves, purchased the return of the population of Phigalia, it may be inferred that the name could not have been changed, and consequently the tutelary hero altered, until the latter part of the seventh century B.C. (PAUSANIAS, viii. 39. 3.) But the dramatic poets paid no regard to such chronological considerations. EURIPIDES makes the Dioscuri say to Orestes:

Σὲ δ' Ἀρκάδων χρὴ πόλιν ἐπ' Ἀλφειοῦ ῥοαῖς
οἰκεῖν, Λυκαίου πλησίον σηκώματος·
ἐπώνυμος δέ σου πόλις κεκλήσεται.
(*Electr.*, 1273.)

In the *Orestes*, too, Apollo orders him to pass a year before lustration in the Parrasian plain, of which he says:

κεκλήσεται δὲ σῆς φυγῆς ἐπώνυμον
Ἀζᾶσιν Ἀρκάσιν τ' Ὀρέστειον καλεῖν.
(1647.)

[33] ξείνους γὰρ ἐκάλεον τοὺς βαρβάρους. See note on ix. 55.

[34] ὑποδεξάμενοι σχήσειν τὸν Σπαρτιήτην μὴ ἐξιέναι. In what way did the Argives expect to be able to hold the Spartans in check? Certainly it could not have been by any force they could hope to bring into the field. Possibly they tried to foment the jealousy of the pure Spartans at Lacedæmon against the Achæan portion of their fellow countrymen. They had been so much alarmed by the designs of Cleomenes, as to render this no difficult task. A current report in Hellas in the time of Herodotus, was that the Argives actually invited the Persians, in consequence of the blow which had been struck by that king (viii. 152). If there is any truth in the statements of the Attic orators, there was no want of money for the purpose of furthering intrigues in the Peloponnese. See note 9, above, and note on § 88, below.

ὡς ἤκουσε ταῦτα. πρὶν μέν νυν ἢ πυθέσθαι, ἀνεκώχευε, θέλων εἰδέναι τὸ παρ' Ἀθηναίων ὁκοῖόν τι ποιήσουσι· καὶ οὔτε ἐπήμαινε οὔτε ἐσίνετο[35] γῆν τὴν Ἀττικήν[36], ἐλπίζων διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου ὁμολογήσειν σφέας· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε, πυθόμενος τὸν πάντα λόγον, πρὶν ἢ τοὺς μετὰ Παυσανίεω ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἐμβαλεῖν, ὑπεξεχώρεε ἐμπρήσας τε τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ εἴ κού τι ὀρθὸν ἦν τῶν τειχέων ἢ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἢ τῶν ἱρῶν, πάντα καταβαλὼν καὶ συγχώσας. ἐξήλαυνε δὲ τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅτι οὔτε ἱππασίμη ἡ χώρη ἦν ἡ Ἀττική, εἴ τε νικῷτο συμβαλὼν ἀπάλλαξις οὐκ ἦν ὅτι μὴ κατὰ στεινόν[37], ὥστε καὶ ὀλίγους σφέας ἀνθρώπους ἴσχειν. ἐβουλεύετο ὦν, ἐπαναχωρήσας ἐς τὰς Θήβας, συμβαλεῖν πρὸς πόλι τε φιλίῃ καὶ χώρῃ ἱππασίμῃ[38].

who ravages Attica and falls back upon Bœotia,

14 Μαρδόνιος μὲν δὴ ὑπεξεχώρεε· ἤδη δὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἐόντι αὐτῷ ἦλθε ἀγγελίη, πρόδρομον[39] ἄλλην στρατιὴν ἥκειν ἐς Μέγαρα, Λακεδαιμονίων χιλίους· πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ἐβουλεύετο, θέλων εἴ κως τούτους πρῶτον ἕλοι· ὑποστρέψας δὲ τὴν στρατιὴν ἦγε ἐπὶ τὰ Μέγαρα· ἡ δὲ ἵππος προελθοῦσα κατιππάσατο χώρην

after first attempting fruitlessly to cut off the advanced guard of the enemy in Megara.

[35] ἐσίνετο. This is the reading of all the MSS but one (S), which has ἐσινέετο, and this is adopted by Gaisford. In iv. 123, the same MS alone has σινέεσθαι, which he also adopts. In v. 81, that MS has the common form ἐσίνοντο, and so have all the others except one (M). But Gaisford here adopts the exceptional reading. I have throughout preserved the common form, it being sanctioned by the majority of MSS, and the Ionic form apparently arising from an arbitrary alteration to produce conformity with the canons of the Alexandrine grammarians. In the existing state of the text, it appears in most instances quite futile to attempt to ascertain what form the author actually used; but the safest course probably is, in every case to adopt the common form, unless the weight of MS authority decidedly predominates on the other side.

[36] οὔτε ἐπήμαινε οὔτε ἐσίνετο γῆν τὴν Ἀττικήν. While Mardonius held the country, it would have been bad policy in him to have injured the crops, as he would in so doing have been impairing his own resources. When, on the other hand, he determined to retreat into Bœotia, it became no less desirable to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy. To the reasons assigned in the text for his evacuation of Attica, may be added that by this means he approached nearer to his own magazines, and removed the allies farther from theirs.

[37] ὅτι μὴ κατὰ στεινόν. If he had fought the battle in the Thriasian plain, and been defeated, he would probably have had to withdraw by the pass of Phyle alone. See above, note 22. If again he had engaged in the plain of Athens, his only road in case of defeat would have been by Decelea.

[38] ἱππασίμῃ. The manuscripts V, P, K, F, *a*, and *c*, have the form ἱππασίμῳ, and S τῇ ἱππασίμῳ, although the same unanimously agree in ἱππασίμη in the preceding sentence.

[39] πρόδρομον. This is the conjecture of Schweighäuser, and adopted by Bekker. The MSS and Gaisford have πρόδρομος. But ἀγγελίη πρόδρομος is an expression which occurs nowhere else, and affords no satisfactory sense, while πρόδρομοι ἱππέες is found in iv. 121, and πρόδρομοι in iv. 122, for the advanced posts; and in vii. 203, it is asserted of the body of troops under the command of Leonidas: ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν ἥκοιεν πρόδρομοι τῶν ἄλλων.

τὴν Μεγαρίδα. (ἐς ταύτην δὴ ἑκαστάτω τῆς Εὐρώπης[40] τὸ πρὸς
15 ἡλίου δύνοντος ἡ Περσικὴ αὕτη στρατιὴ ἀπίκετο.) Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, Μαρδονίῳ ἦλθε ἀγγελίη ὡς ἀλέες εἴησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ· οὕτω δὴ ὀπίσω ἐπορεύετο διὰ Δεκελέης· οἱ γὰρ βοιωτάρχαι μετεπέμψαντο τοὺς προσχώρους τῶν Ἀσωπίων· οὗτοι δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν ὁδὸν ἡγέοντο ἐς Σφενδαλέας· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἐς Τανάγρην· ἐν Ταγάγρῃ δὲ νύκτα ἐναυλισάμενος, καὶ τραπόμενος τῇ ὑστεραίῃ ἐς Σκῶλον, ἐν γῇ τῇ Θηβαίων ἦν[41]· ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων καίπερ μηδιζόντων ἔκειρε τοὺς χώρους, οὔτι κατὰ ἔχθος αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης μεγάλης ἐχόμενος. βουλόμενος ἔρυμά τε τῷ στρατῷ ποιήσασθαι, καὶ ἦν συμβαλόντι οἱ μὴ ἐκβαίνῃ ὁκοῖόν τι ἐθέλοι, κρησφύγετον τοῦτο ἐποιέετο. παρῆκε δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ Ἐρυθρέων παρὰ Ὑσιάς· κατέτεινε δὲ ἐς τὴν Πλαταιΐδα γῆν[42], παρὰ[43] τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ποταμὸν τεταγμένον· οὐ μέντοι τό γε τεῖχος τοσοῦτον ἐποιέετο, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους μάλιστά κῃ μέτωπον ἕκαστον.

Mardonius marches by *Decelea*, *Sphendales*, *Tanagra*, and *Scolus*, where he constructs a fortified camp within the Theban territory.

16 Ἐχόντων δὲ τὸν πόνον τοῦτον τῶν βαρβάρων, Ἀτταγῖνος

[40] ἐς ταύτην δὴ ἑκαστάτω τῆς Εὐρώπης. See note on viii. 70. Some difficulty has been occasioned by the circumstance that Delphi is considerably to the west of the Megarid; so that the plunder of that temple by the Persian detachment militates against the assertion in the text. This difficulty may be explained away by considering that ἡ Περσικὴ αὕτη στρατιὴ refers only to the second campaign under Mardonius in person. But I rather doubt whether this is the true solution. The determination of the cardinal points is a much more recent discovery than the time of Herodotus; and it seems likely that the narrator, taking an imaginary standing place at the Dardanelles, would consider generally that the farther the invader went, the greater his westing would be. In fact, the text does not mean, "This was the *westernmost* point of Europe reached," but "This was the *farthest* point of Europe, looking westward, which was reached."

[41] ἐν γῇ τῇ Θηβαίων ἦν. I suspect that the two next sentences are transposed in the MSS from their original order, and that the text ran: ἐν γῇ τῇ Θηβαίων ἦν βουλόμενος ἔρυμά τε τῷ στρατῷ ποιήσασθαι, κ.τ.λ. PAUSANIAS speaks of *Scolus* as if it had been on the Platæan side of the Asopus, and apparently forty stades down the stream from the point where the road from Platæa to Thebes crossed that river. That this log fortification, or *pah*, was actually completed before the general action, seems to follow from the account of the difficulty of its capture (§ 70, below).

[42] κατέτεινε δὲ ἐς τὴν Πλαταιΐδα γῆν. Just at the entrance of the domain of Platæa were the barrows (three in number) of the Athenians, Lacedæmonians, and other Greeks, who fell in the battle. (PAUSANIAS, ix. 2. 5.)

[43] παρά. The MSS vary between this word and περί. I suspect that not only is περὶ the true reading, but that ἀπὸ Ἐρυθρέων and περὶ Ὑσιὰς are alternative readings which have become combined in the MSS. *Erythræ* and *Hysiæ* are mentioned by PAUSANIAS as if the ruins of the two were close to each other, on the right hand of the road leading from Eleutheræ to Platæa. Just after returning to the main road, the tomb of Mardonius was seen, likewise on the right of Hysiæ (ix. 2. 1 and 2). See note 197 on v. 74, above.

ὁ Φρύνωνος, ἀνὴρ Θηβαῖος, παρασκευασάμενος μεγάλως[44], ἐκάλεε ἐπὶ ξείνια αὐτόν τε Μαρδόνιον καὶ πεντήκοντα Περσέων τοὺς λογιμωτάτους· κληθέντες δὲ οὗτοι ἕποντο· ἦν δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον ποιεύμενον ἐν Θήβῃσι. τὰ δὲ ἤδη τὰ ἐπίλοιπα ἤκουον Θερσάνδρου, ἀνδρὸς μὲν Ὀρχομενίου, λογίμου δὲ ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ἐν Ὀρχομενῷ· ἔφη δὲ ὁ Θέρσανδρος κληθῆναι καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Ἀτταγίνου ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον τοῦτο· κληθῆναι δὲ καὶ Θηβαίων ἄνδρας πεντήκοντα· καί σφεων οὐ χωρὶς ἑκατέρους κλῖναι, ἀλλὰ Πέρσην τε καὶ Θηβαῖον ἐν κλίνῃ ἑκάστῃ· ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἦσαν, διαπινόντων[45], τὸν Πέρσην τὸν ὁμόκλινον, Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἱέντα, εἴρεσθαι αὐτὸν ὁποδαπός ἐστι; αὐτὸς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὡς εἴη Ὀρχομένιος· τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν· "ἐπεὶ νῦν ὁμοτράπεζός τέ μοι καὶ ὁμόσπονδος ἐγένεο, μνημόσυνά τοι γνώμης τῆς ἐμῆς καταλιπέσθαι θέλω, ἵνα καὶ προειδὼς αὐτὸς περὶ σεωυτοῦ βουλεύεσθαι ἔχῃς τὰ συμφέροντα. ὁρᾷς τούτους τοὺς δαινυμένους Πέρσας, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν τὸν ἐλίπομεν ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ στρατοπεδευόμενον; τούτων πάντων ὄψεαι, ὀλίγου τινὸς χρόνου διελθόντος, ὀλίγους τινὰς τοὺς περιγενομένους." ταῦτά τε ἅμα τὸν Πέρσην λέγειν, καὶ μετιέναι πολλὰ τῶν δακρύων· αὐτὸς δὲ θωμάσας τὸν λόγον, εἰπεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν· "οὐκῶν Μαρδονίῳ τε ταῦτα χρεόν ἐστι λέγειν, καὶ τοῖσι μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἐν αἴνῃ ἐοῦσι[46] Περσέων;" τὸν δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰπεῖν· "ξεῖνε, ὅ τι δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀμήχανον ἀποτρέψαι ἀνθρώπῳ· οὐδὲ γὰρ πιστὰ λέγουσι ἐθέλει πείθεσθαι οὐδείς·

He and fifty of his principal officers are entertained by one *Attaginus*, a Theban, in *Thebes*.

Story told to the author by Thersander of *Orchomenus*, who was one of the company.

[44] παρασκευασάμενος μεγάλως. The constitution of Thebes appears at this time to have been a very close oligarchy, the members of which (to judge from the instance of Attaginus and some of his party, see below, § 88) were men of very great wealth. The Theban orator in THUCYDIDES, iii. 62, so describes the matter: ἡμῖν μὲν γὰρ ἡ πόλις τότε ἐτύγχανεν οὔτε κατ' ὀλιγαρχίαν ἰσόνομον πολιτεύουσα οὔτε κατὰ δημοκρατίαν· ὅπερ δέ ἐστι νόμοις μὲν καὶ τῷ σωφρονεστάτῳ ἐναντιώτατον, ἐγγυτάτω δὲ τυράννου, δυναστεία ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν εἶχε τὰ πράγματα. Of course, after the defeat of Mardonius, and the expulsion of the heads of the Persian party (below, § 88), the constitution would be in some way or other changed. At the time of the battle of Œnophyta, which happened quite at the beginning of the year 456 B.C., it was a democracy; and the consequence of the loss of the battle was the destruction of that form of government. (ARISTOTLE, *Polit.* v. 2. 6.)

[45] διαπινόντων. This phrase is especially applicable to the conviviality of a drinking party, where the cup is passed from the one to the other, and so goes *through* the whole number. Similarly διακελεύειν is to pass an order through a number of persons, from one to the other. The expression rests on the same idea with the English phrase, "to drink about." Compare v. 18, ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἐγένοντο, διαπίνοντες εἶπαν οἱ Πέρσαι τάδε.

[46] ἐν αἴνῃ ἐοῦσι. This same expression is applied to Prexaspes, iii. 74, and to Themistocles, viii. 42: πυνθανόμενοι ὡς εἴη ἐν αἴνῃ μεγίστῃ τῶν στρατηγῶν.

ταῦτα δὲ Περσέων συχνοὶ ἐπιστάμενοι ἑπόμεθα ἀναγκαίῃ ἐνδεδεμένοι[47]· ἐχθίστη δὲ ὀδύνη ἐστὶ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι αὕτη, πολλὰ φρονέοντα μηδενὸς κρατέειν." ταῦτα μὲν τοῦ Ὀρχομενίου Θερσάνδρου ἤκουον, καὶ τάδε πρὸς τούτοισι, ὡς αὐτὸς αὐτίκα λέγοι ταῦτα πρὸς ἀνθρώπους πρότερον ἢ γενέσθαι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι τὴν μάχην.

17 Μαρδονίου δὲ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίῃ στρατοπεδευομένου, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παρείχοντο ἅπαντες στρατιὴν, καὶ συνεσέβαλον ἐς Ἀθήνας ὅσοιπερ ἐμήδιζον Ἑλλήνων τῶν ταύτῃ οἰκημένων· μοῦνοι δὲ Φωκέες οὐ συνεσέβαλον· ἐμήδιζον γὰρ δὴ σφόδρα καὶ οὗτοι[48], οὐκ ἑκόντες ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης· ἡμέρῃσι δὲ οὐ πολλῇσι μετὰ τὴν ἄπιξιν τὴν ἐς Θήβας ὕστερον, ἦλθον αὐτῶν ὁπλῖται χίλιοι· ἦγε δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἁρμοκύδης, ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀστῶν δοκιμώτατος[49]· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπίκατο καὶ οὗτοι ἐς Θήβας, πέμψας ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἱππέας, ἐκέλευσέ σφεας ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἵζεσθαι[50]· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐποίησαν ταῦτα, αὐτίκα παρῆν ἡ ἵππος ἅπασα· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, διεξῆλθε μὲν διὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ τοῦ μετὰ Μήδων[51] ἐόντος φήμη, ὡς κατακοντιεῖ σφέας· διεξῆλθε δὲ δι' αὐτῶν Φωκέων τὠυτὸ τοῦτο· ἔνθα δή σφι ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἁρμοκύδης παραίνεε λέγων τοιάδε· "ὦ Φωκέες, πρόδηλα γὰρ ὅτι ἡμέας οὗτοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι μέλλουσι προόπτῳ θανάτῳ δώσειν, διαβεβλημένους ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν, ὡς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω· νῦν ὦν ἄνδρα πάντα τινὰ ὑμέων χρεόν ἐστι γενέσθαι ἀγαθόν· κρέσσον γὰρ ποιεῦντάς τι καὶ ἀμυνομένους τελευτῆσαι τὸν αἰῶνα, ἤπερ παρέχοντας διαφθαρῆναι αἰσχίστῳ μόρῳ· ἀλλὰ μαθέτω τις αὐτῶν ὅτι ἐόντες βάρβαροι ἐπ' Ἕλλησι ἀνδράσι

18 φόνον ἔρραψαν." Ὁ μὲν ὦν ταῦτα παραίνεε· οἱ δὲ ἱππέες, ἐπεί τέ σφεας ἐκυκλώσαντο, ἐπήλαυνον ὡς ἀπολεῦντες, καὶ δὴ διετεί-

Proceedings of Mardonius towards a body of 1000 *Phocian* hoplites, who came late into the field.

[47] *ἀναγκαίῃ ἐνδεδεμένοι.* A similar expression is used i. 11: *ἀναγκαίῃ ἐνδεῖν.*

[48] *ἐμήδιζον γὰρ δὴ σφόδρα καὶ οὗτοι,* "for these too came to profess Persian views strongly." The Phocians had at first refused to join the invaders (viii. 30), but seem to have been thoroughly cowed by the sufferings inflicted upon them by that division of Xerxes's army which overran their territory (viii. 32, 33). The expression *μηδίζοντες μεγάλως* is used of the Thebans (§ 40, below), and some of the MSS have *μεγάλως* instead of *σφόδρα* in this passage. The affectation of violent attachment to the cause of the invader was perhaps produced by a desire to outbid the Thessalians, if the statement of Herodotus as to the feelings of the Phocians (viii. 30) be correct; and to the last some seem to have stood out, and carried on a guerilla warfare against the enemy (§ 31, below).

[49] *δοκιμώτατος.* The manuscripts M, P, K, F, have *δυνατώτατος.*

[50] *ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν ἵζεσθαι.* See below, note on § 38.

[51] *Μήδων.* S has *Μήδου.*

νοντο τὰ βέλεα ὡς ἀπήσοντες· καί κού τις καὶ ἀπῆκε. καὶ οἱ ἀντίοι ἔστασαν, πάντη συστρέψαντες ἑωυτοὺς καὶ πυκνώσαντες[52] ὡς μάλιστα· ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἱππόται ὑπέστρεφον, καὶ ἀπήλαυνον ὀπίσω. οὐκ ἔχω δ' ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν, οὔτε εἰ ἦλθον μὲν ἀπολέοντες τοὺς Φωκέας δεηθέντων Θεσσαλῶν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥρων πρὸς ἀλέξησιν τραπομένους, δείσαντες μὴ καὶ σφίσι γένηται τρώματα οὕτω δὴ ἀπήλαυνον ὀπίσω· ὡς γάρ σφι ἐνετείλατο Μαρδόνιος· οὔτ' εἰ αὐτῶν πειρηθῆναι ἠθέλησε εἴ τι ἀλκῆς μετέχουσι[53]. ὡς δὲ ὀπίσω ἀπήλασαν οἱ ἱππόται, πέμψας Μαρδόνιος κήρυκα ἔλεγε τάδε· "θαρσέετε, ὦ Φωκέες· ἄνδρες γὰρ ἐφάνητε ἐόντες ἀγαθοὶ, οὐκ ὡς ἐγὼ ἐπυνθανόμην· καὶ νῦν προθύμως φέρετε τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον· εὐεργεσίῃσι γὰρ οὐ νικήσετε οὔτε ὦν ἐμὲ, οὔτε βασιλέα." τὰ περὶ Φωκέων μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο.

19 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ, ὡς ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἦλθον, ἐν τούτῳ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο· πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ λοιποὶ[54] Πελοποννήσιοι τοῖσι τὰ ἀμείνω ἑάνδανε, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὁρέοντες ἐξιόντας Σπαρτιήτας, οὐκ ἐδικαίευν λείπεσθαι τῆς ἐξόδου Λακεδαιμονίων. ἐκ δὴ ὦν τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ, καλλιερησάντων τῶν ἱρῶν, ἐπορεύοντο πάντες καὶ ἀπικνέονται ἐς Ἐλευσῖνα· ποιήσαντες δὲ καὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἱρὰ, ὥς σφι ἐκαλλιέρεε[55], τὸ πρόσω ἐπορεύοντο, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἅμα αὐτοῖσι διαβάντες μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος συμμιγέντες δὲ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι. ὡς δὲ ἄρα ἀπίκοντο τῆς Βοιωτίης ἐς Ἐρυθρὰς, ἔμαθόν τε δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ στρατοπεδευομένους, φρασθέντες δὲ τοῦτο ἀντετάσσοντο ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπωρείης τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος.

The allies assemble at Eleusis and march to Erythræ in Bœotia, where they find the enemy encamped on the Asopus.

20 Μαρδόνιος δὲ, ὡς οὐ κατέβαινον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐς τὸ πεδίον, πέμπει ἐς αὐτοὺς πᾶσαν τὴν ἵππον, τῆς ἱππάρχεε Μασίστιος, εὐδοκιμέων παρὰ Πέρσῃσι, (τὸν Ἕλληνες Μακίστιον[56] καλέουσι,) ἵππον ἔχων

They are attacked by the Persian cavalry under Masistius.

[52] πάντη συστρέψαντες ἑωυτοὺς καὶ πυκνώσαντες. S has πάντες στρέψαντες ἑωυτοὺς καὶ κυκλώσαντες. The phrase συστρέφειν is used by Herodotus to denote the policy of Deioces, by which he brought the Median clans into one nation (i. 101). In a military sense συστρέφεσθαι answers to the Latin "conglobari."

[53] εἴ τι ἀλκῆς μετέχουσι. Two of the manuscripts (*b* and *d*) have εἴ τι ἀλκῆς ἔχουσι, which Valckenaer would adopt. But a very good sense may be given to the compound verb, even without taking ἀλκῆς after μετέχουσι,—to which however there is no objection. See note 686 on i. 204, and 63 on vi. 23.

[54] λοιποί. This word is omitted by S.

[55] ὥς σφι ἐκαλλιέρεε. Gaisford reads, ὥς σφι ἐκαλλιερέετο, πρόσω. But the form καλλιερεῖν is used in the sense required here, not only two lines back, but in vii. 134. Bekker reads accordingly ὥς σφι ἐκαλλιέρεε, τὸ πρόσω ἐπορεύοντο.

[56] Μακίστιον. The name *Masista* is said in Zend to have the signification of μέγιστος. But it does not appear to me likely that the variation of the name to

Νισαῖον[57], χρυσοχάλινόν τε καὶ ἄλλως κεκοσμημένον καλῶς· ἐνθαῦτα ὡς προσήλασαν οἱ ἱππόται πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, προσέβαλλον κατὰ τέλεα[58]· προσβάλλοντες δὲ κακὰ μεγάλα ἐργάζοντο, καὶ γυναῖκάς σφεας ἀπεκάλεον.

21 Κατὰ συντυχίην δὲ Μεγαρέες ἔτυχον ταχθέντες ᾗ τὸ ἐπιμαχώτατον ἦν τοῦ χωρίου παντός· καὶ πρόσοδος μάλιστα ταύτῃ ἐγίνετο τῇ ἵππῳ· προσβαλούσης ὦν τῆς ἵππου, οἱ Μεγαρέες πιεζόμενοι ἔπεμπον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων κήρυκα· ἀπικόμενος δὲ ὁ κῆρυξ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔλεγε τάδε· "Μεγαρέες λέγουσι· ἡμεῖς, ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, οὐ δυνατοί εἰμεν τὴν Περσέων ἵππον δέκεσθαι μοῦνοι, ἔχοντες στάσιν ταύτην ἐς τὴν ἔστημεν ἀρχήν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τόδε λιπαρίῃ τε καὶ ἀρετῇ ἀντέχομεν, καίπερ πιεζεύμενοι· νῦν τε, εἰ μή τινας ἄλλους πέμψετε διαδόχους τῆς τάξιος, ἴστε ἡμέας ἐκλείψοντας τὴν τάξιν." ὁ μὲν δή σφι ταῦτα ἀπήγγειλε· Πανσανίης δὲ ἀπεπειρᾶτο τῶν Ἑλλήνων, εἴ τινες ἐθέλοιεν ἄλλοι ἐθελονταὶ ἰέναι τε ἐς τὸν χῶρον τοῦτον, καὶ τάσσεσθαι διάδοχοι Μεγαρεῦσι· οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων, Ἀθηναῖοι ὑπεδέξαντο, καὶ Ἀθηναίων οἱ τριηκόσιοι λογάδες τῶν ἐλοχήγεε Ὀλυμπιόδωρος ὁ Λάμπωνος.

The Megarians are hardest pressed, and the Athenians, under Olympiodorus, alone volunteer to relieve them.

22 Οὗτοι ἦσαν οἵ τε ὑποδεξάμενοι, καὶ οἱ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παρεόντων Ἑλλήνων ἐς Ἐρυθρὰς ταχθέντες, τοὺς τοξότας προσελόμενοι· μαχομένων δέ σφεων ἐπὶ χρόνον, τέλος τοιόνδε ἐγένετο τῆς μάχης· προσβαλλούσης τῆς ἵππου κατὰ τέλεα, ὁ Μασιστίου προέχων τῶν ἄλλων ἵππος βάλλεται τοξεύματι τὰ πλευρά· ἀλγήσας δέ, ἵσταταί τε ὀρθὸς καὶ ἀποσείεται τὸν Μασίστιον· πεσόντι δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτίκα ἐπεκέατο· τόν τε δὴ ἵππον αὐτοῦ λαμβάνουσι

Masistius is slain with much

Macistius arose out of any consciousness of this, and a desire to convey the sense of the word. I should rather conceive it to have sprung out of a kind of jesting allusion to the stature of the Persian chief. (See § 25.) Both PLUTARCH and PAUSANIAS speak of the individual by the name *Masistius*, without any hint of a variation.

[57] Νισαῖον. The manuscripts S, F, *c*, have Νησαῖον. Of these horses see note 307 on iii. 106, and 141 on vii. 40.

[58] προσέβαλλον κατὰ τέλεα. The manœuvre apparently was an attack by squadrons, each successive one delivering its javelins as it reached the line of the Greeks, but not attempting to break the phalanx. After the discharge of the missiles, each squadron would make room, by a movement in column, for its successor to attack. The greater the rapidity with which the whole were brought up one after the other, the more effective the operation would be; and this rapidity no doubt it was which prevented the troops from discovering that their commander had fallen, until the whole body had delivered their missiles and reassembled themselves. When this at last took place, they were in a situation to charge in a body, which they accordingly did (ἤλαυνον τοὺς ἵππους πάντες, οὐκέτι κατὰ τέλεα, §§ 22, 3).

καὶ αὐτὸν ἀμυνόμενον κτείνουσι, κατ' ἀρχὰς οὐ δυνάμενοι· ἐνεσκεύαστο γὰρ οὕτω· ἐντὸς θώρηκα εἶχε χρύσεον λεπιδωτόν· κατύπερθε δὲ τοῦ θώρηκος κιθῶνα φοινίκεον ἐνδεδύκεε· τύπτοντες δὲ ἐς τὸν θώρηκα, ἐποίευν οὐδέν· πρίν γε δὴ μαθών τις τὸ ποιεύμενον, παίει μιν ἐς τὸν ὀφθαλμόν· οὕτω δὴ ἔπεσέ τε καὶ ἀπέθανε. ταῦτα δέ κως γινόμενα ἐλελήθεε τοὺς ἄλλους ἱππέας· οὔτε γὰρ πεσόντα μιν εἶδον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου οὔτε ἀποθνήσκοντα· ἀναχωρήσιός τε γινομένης καὶ ὑποστροφῆς οὐκ ἔμαθον τὸ γενόμενον, ἐπεί τε δὲ ἔστησαν, αὐτίκα ἐπόθεσαν [59], ὥς σφεας οὐδεὶς ἦν ὁ τάσσων· μαθόντες δὲ τὸ γεγονὸς, διακελευσάμενοι ἤλαυνον τοὺς ἵππους πάντες, ὡς ἂν τόν γε νεκρὸν ἀνελοίατο. Ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι 23
οὐκέτι κατὰ τέλεα προσελαύνοντας τοὺς ἱππέας, ἀλλ' ἅμα πάντας, τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὴν ἐπεβώσαντο· ἐν ᾧ δὲ ὁ πεζὸς ἅπας ἐβώθεε [60], ἐν τούτῳ μάχη ὀξεῖα περὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ γίνεται. ἕως μέν νυν μοῦνοι ἦσαν οἱ τριηκόσιοι, ἑσσοῦντό τε πολλὸν καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἀπέλειπον· ὡς δέ σφι τὸ πλῆθος ἐπεβοήθησαν, οὕτω δὴ οὐκέτι οἱ ἱππόται ὑπέμενον, οὐδέ σφι ἐξεγένετο τὸν νεκρὸν ἀνελέσθαι· ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκείνῳ ἄλλους προσαπόλεσαν τῶν ἱππέων. ἀποστήσαντες [61] ὧν ὅσον τε δύο στάδια, ἐβουλεύοντο ὅ τι χρεὸν εἴη ποιέειν; ἐδόκεε δέ σφι, ἀναρχίης ἐούσης, ἀπελαύνειν παρὰ Μαρδόνιον. Ἀπικο- 24
μένης δὲ τῆς ἵππου ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, πένθος ἐποιήσαντο Μασιστίου πᾶσά τε ἡ στρατιὴ καὶ Μαρδόνιος μέγιστον, σφέας τε αὐτοὺς κείροντες καὶ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια [62], οἰμωγῇ τε χρεώμενοι ἀπλέτῳ· ἅπασαν γὰρ τὴν Βοιωτίην κατεῖχε ἠχώ [63].

difficulty from the excellence of a shirt of gold-mail which he wore under his clothes.

A hard fight takes place for the possession of his corpse, which at last the confederates carry off.

Public mourning of the Persians for Masistius.

[59] *ἐπόθεσαν*. This is the reading of all the MSS, but it is probably corrupt. The most probable conjecture is *ἐπόθησαν*, a word used by Herodotus in the sense of "missed" (iii. 36).

[60] *ἐβώθεε*. See note 4 on viii. 1, above.

[61] *ἀποστήσαντες*, "having retired." The word seems used technically to denote the manœuvre which was the opposite of *προσελαύνειν*.

[62] *σφέας τε αὐτοὺς κείροντες καὶ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια*. I am not aware of any thing confirming the inference which might be drawn from this passage, that the *Persians* cut the manes and tails of their horses as a mark of mourning. But such was really the practice of their *Thessalian allies*. Plutarch (*Pelopid.*, § 33.) Thus Euripides makes Admetus on learning the death of his wife, give the order:

> *τέθριππά τ' οἳ ζεύγνυσθε*
> *καὶ μονάμπυκας*
> *πώλους, σιδήρῳ τέμνετ'*
> *αὐχένων φόβην.*
>
> (*Alcest.* 428.)

[63] *ἅπασαν γὰρ τὴν Βοιωτίην κατεῖχε ἠχώ*. This is not to be considered a simple exaggeration, meaning that the sound was so great that the noise of the mourners in the camp was heard all over the country. A general order was no doubt given for the highest funeral honours to be bestowed on Masistius; and

ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀπολομένου μετά γε Μαρδόνιον λογιμωτάτου παρά τε Πέρσῃσι καὶ βασιλέϊ.

25 Οἱ μέν νυν βάρβαροι τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ ἀποθανόντα ἐτίμων Μασίστιον· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, ὡς τὴν ἵππον ἐδέξαντο προσβάλλουσαν καὶ δεξάμενοι ὤσαντο, ἐθάρσησάν τε πολλῷ μᾶλλον, καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἐς ἅμαξαν ἐσθέντες τὸν νεκρὸν παρὰ τὰς τάξις ἐκόμιζον· ὁ δὲ νεκρὸς ἦν θέης ἄξιος, μεγάθεος εἵνεκα καὶ κάλλεος· τῶν δὲ εἵνεκα καὶ ταῦτα ἐποίευν· ἐκλείποντες τὰς τάξις ἐφοίτεον θεησόμενοι Μασίστιον· μετὰ δὲ, ἔδοξέ σφι ἐπικαταβῆναι ἐς Πλαταιάς· ὁ γὰρ χῶρος ἐφαίνετο πολλῷ ἐὼν ἐπιτηδεώτερός σφι ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι ὁ Πλαταιϊκὸς τοῦ Ἐρυθραίου, τά τε ἄλλα, καὶ εὐυδρότερος· ἐς τοῦτον δὴ τὸν χῶρον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κρήνην τὴν Γαργαφίην[64] τὴν ἐν τῷ χώρῳ τούτῳ ἐοῦσαν, ἔδοξέ σφι χρεὸν εἶναι ἀπικέσθαι, καὶ διαταχθέντας στρατοπεδεύεσθαι· ἀναλαβόντες δὲ τὰ ὅπλα, ἤϊσαν διὰ τῆς ὑπωρείης τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος παρὰ Ὑσιὰς ἐς τὴν Πλαταιΐδα γῆν, ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο κατὰ ἔθνεα πλησίον τῆς τε κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης καὶ τοῦ τεμένεος τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτεος τοῦ ἥρωος[65], διὰ ὄχθων τε οὐκ ὑψηλῶν καὶ ἀπέδου χωρίου.

Exultation of the allies, who move from the neighbourhood of Erythræ to that of Platæa and the Gargaphian fountain, and occupy a position accessible to cavalry.

26 Ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῇ διατάξι ἐγένετο λόγων πολλὸς[66] ὠθισμὸς

the result of this would be a wailing and lamentation wherever troops were posted. If the numbers of Mardonius's army were any thing like what is related, the extent of his line must have been such that the assertion in the text may well be true, almost to the letter. A traveller would no sooner get beyond the sound of the cries of one body of troops than he would begin to hear those of another.

[64] Γαργαφίην. This is the reading of all the MSS except S, which both here and below (§ 49) has Γαρσαφίην. The fountain has been identified with one named in the present day *Vergentiani*, a copious stream just on the left of the road leading from the pass of Cithæron (formerly called Δρύος κεφαλαί) to Platæa. During the summer months it supplies with water the villages of Gondara and Velia, the former of which is supposed to occupy the site of part of *Hysiæ*. From the pass Δρύος κεφαλαὶ to the vestiges of the ancient Platæa is about three miles, and about half-way is a low range of hills running northward from the main range of Cithæron, and forming a watershed between one of the feeders of the Asopus, which falls into the Ægean, and another river, probably the *Oeroe*, the waters of which after passing by Platæa fall into the gulf of Corinth. Both the Asopus and this river have separate branches in the mountain, and the latter precisely forms that sort of island, described by Herodotus (below, § 50). Its streams, like those of other Grecian rivers, are merely torrents in the winter; but the Asopus, which is rather more considerable, has stagnant pools in different parts of its channel, even throughout the summer. (Colonel Squire, *ap. Walpole's Turkey*, i. p. 338.)

[65] τεμένεος τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτεος τοῦ ἥρωος. This fane stood on the right hand of the road which led direct from Platæa to Thebes (Thucydides, iii. 24), and must have been quite close to the former.

[66] πολλός. Several of the MSS have πολλῶν, but Gaisford has followed the reading of S and V. It is defended by the general use of Herodotus. Compare vii. 225: Περσέων τε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων

Τεγεητέων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων· ἐδικαίευν γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι ἔχειν τὸ ἕτερον κέρας, καὶ καινὰ καὶ παλαιὰ παραφέροντες ἔργα. τοῦτο μὲν οἱ Τεγεῆται ἔλεγον τάδε· "ἡμεῖς αἰεί κοτε ἀξιεύμεθα ταύτης τῆς τάξιος ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων ἁπάντων, ὅσαι ἤδη ἔξοδοι κοιναὶ ἐγένοντο Πελοποννησίοισι καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν[67] καὶ τὸ νέον, ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἐπεί τε Ἡρακλεῖδαι ἐπειρῶντο μετὰ τὸν Εὐρυσθέος θάνατον κατιόντες ἐς Πελοπόννησον. τότε εὑρόμεθα τοῦτο διὰ πρῆγμα τοιόνδε· ἐπεὶ μετὰ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ἰώνων τῶν τότε ἐόντων ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ[68], ἐκβοηθήσαντες ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἱζόμεθα ἀντίοι τοῖσι κατιοῦσι· τότε ὦν λόγος Ὕλλον ἀγορεύσασθαι, ὡς χρεὸν εἴη τὸν μὲν στρατὸν τῷ στρατῷ μὴ ἀνακινδυνεύειν συμβάλλοντα· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Πελοποννησίου στρατοπέδου, τὸν ἂν σφέων αὐτῶν κρίνωσι εἶναι ἄριστον τοῦτόν οἱ μουνομαχῆσαι ἐπὶ διακειμένοισι. ἔδοξέ τε τοῖσι Πελοποννησίοισι ταῦτα εἶναι ποιητέα, καὶ ἔταμον ὅρκια ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιῷδε· ἢν μὲν Ὕλλος νικήσῃ τὸν Πελοποννησίων ἡγεμόνα, κατιέναι Ἡρακλείδας ἐπὶ τὰ πατρώϊα· ἢν δὲ νικηθῇ, τὰ ἔμπαλιν Ἡρακλείδας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, καὶ ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατιὴν ἑκατόν τε ἐτέων μὴ ζητῆσαι κάτοδον ἐς Πελοπόννησον. προεκρίθη τε δὴ ἐκ πάντων συμμάχων ἐθελοντὴς Ἔχεμος ὁ Ἠερόπου, τοῦ Φηγέος[69], στρατηγός τε ἐὼν καὶ βασιλεὺς ἡμέτερος· καὶ ἐμουνομάχησέ τε καὶ ἀπέκτεινε Ὕλλον· ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου εὑρόμεθα ἐν τοῖσι Πελοποννησίοισι τοῖσι τότε καὶ ἄλλα γέρεα μεγάλα, τὰ διατελέομεν ἔχοντες[70], καὶ τοῦ κέρεος τοῦ ἑτέρου αἰεὶ ἡγεμο-

Dispute for precedence between the *Tegeans* and *Athenians*.

ὠθισμὸς ἐγένετο πολλός. viii. 78: ἐγένετο ὠθισμὸς λόγων πολλός.

[67] τὸ παλαιόν. S and V have τὸ πάλαι, which perhaps may have been altered in the other MSS for the sake of symmetry.

[68] Ἰώνων τῶν τότε ἐόντων ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ. The Ionians referred to here are the inhabitants of the *Megarid*, who, according to the *Attic traditions*, although not according to their own, were Ionian, and ethnically identical with the race inhabiting Attica, until the invasion of the latter by the Peloponnesians in the time of Codrus. (See the note 203 on v. 76.) Herodotus, therefore, would seem here to be giving an *Athenian* account of the incident which he describes.

[69] Ἔχεμος ὁ Ἠερόπου, τοῦ Φηγέος. PAUSANIAS (viii. 5. 1) makes not *Phegeus*, but *Cepheus*, to be the grandfather of Echemus. It need not necessarily be supposed that he found a different reading in Herodotus. The traditions of the Greeks were, he says, very different from one another, and especially in the genealogies (viii. 53. 5). Phegeus has every mark of being a genuine Arcadian name. The combat in which Hyllus was slain was on the confines of the Megarian and Corinthian territory.

[70] ἄλλα γέρεα μεγάλα, τὰ διατελέομεν ἔχοντες. What these privileges were, it is now impossible to do more than conjecture; but it seems likely that the influence of the Tegean Chileus mentioned above (§ 9) was not a merely personal one, but arose, partly at least, out of the position which he held as representative of his countrymen at Sparta. It will be seen, that in

νεύειν κοινῆς ἐξόδου γινομένης. ὑμῖν μέν νυν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐκ ἀντιεύμεθα· ἀλλὰ διδόντες αἵρεσιν ὁκοτέρου βούλεσθε κέρεος ἄρχειν, παρίεμεν· τοῦ δὲ ἑτέρου φαμὲν ἡμέας ἱκνέεσθαι ἡγεμονεύειν, κατάπερ ἐν τῷ πρόσθε χρόνῳ. χωρίς τε τούτου τοῦ ἀπηγημένου ἔργου, ἀξιονικότεροί εἰμεν Ἀθηναίων ταύτην τὴν τάξιν ἔχειν· πολλοὶ μὲν γάρ τε καὶ εὖ ἔχοντες πρὸς ὑμέας[71] *ἡμῖν, ἄνδρες Σπαρτιῆται, ἀγῶνες ἀγωνίδαται, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους· οὕτω ὦν ἡμέας δίκαιον ἔχειν τὸ ἕτερον κέρας, ἤπερ Ἀθηναίους*[72]. *οὐ γάρ σφί ἐστι ἔργα οἷά περ ἡμῖν κατεργασμένα, οὔτ᾽ ὦν καινὰ οὔτε παλαιά."*

27 *Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε· "ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν σύνοδον τήνδε μάχης εἵνεκα συλλεγῆναι πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ λόγων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Τεγεήτης*[73] *προέθηκε παλαιὰ καὶ καινὰ λέγειν τὰ ἑκατέροισι ἐν τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ κατέργασται χρηστά, ἀναγκαίως ἡμῖν ἔχει δηλῶσαι πρὸς ὑμέας, ὅθεν ἡμῖν πατρώϊόν ἐστι, ἐοῦσι χρηστοῖσι αἰεί, πρώτοισι εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ Ἀρκάσι*[74]·

the disposition of the troops, the Tegeans are quite separated from the rest of the Arcadians, and placed next to the five thousand Spartans,—in a more honourable position therefore than even the picked Lacedæmonian periœcian hoplites,—*καὶ τιμῆς ἕνεκα καὶ ἀρετῆς* (below, § 28). Perhaps one of the conditions under which they submitted to the supremacy of Sparta, after the long series of wars, was that they should in all respects be on a superior footing to these, and always rank next to the pure Spartans. This, in time of war, would give them one of the wings where the force was purely Peloponnesian, and in time of peace might entitle those of them that were in Sparta to an honourable place at festivals, and such like distinctions. It would be only natural, if the Tegeans stood in a better position than the non-Spartan Lacedæmonians, that the latter should be exceedingly pleased with any opportunity of humbling them, and should for this purpose take advantage of the new case which offered, of Athenians joining the Peloponnesian confederacy. The terms in which they decided in favour of the claim of these contain a supercilious reflection on their opponents. See note 77 on § 27, below.

[71] *πρὸς ὑμέας.* See above, i. 67.

[72] *οὕτω ὦν ἡμέας δίκαιον ἔχειν τὸ ἕτερον κέρας, ἤπερ Ἀθηναίους.* This passage is generally considered as an instance of the use of the positive adjective in precise equivalence to the comparative; and if it be not corrupt, it certainly is so; for there is nothing in the words which allow even of the inference of a comparative sense, such, for instance, as in the passage of THEOCRITUS (ix. 20):

> *ἔχω δέ τοι οὐδ᾽ ὅσον ὥραν*
> *χείματος ἢ νωδὸς καρύων, ἀμύλοιο παρόντος,*

or as in *πρώτοισι εἶναι ἢ Ἀρκάσι* in the next section, supposing the reading of S to be adopted. I doubt whether any real case can be produced from early authors of an interchange of degrees such as that in the text. But the manuscripts are unanimous; and the reading, if corrupt, is probably as ancient as the Alexandrine times, when apparent solecisms came to be studiously imitated, and thus to produce real ones.

[73] *ὁ Τεγεήτης.* See note 511 on i. 152.

[74] *μᾶλλον ἢ Ἀρκάσι.* This appears to be the reading of all the MSS except one (S), which omits the word *μᾶλλον*. Gaisford however follows it, considering the word *μᾶλλον* in the rest to have been in-

Ἡρακλείδας τῶν οὗτοι φασὶ ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἐν Ἰσθμῷ, τοῦτο μὲν τούτους πρότερον, ἐξελαυνομένους ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐς τοὺς ἀπικοίατο φεύγοντες δουλοσύνην πρὸς Μυκηναίων, μοῦνοι ὑποδεξάμενοι, τὴν Εὐρυσθέος ὕβριν κατείλομεν, σὺν κείνοισι μάχῃ νικήσαντες τοὺς τότε ἔχοντας Πελοπόννησον· τοῦτο δὲ, Ἀργείους τοὺς μετὰ Πολυνείκεος ἐπὶ Θήβας ἐλάσαντας, τελευτήσαντας τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ ἀτάφους κειμένους, στρατευσάμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς Καδμείους, ἀνελέσθαι τε τοὺς νεκροὺς φαμεν καὶ θάψαι τῆς ἡμετέρης ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι. ἔστι δὲ ἡμῖν ἔργον εὖ ἔχον καὶ ἐς Ἀμαζονίδας, τὰς ἀπὸ Θερμώδοντος ποταμοῦ ἐσβαλούσας κοτὲ ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικήν[75]. καὶ ἐν τοῖσι Τρωϊκοῖσι πόνοισι οὐδαμῶν ἐλειπόμεθα. ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ τι προέχει τούτων ἐπιμεμνῆσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἂν χρηστοὶ τότε ἐόντες ὡυτοὶ νῦν ἂν εἶεν φλαυρότεροι, καὶ τότε ἐόντες φλαῦροι νῦν ἂν εἶεν ἀμείνονες. παλαιῶν μέν νυν ἔργων ἅλις ἔστω. ἡμῖν δὲ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶ ἀποδεδεγμένον, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ πολλά τε καὶ εὖ ἔχοντα εἰ τέοισι καὶ ἄλλοισι Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἔργου ἄξιοί εἰμεν τοῦτο τὸ γέρας ἔχειν, καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τούτῳ· οἵτινες μοῦνοι Ἑλλήνων δὴ μουνομαχήσαντες τῷ Πέρσῃ, καὶ ἔργῳ τοσούτῳ ἐπιχειρήσαντες, περιεγενόμεθα, καὶ ἐνικήσαμεν ἔθνεα ἓξ τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα[76]. ἆρ'

serted as a gloss. This is possible; but it seems to me more probable that it has been omitted from S by an error of the copyist, who originally left out ἢ also.

[75] ἐσβαλούσας κοτὲ ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικήν. The celebrated Hill of Mars was the site of the Amazonian encampment, and their settlement upon it was in the Attic older legends represented as an ἐπιτειχισμὸς against Athens. In this way ÆSCHYLUS alludes to it (*Eumenid.* 685—690). See note 273 on v. 94. The historical fact lying at the bottom of the myth is the existence of a community in Attica, identical in religious traditions and in race with another localized in the neighbourhood of the river Thermodon. This race formerly spread over the north and west coasts of Asia Minor, and into the islands, Ephesus, Smyrna, Cuma, Myrine, Paphos, and other places, being said to be named after Amazonian founders. In the time of STRABO they were said to exist conterminously to the Gargares, whom Metrodorus the geographer placed on the northern flanks of Caucasus (xi. c. 5, pp. 418—420). He remarks that the traditions of this race are the only instance in which it is impossible to draw the line between fable and history. On the subject of them, the essay entitled *Ancæus* in the CAMBRIDGE PHILOLOGICAL MUSEUM (vol. i. p. 106) may be studied with great advantage.

[76] ἔθνεα ἓξ τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα. Few persons will be inclined to believe that troops from so many different nations were embarked in six hundred ships for the purpose of invading Greece; but it would be very interesting to discover the origin of the notion. It seems possible that its source is some arrangement (perhaps for the purpose of military service) in which the subjects of the Persian king were classed under forty-six different heads. Such, for instance, may have appeared on the στῆλαι which Darius set up at Byzantium (iv. 87, where see notes 245 and 247). The circumstance of the Athenians having been alone at the battle

οὐ δίκαιοί εἰμεν ἔχειν ταύτην τὴν τάξιν ἀπὸ τούτου μούνου τοῦ ἔργου; ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε τάξιος εἵνεκα στασιάζειν πρέπει, ἄρτιοί εἰμεν πείθεσθαι ὑμῖν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἵνα δοκέει ἐπιτηδεώτατον ἡμέας εἶναι ἑστάναι, καὶ κατ' οὕστινας· πάντη γὰρ τεταγμένοι πειρησόμεθα εἶναι χρηστοί. ἐξηγέεσθε δὲ ὡς πεισομένων."

The Lacedæmonians unanimously decide for the Athenians.

οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἀμείβοντο· Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἀνέβωσε ἅπαν τὸ στρατόπεδον Ἀθηναίους ἀξιονικοτέρους εἶναι ἔχειν τὸ κέρας ἤπερ Ἀρκάδας[77]. οὕτω δὴ ἔσχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ὑπερεβάλοντο τοὺς Τεγεήτας.

28 Arrangement of the line of the allies,

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ἐτάσσοντο ὧδε[78] οἱ ἐπιφοιτῶντές τε καὶ οἱ ἀρχὴν ἐλθόντες Ἑλλήνων· τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας εἶχον Λακεδαιμονίων μύριοι· τούτων δὲ τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους, ἐόντας Σπαρτιήτας, ἐφύλασσον ψιλοὶ τῶν εἱλωτέων πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι, περὶ ἄνδρα ἕκαστον ἑπτὰ τεταγμένοι. προσεχέας δέ σφι εἵλοντο ἑστάναι οἱ Σπαρτιῆται τοὺς Τεγεήτας, καὶ τιμῆς εἵνεκα καὶ ἀρετῆς· τούτων δ' ἦσαν ὁπλῖται χίλιοι καὶ πεντηκόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἵσταντο Κορινθίων πεντακισχίλιοι· παρὰ δέ σφι εὕροντο παρὰ Παυσανίεω[79] ἑστάναι Ποτιδαιητέων τῶν ἐκ Παλ-

of Marathon, not only served them in good stead for the purpose of gratifying their national vanity, but likewise enabled them to put the facts of the transaction in their own way without the danger of contradiction,—a circumstance of which they took full advantage, if we may believe THEOPOMPUS, who speaks of this as one of several matters, in which ἡ Ἀθηναίων πόλις ἀλαζονεύεται καὶ παρακρούεται τοὺς Ἕλληνας. By the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, every other state was heartily weary of it; and when an Athenian put it forward, a hubbub was sure to follow: τὰ Μηδικὰ καὶ ὅσα αὐτοὶ ξύνιστε, εἰ καὶ δι' ὄχλου μᾶλλον ἔσται ἀεὶ προβαλλομένοις, ἀνάγκη λέγειν. (THUCYDIDES, i. 73.)

[77] Ἀρκάδας. The use of this word should not be overlooked. It seems to be substituted intentionally for Τεγεήτας by the Lacedæmonians. The Tegeans probably would not feel flattered by being massed together with the inhabitants of insignificant hamlets under this name. (See note 70 on § 26, above.)

[78] ἐτάσσοντο ὧδε. PAUSANIAS, describing the statue of Zeus at Olympia, which was put up there by the allies who fought at Platæa (below, § 81), gives a somewhat different list of the contingents from Herodotus. The names of the states were inscribed on the base of the statue, and stood in the following order: Lacedæmonians; Athenians; Corinthians and Sicyonians; Æginetans; Megarians and Epidaurians; Tegeans and Orchomenians; *Phliuntians*, Trœzenians, and Hermionians; Tirynthians; Platæans; Mycenæans; *Ceans and Melians;* Ambracians; *Tenians* and Lepreatæ from Triphylia; *Naxians and Cytherians;* Styres from Eubœa; *Eleans*, Potidæans, and Anactorians; Chalcidians from the Euripus (v. 23, 1). Those in italics are not mentioned by Herodotus, who, on the other hand, introduces Eretrians, Leucadians, and Pales from Cephallenia. Also he makes Eleans form part of the army at the isthmus the year before (viii. 72). DIODORUS expressly declares that they did not take an active part against the invader.

[79] εὕροντο παρὰ Παυσανίεω, "they obtained leave from Pausanias." The request was doubtless made on account of Potidæa having been a colony from Corinth. (THUCYDIDES, i. 56.)

λήνης τοὺς παρεόντας τριηκοσίους. τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι ἵσταντο Ἀρκάδες Ὀρχομένιοι ἑξακόσιοι· τούτων δὲ, Σικυώνιοι τρισχίλιοι. τούτων δὲ εἴχοντο Ἐπιδαυρίων ὀκτακόσιοι. παρὰ δὲ τούτους Τροιζηνίων ἐτάσσοντο χίλιοι. Τροιζηνίων δὲ ἐχόμενοι, Λεπρεητέων διηκόσιοι· τούτων δὲ, Μυκηναίων καὶ Τιρυνθίων τετρακόσιοι. τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι, Φλιάσιοι χίλιοι· παρὰ δὲ τούτους ἕστασαν Ἑρμιονέες τριηκόσιοι. Ἑρμιονέων δὲ ἐχόμενοι ἵσταντο Ἐρετριέων τε καὶ Στυρέων ἑξακόσιοι· τούτων δὲ Χαλκιδέες τετρακόσιοι· τούτων δὲ, Ἀμπρακιητέων[80] πεντηκόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους, Λευκαδίων καὶ Ἀνακτορίων ὀκτακόσιοι ἕστασαν· τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι, Παλέες οἱ ἐκ Κεφαλληνίης διηκόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους, Αἰγινητέων πεντηκόσιοι ἐτάχθησαν. παρὰ δὲ τούτους ἐτάσσοντο Μεγαρέων τρισχίλιοι. εἴχοντο δὲ τούτων, Πλαταιέες ἑξακόσιοι. τελευταῖοι δὲ καὶ πρῶτοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἐτάσσοντο, κέρας ἔχοντες τὸ εὐώνυμον, ὀκτακισχίλιοι· ἐστρατήγεε δ' αὐτῶν Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου. οὗτοι, πλὴν τῶν ἑπτὰ περὶ ἕκαστον τεταγμένων Σπαρτιήτῃσι, ἦσαν ὁπλῖται, συνάπαντες ἐόντες ἀριθμὸν τρεῖς τε μυριάδες καὶ ὀκτὼ χιλιάδες καὶ ἑκατοντάδες ἑπτά. *and numbers of the aggregate of the several contingents.*

29 Ὁπλῖται μὲν οἱ πάντες συλλεγέντες ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον ἦσαν τοσοῦτοι· ψιλῶν δὲ πλῆθος ἦν τόδε· τῆς μὲν Σπαρτιητικῆς τάξιος πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι ἄνδρες, ὡς ἐόντων ἑπτὰ περὶ ἕκαστον ἄνδρα· καὶ τούτων πᾶς τις παρήρτητο ὡς ἐς πόλεμον· οἱ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων ψιλοὶ, ὡς εἷς περὶ ἕκαστον ἐὼν ἄνδρα, πεντακόσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι[81] ἦσαν· ψιλῶν μὲν δὴ τῶν ἁπάντων μαχίμων ἦν τὸ πλῆθος ἕξ τε μυριάδες καὶ ἐννέα χιλιάδες[82] καὶ ἑκατοντάδες πέντε[83].

30 Τοῦ δὲ σύμπαντος Ἑλληνικοῦ τοῦ συνελθόντος ἐς Πλαταιὰς σύν τε ὁπλίτῃσι καὶ

[80] Ἀμπρακιητέων. S and V have Ἀμπρακιωτέων, but all the other MSS support the reading of the text. In § 31, below, S has Ἀμβρακιώτας, and V and *d* Ἀμπρακιώτας. In iv. 123, the forms Μαιῆτιν and Μαιητέων are supported by all the MSS.

[81] πεντακόσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι. According to Herodotus's own statement, the numbers of the light-armed troops, independently of the Helots, should be 33,700, or 800 less than he here puts them at. But the incorrect number seems to arise only from an error of calculation, and not from any lacuna in the MSS, as the aggregate of the various contingents agrees with the sum given in the text for the numbers of the hoplites.

[82] καὶ ἐννέα χιλιάδες. These words are omitted from S and V, but apparently only by an error of transcription in the archetypal MS.

[83] πέντε. Two MSS have ἕπτα, which, as in other respects they do not vary from the others, would give too great a numerical force of the light-armed troops by 1000.

ψιλοῖσι τοῖσι μαχίμοισι ἕνδεκα μυριάδες ἦσαν, μιῆς χιλιάδος πρὸς δὲ ὀκτακοσίων ἀνδρῶν καταδέουσαι· σὺν δὲ Θεσπιέων τοῖσι παρεοῦσι ἐξεπληροῦντο αἱ ἕνδεκα μυριάδες· παρῆσαν γὰρ καὶ Θεσπιέων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ οἱ περιεόντες[84], ἀριθμὸν ἐς ὀκτακοσίους καὶ χιλίους· ὅπλα δὲ οὐδ' οὗτοι εἶχον. οὗτοι μέν νυν ταχθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο.

31 Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μαρδόνιον[85] βάρβαροι, ὡς ἀπεκήδευσαν Μασίστιον[86], παρῆσαν, πυθόμενοι τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἶναι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν τὸν ταύτῃ ῥέοντα. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἀντετάσσοντο ὧδε ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου· κατὰ μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους ἔστησε Πέρσας· καὶ δὴ πολλὸν γὰρ περιέασαν[87] πλήθεϊ οἱ Πέρσαι, ἐπί τε τάξις πλεῦνας ἐκεκοσμέατο, καὶ ἐπεῖχον τοὺς Τεγεήτας· ἔταξε δὲ οὕτω· ὅ τι μὲν ἦν αὐτοῦ δυνατώτατον πᾶν ἀπολέξας, ἔστησε ἀντίον Λακεδαιμονίων· τὸ δὲ ἀσθενέστερον παρέταξε κατὰ τοὺς Τεγεήτας· ταῦτα δ' ἐποίεε φραζόντων τε καὶ διδασκόντων Θηβαίων. Περσέων δὲ ἐχομένους ἔταξε Μήδους· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπέσχον Κορινθίους τε καὶ Ποτιδαιήτας, καὶ Ὀρχομενίους τε καὶ Σικυωνίους. Μήδων δὲ ἐχομένους ἔταξε Βακτρίους· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπέσχον Ἐπιδαυρίους τε καὶ Τροιζηνίους, καὶ Λεπρεήτας τε καὶ Τιρυνθίους, καὶ Μυκηναίους τε καὶ Φλιασίους. μετὰ δὲ Βακτρίους ἔστησε Ἰνδούς· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπέσχον Ἑρμιονέας τε καὶ Ἐρετριέας, καὶ Στυρέας τε καὶ Χαλκιδέας. Ἰνδῶν δὲ ἐχομένους Σάκας ἔταξε· οἳ ἐπέσχον Ἀμπρακιήτας τε καὶ Ἀνακτορίους, καὶ

The enemy follow the allies to their position at Platæa. Order of their line.

[84] οἱ περιεόντες. Thespiæ had been destroyed by the army of Xerxes the year before, on which occasion the inhabitants found refuge in the Peloponnese (viii. 50). But the phrase seems to refer especially to the loss they sustained at Thermopylæ, where 700 were with Leonidas (vii. 220), and remained voluntarily with him after his position was turned (vii. 222, where see note 557).

[85] ἀμφὶ Μαρδόνιον. This is the reading of all the MSS except one (F), which has ἀμφὶ περὶ Μαρδόνιον,—obviously an union of two alternative readings.

[86] ὡς ἀπεκήδευσαν Μασίστιον, "as they finished lamenting for Masistius." Compare ii. 40: ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀποτύψωνται, "when they have done beating their breasts." ii. 73: ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀποπειρηθῇ, "when it has completed its practice." Thucydides uses the word ἀπαλγεῖν to denote the remission of pain which followed the paroxysms of the plague patients in Athens (ii. 61). An excellent illustration of this force of the preposition is supplied by some verses of Alexis as corrected by Valckenaer:

πολλή γ' ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸν ἄνδρ' ἀποζέσαι
πρώτιστον, ἀφυβρίσαι τ', ἀπανθήσαντα δὲ
σκληρὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ καταστῆναι πάλιν.

[87] περιέασαν. So Gaisford prints on the authority of the single manuscript S, all the rest having περίεσαν, which I should prefer. Still, in i. 187, the simple form ἔας is adopted on the authority of the majority of MSS, and in ii. 19 they are unanimous for ἔα.

Λευκαδίους, καὶ Παλέας, καὶ Αἰγινήτας. Σακέων δὲ ἐχομένους ἔταξε ἀντία Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων καὶ Μεγαρέων Βοιωτούς τε καὶ Λοκρούς, καὶ Μηλιέας τε καὶ Θεσσαλούς, καὶ Φωκέων τοὺς χιλίους· οὐ γὰρ ὦν ἅπαντες οἱ Φωκέεες ἐμήδισαν· ἀλλά τινες αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων ηὖξον, περὶ τὸν Παρνησσὸν κατειλημένοι[88]· καὶ ἐνθεῦτεν ὁρμεώμενοι, ἔφερόν τε καὶ ἦγον τήν τε Μαρδονίου στρατιὴν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐόντας Ἑλλήνων· ἔταξε δὲ καὶ Μακεδόνας[89] τε καὶ τοὺς περὶ Θεσσαλίην οἰκημένους[90] κατὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

32 Numbers of Mardonius's army.

Ταῦτα μὲν τῶν ἐθνέων τὰ μέγιστα ὀνόμασται τῶν ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου ταχθέντων, τάπερ ἐπιφανέστατά τε ἦν καὶ λόγου πλείστου· ἐνῆσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων ἄνδρες ἀναμεμιγμένοι, Φρυγῶν τε καὶ Θρηΐκων, καὶ Μυσῶν τε καὶ Παιόνων, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων· ἐν δὲ καὶ Αἰθιόπων τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίων (οἵ τε Ἑρμοτύβιες καὶ οἱ Καλασίριες καλεόμενοι[91]) μαχαιροφόροι· οἵπερ εἰσὶ Αἰγυπτίων μοῦνοι μάχιμοι· τούτους δὲ ἔτι ἐν Φαλήρῳ ἐὼν ἀπὸ τῶν νηῶν ἀπεβιβάσατο, ἐόντας ἐπιβάτας· οὐ γὰρ ἐτάχθησαν ἐς τὸν πεζὸν τὸν ἅμα Ξέρξῃ ἀπικόμενον ἐς Ἀθήνας Αἰγύπτιοι. τῶν μὲν δὴ βαρβάρων ἦσαν τριήκοντα μυριάδες, ὡς καὶ πρότερον δεδήλωται[92]· τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων τῶν Μαρδονίου συμμάχων οἶδε μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀριθμόν· οὐ γὰρ ὦν ἠριθμήθησαν· ὡς δὲ ἐπεικάσαι, ἐς πέντε μυριάδας συλλεγῆναι εἰκάζω. οὗτοι οἱ παραταχθέντες πεζοὶ ἦσαν· ἡ δὲ ἵππος χωρὶς ἐτέτακτο.

33 Both sides sacrifice for auspices, the allies by *Tisamenus* of *Elis*. Circumstances

Ὡς δὲ ἄρα πάντες[93] οἱ ἐτετάχατο κατά τε ἔθνεα καὶ κατὰ τέλεα, ἐνθαῦτα τῇ δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐθύοντο καὶ ἀμφότεροι. Ἕλλησι μὲν Τισαμενὸς Ἀντιόχου ἦν ὁ θυόμενος· οὗτος γὰρ δὴ εἵπετο τῷ στρατεύματι τούτῳ μάντις· τόν, ἐόντα Ἠλεῖον καὶ γένεος τοῦ Ἰαμιδέων Κλυτιάδην[94], Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐποιήσαντο λεωσφέτερον·

[88] *περὶ τὸν Παρνησσὸν κατειλημένοι.* See viii. 32, and note 48 on § 17, above.

[89] *ἔταξε δὲ καὶ Μακεδόνας.* These were the contingent furnished by Alexander the king of Macedonia, who commanded them in person (§ 44, below).

[90] *τοὺς περὶ Θεσσαλίην οἰκημένους.* These would doubtless be the clansmen and retainers of the Aleuadæ and Scopadæ, serving with Mardonius.

[91] *οἵ τε Ἑρμοτύβιες καὶ οἱ Καλασίριες καλεόμενοι.* Of these soldiers see note 506 on ii. 164.

[92] *τριήκοντα μυριάδες, ὡς καὶ πρότερον δεδήλωται.* These numbers are given above (viii. 113), but there the thirty myriads seem to include the cavalry. And of these thirty myriads, six attempt unsuccessfully to take Potidæa (viii. 126), and suffer very great loss before they raise the siege (viii. 129). Diodorus puts the numbers of the allies at 100,000, and those of the invading army at half a million (xi. 30).

[93] *πάντες.* This word is omitted in S and V.

[94] *γένεος τοῦ Ἰαμιδέων Κλυτιάδην.* This is the reading of all the MSS except

under which he was made a Lacedæmonian citizen.

Τισαμενῷ γὰρ μαντευομένῳ ἐν Δελφοῖσι περὶ γόνου[95], ἀνεῖλε ἡ Πυθίη ἀγῶνας τοὺς μεγίστους ἀναιρήσεσθαι πέντε· ὁ μὲν δὴ ἁμαρτὼν τοῦ χρηστηρίου, προσεῖχε γυμνασίοισι ὡς ἀναιρησόμενος γυμνικοὺς ἀγῶνας· ἀσκέων δὲ πεντάεθλον παρὰ ἓν πάλαισμα ἔδραμε[96] νικᾶν Ὀλυμπιάδα, Ἱερωνύμῳ τῷ Ἀνδρίῳ ἐλθὼν ἐς ἔριν· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ μαθόντες οὐκ ἐς γυμνικοὺς ἀλλ' ἐς ἀρηΐους ἀγῶνας φέρον τὸ Τισαμενοῦ μαντήϊον, μισθῷ ἐπειρῶντο πείσαντες Τισαμενὸν ποιέεσθαι ἅμα Ἡρακλειδέων τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι ἡγεμόνα τῶν πολέμων· ὁ δὲ ὁρέων περὶ πολλοῦ ποιευμένους Σπαρτιήτας φίλον αὐτὸν προσθέσθαι, μαθὼν τοῦτο ἀνετίμα, σημαίνων σφι, ὡς ἤν μιν πολιήτην σφέτερον ποιήσωνται τῶν πάντων μεταδιδόντες, ποιήσει ταῦτα· ἐπ' ἄλλῳ μισθῷ δ' οὔ. Σπαρτιῆται δὲ, πρῶτα μὲν ἀκούσαντες δεινὰ ἐποιεῦντο, καὶ μετίεσαν τῆς χρησμοσύνης[a] τὸ παράπαν· τέλος δὲ, δείματος μεγά-

S, which has Κλυτιάδου instead of Κλυτιάδην. But it occasions a good deal of difficulty; for both Ἰαμίδης and Κλυτιάδης are gentile names; and Cicero (*De divinatione*, i. 41) expressly states that there were in Elis *two* families specially distinguished for their skill in divination, the *Iamidæ* and the *Clytidæ*. It would seem certain, therefore, that *if* Tisamenus belonged to the one, he could not bear a name implying that he was a member of the other. It is remarkable too that Pausanias, in relating the story of this Tisamenus, and obviously from this passage of Herodotus, does not mention the name *Clytiades* at all (iii. 11. 6). Under these circumstances I am inclined to suspect, that here, as in many other places, alternative readings have been combined in the text. The tradition relative to Tisamenus may very well have varied, some accounts making a member of one of the two families, and some one of the other. Thus some of the MSS will have run: τὸν, ἐόντα Ἠλεῖον Κλυτιάδην, and others: τὸν, ἐόντα Ἠλεῖον καὶ γένεος τοῦ Ἰαμιδέων. After the two variants were incorporated into one, the scribe of S (or of its archetype) appears to have endeavoured to soften down the incongruity by making Tisamenus the *son* of a Clytiades.

[95] μαντευομένῳ ... περὶ γόνου. Schweighäuser seems to think that there must be some error in the text, because in the answer of the oracle there is no reference to the subject about which Tisamenus inquired. But although the desire of a family may have been the special cause which took him to Delphi, there may well have been something in the reply which led to further inquiries as to his career in after-life. Besides, it seems to have been no uncommon practice at Delphi to make answer quite beside the scope of the question put by the votary. (See iv. 150 and 155.)

[96] παρὰ ἓν πάλαισμα ἔδραμε, "he had it turn on the issue of one fall in wrestling." In the way in which Pausanias puts the matter, one is led to suppose that having beaten Hieronymus in running and leaping, and probably been beaten by him in throwing the javelin and the discus, the victory remained to be finally determined by the issue of the wrestling bout. The expression παρὰ ἓν πάλαισμα may be illustrated by Isæus (iii. p. 41): παρὰ τέτταρας ψήφους μετέσχε τῆς πόλεως, "his citizenship was established by four votes,"—that number being the excess of the majority. Demosthenes (c. *Aristocrat.* p. 688): παρὰ τρεῖς μὲν ἀφεῖσαν ψήφους τὸ μὴ θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι, "they acquitted him, saving him from capital punishment by three votes." The common formula παρ' ὀλίγον is a familiar instance of the same idiom.

[a] τῆς χρησμοσύνης, "of their need." This word seems to have been employed by *Heraclitus* as a philosophical term, and the opposite of κόρος. Philo Judæus, speaking of the professors of one particular form of pantheism, says that such a one

λου ἐπικρεμαμένου τοῦ Περσικοῦ τούτου στρατεύματος, καταίνεον μετιόντες· ὁ δὲ γνοὺς τετραμμένους σφέας, οὐδ' οὕτω ἔφη ἔτι ἀρκέεσθαι τούτοισι μούνοισι, ἀλλὰ δεῖν ἔτι καὶ τὸν ἀδελφεὸν ἑωυτοῦ Ἡγίην[97] γίνεσθαι Σπαρτιήτην ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι λόγοισι τοῖσι καὶ αὐτὸς γίνεται. Ταῦτα δὲ λέγων οὗτος ἐμιμέετο Μελάμποδα, ὡς εἰκάσαι βασιληΐην τε καὶ πολιτηΐην, αἰτεόμενος· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ Μελάμπους, τῶν ἐν Ἄργεϊ γυναικῶν μανεισέων, ὥς μιν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἐμισθοῦντο ἐκ Πύλου παῦσαι τὰς σφετέρας γυναῖκας τῆς νούσου, μισθὸν προετείνατο τῆς βασιληΐης τὸ ἥμισυ· οὐκ ἀνασχομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀργείων ἀλλ' ἀπιόντων, ὡς ἐμαίνοντο πολλῷ πλεῦνες τῶν γυναικῶν, οὕτω δὴ ὑποστάντες τὰ ὁ Μελάμπους προετείνετο, ἤϊσαν δώσοντές οἱ ταῦτα· ὁ δὲ ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐπορέγεται, ὁρέων αὐτοὺς τετραμμένους, φὰς, ἢν μὴ καὶ τῷ ἀδελφεῷ Βίαντι μεταδῶσι τὸ τριτημόριον τῆς βασιληΐης, οὐ ποιήσειν τὰ βούλονται· οἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι, ἀπειληθέντες ἐς στεινὸν, καταινέουσι καὶ ταῦτα. 34

Similar story of *Melampus.*

Ὡς δὲ καὶ Σπαρτιῆται, ἐδέοντο γὰρ δεινῶς τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ, πάντως 35 συνεχώρεόν οἱ· συγχωρησάντων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τῶν Σπαρτιητέων, οὕτω δὴ πέντε σφι μαντευόμενος ἀγῶνας τοὺς μεγίστους Τισαμενὸς ὁ Ἠλεῖος, γενόμενος Σπαρτιήτης, συγκαταιρέει· μοῦνοι δὲ δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐγένοντο οὗτοι Σπαρτιήτῃσι πολιῆται[98]. οἱ δὲ πέντε ἀγῶνες οἵδε ἐγένοντο· εἷς μὲν καὶ πρῶτος, οὗτος ὁ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι· ἐπὶ δὲ, ὁ ἐν Τεγέῃ πρὸς Τεγεήτας τε καὶ Ἀργείους[99]

is Ἡρακλειτείου δόξης ἑταῖρος, "κόρον καὶ χρησμοσύνην," καὶ "ἓν τὸ πᾶν," καὶ "πάντα ἀμοιβῇ" εἰσάγων. (*Legum allegoriæ*, iii. p. 89, Mangey.) In another passage, giving a mystical meaning to the practice of dividing into portions an animal offered as a victim, he says, ἡ δὲ εἰς μέλη τοῦ ζώου διανομὴ δηλοῖ, ἤτοι ὡς ἓν τὰ πάντα, ἢ ὅτι ἐξ ἑνός τε καὶ εἰς ἕν· ὅπερ οἱ μὲν κόρον καὶ χρησμοσύνην ἐκάλεσαν, οἱ δ' ἐκπύρωσιν καὶ διακόσμησιν. (*De animal. sacrificio idoneis*, p. 242.) PLUTARCH (*De εἰ Delphico*, § 9) refers to the same nomenclature: ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἴσος ὁ τῶν περιόδων χρόνος, ἀλλὰ μείζων ὁ τῆς ἑτέρας, ἣν κόρον καλοῦσιν, ὁ δὲ τῆς χρησμοσύνης ἐλάττων.

[97] τὸν ἀδελφεὸν ἑωυτοῦ Ἡγίην. Tisamenus appears to have had a grandson of the same name with his brother. He was said to have been Lysander's seer, and by his auguries to have brought about the destruction of the Athenian fleet at Ægospotami. This was the tradition attached to a bronze statue of him which PAUSANIAS saw at Sparta (iii. 11. 5). But the statue certainly cannot have been an original one; for it stood by the side of the altar of a temple dedicated to Augustus Cæsar. See note 109 on i. 31.

[98] μοῦνοι δὲ δὴ . . . . πολιῆται. The instance of Tyrtæus refutes this observation. (PLUTARCH, *Apophth. Lac.*, § 15, p. 230.) But it has been before remarked, that Herodotus appears to be ignorant of all the particulars of the Messenian wars, with the common narrative of which Tyrtæus is mixed up, and to which Pausanias's apophthegm recorded by Plutarch refers.

[99] πρὸς Τεγεήτας τε καὶ Ἀργείους. This battle will probably have been at the

γενόμενος· μετὰ δὲ, ὁ ἐν Διπαιεῦσι[100] πρὸς Ἀρκάδας πάντας, πλὴν Μαντινέων· ἐπὶ δὲ, ὁ Μεσσηνίων ὁ πρὸς τῷ Ἰσθμῷ[101]· ὕστατος δὲ, ὁ ἐν Τανάγρῃ[102] πρὸς Ἀθηναίους τε καὶ Ἀργείους γενόμενος· οὗτος δὲ ὕστατος κατεργάσθη τῶν πέντε ἀγώνων.

The omens unfavourable on both sides for attacking.

36 Οὗτος δὴ τότε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ὁ Τισαμενὸς, ἀγόντων τῶν Σπαρτιητέων, ἐμαντεύετο ἐν τῇ Πλαταιΐδι. τοῖσι μέν νυν Ἕλλησι καλὰ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱρὰ, ἀμυνομένοισι· διαβᾶσι δὲ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν καὶ μάχης ἄρχουσι, οὔ. 37 Μαρδονίῳ δὲ προθυμεομένῳ μάχης ἄρχειν, οὐκ ἐπιτήδεα ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱρά· ἀμυνομένῳ δὲ καὶ τούτῳ καλά· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος Ἑλληνικοῖσι ἱροῖσι ἐχρέετο[103], μάντιν ἔχων Ἡγησίστρατον, ἄνδρα Ἠλεῖον τε καὶ τῶν Τελλιαδέων ἐόντα λογιμώτατον· τὸν δὴ πρότερον τούτων Σπαρτιῆται λαβόντες ἔδησαν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, ὡς πεπονθότες πολλά τε καὶ ἀνάρσια ὑπ' αὐτοῦ·

Story of Mardonius's seer, *Hegesistratus* of *Elis*.

time when the Achæan population were possessed of considerable influence in Argos, after the revolution noticed in vi. 83, where see note 189. Just before the battle of Platæa the alliance of Tegea and Sparta must have been very close. (See note 70 on § 26, above.) But the policy of Pausanias seems to have been an opposite one to that of Cleomenes; for he voluntarily associated with himself Euryanax, the son of the self-banished Dorieus. See note 24 on § 9, above.) The rejection of the claim of the Tegeans therefore to the second post of honour may very well have been afterwards followed by the abridgement of other special privileges, and thus they may have become alienated from Sparta, and disposed to take part with Argos, at that time stripped bare of the Cadmæo-dorian part of her citizens.

[100] ἐν Διπαιεῦσι. *Dipœes* was an Arcadian hamlet in the region of Mænalus. (Pausanias, iii. 11. 7.) The battle fought against "all the Arcadians" will, I apprehend, have occurred in that war which was kindled by Cleandrus the prophet from Phigalia, mentioned in vi. 83, where see note 190.

[101] πρὸς τῷ Ἰσθμῷ. See note 138 on iii. 47. This is the reading of the majority of the MSS, but P, K, and F, have πρὸς Ἰσθμῷ, which Gaisford adopts. Pausanias, going through the five victories, thus describes this one: τέταρτον δὲ ἠγωνίσατο πρὸς τοὺς ἐξ Ἰσθμοῦ Ἰθώμην ἀποστάντας ἀπὸ τῶν Εἱλώτων. ἀπέστησαν δὲ οὐχ ἅπαντες οἱ Εἵλωτες ἀλλὰ τὸ Μεσσηνιακὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων Εἱλώτων ἀποσχισθέντες . . . . τότε δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς ἀποστάντας ἀπελθεῖν ὑποσπόνδους εἴασαν Τισαμενῷ καὶ τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς χρηστηρίῳ πειθόμενοι (iii. 11. 8). In the passage of Pausanias, Wesseling proposes to read τοὺς ἐς Ἰθώμην ἀποστάντας τῶν Εἱλώτων (which Bekker adopts), and in the text here Palmer (likewise followed by Bekker) changes the reading of the manuscripts P, K, F, into πρὸς Ἰθώμῃ. But there seems no reason at all for either change. It is true that there is no mention elsewhere of a battle at the Isthmus, but neither is there of any one at Ithome, unless that at Stenyclerus (§ 65, below) may be deemed such; and in that the Messenians were victorious. From the words of Pausanias one may gather that a considerable body of Helots, the descendants of the Messenians who survived the second Messenian war (which ended with the capture of Ira) were at the Isthmus, and revolting, took refuge at Ithome. There may very well have been a conflict with them before they fled thither, and the importance of this may have arisen not so much from the amount of their force as from the helplessness of Sparta, just at that time overthrown by an earthquake. See Aristophanes, quoted in note 138 on iii. 47.

[102] ὁ ἐν Τανάγρῃ. This is the battle mentioned by Thucydides, i. 108.

[103] ἐχρέετο. This is the reading of B and Aldus, and is adopted by Gaisford. S and V have ἐχρᾶτο, and M, P, K, F ἐχρέατο, which is apparently a corruption from ἐχρέετο.

ὁ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κακῷ ἐχόμενος, ὥστε τρέχων περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς πρά τε τοῦ θανάτου πεισόμενος[104] πολλά τε καὶ λυγρὰ, ἔργον ἐργάσατο μέζον λόγου· ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἐδέδετο ἐν ξύλῳ σιδηροδέτῳ, ἐσενειχθέντος κως σιδηρίου ἐκράτησε· αὐτίκα δὲ ἐμηχανᾶτο ἀνδρειότατον ἔργον πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· σταθμησάμενος γὰρ ὅκως ἐξελεύσεταί οἱ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ποδὸς, ἀπέταμε τὸν ταρσὸν ἑωυτοῦ; ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας, ὥστε φυλασσόμενος ὑπὸ φυλάκων, διορύξας τὸν τοῖχον ἀπέδρη ἐς Τεγέην[105], τὰς μὲν νύκτας πορευόμενος, τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας καταδύνων ἐς ὕλην καὶ αὐλιζόμενος· οὕτω ὥστε, Λακεδαιμονίων πανδημεὶ διζημένων, τρίτῃ εὐφρόνῃ γενέσθαι ἐν Τεγέῃ, τοὺς δὲ ἐν θώματι μεγάλῳ ἐνέχεσθαι τῆς τε τόλμης, ὁρέοντας τὸ ἡμίτομον τοῦ ποδὸς κείμενον, κἀκεῖνον οὐ δυναμένους εὑρεῖν. τότε μὲν οὕτω διαφυγὼν Λακεδαιμονίους, καταφεύγει ἐς Τεγέην, ἐοῦσαν οὐκ ἀρθμίην Λακεδαιμονίοισι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον[106].

[104] πεισόμενος. This reading is supported by A, B, F, S, P. Aldus and one manuscript (*b*) have πησόμενος, which would be a legitimate form from a present πήθω, of which a trace appears in the substantive πῆμα, the aorist ἔπαθον, and the participle πήσας. See ÆSCHYLUS, *Agam.* 1633: πρὸς κέντρα μὴ λάκτιζε, μὴ πήσας μογῇς.

[105] ἀπέδρη ἐς Τεγέην. PLUTARCH (*De fraterno amore*, § 3) calls Hegesistratus an *Arcadian seer.* Possibly this may arise from a misconstruction of the circumstance of his taking refuge in Tegea. At the same time, there was always a friendly intercourse between Elis and Arcadia, and possibly there may have been a branch of the Telliads in the latter country as well as the former. The very strongest community of feeling existed between the Eleans, Arcadians, and Messenians throughout the second Messenian war. Theoclus, an Iamid, was the adviser of Aristomenes from the very beginning to the end of the war, the Arcadians were his fast allies, and the palladium of Messenian independence was a brass jar containing a secret ritual of the *Great Goddesses* written on sheets of lead, described in a dream to Epaminondas as τὴν γραῦν τὴν ἐν χαλκῷ καθειργμένην θαλάμῳ καὶ ἤδη λειποψυχοῦσαν. (PAUSANIAS, iv. 26. 7.) The common bond therefore of the three parties was an attachment to the ante-dorian religion of the Peloponnese, and the modes of life to which it belonged. In accordance with this, when Epaminondas 287 years afterwards re-established the Messenians in their own country, the religious solemnities performed by the confederates belonged, without any exception, to the ante-dorian period. The Thebans and Epaminondas sacrificed to Dionysus and the *Ismenian* Apollo, the Argives to their Here and the *Nemean* Zeus, the Messenians to the *Ithomatan* Zeus and the Dioscuri, and their priests to the Great Goddesses and Caucon. The Arcadians furnished victims for the whole; and the whole invoked *in common*, as ἥρωας συνοίκους, Messene, the daughter of Triopas (of whom see notes 492 and 587 on Book I.) in the chief place, and after her Eurytus (a hero to whom libations were offered preliminary to the orgies of the Great Goddesses, PAUSANIAS, iv. 3. 10; iv. 33. 5); Aphareus, and his sons Idas and Lynceus (the hereditary hierophants of the Great Goddesses, PAUSANIAS, iv. 2. 6); and of the Heraclides only Cresphontes and his son Æpytus (the grandson of an Arcadian king, and re-established in his Messenian dominions by Arcadian arms, PAUSANIAS, iv. 3. 6). The only music allowed was Bœotian and Argive *wind instruments*, and the melodies most conspicuous were those of Sacadas and Pronomus. (PAUSANIAS, ll. cc.)

[106] ἐοῦσαν οὐκ ἀρθμίην Λακεδαιμονίοισι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον. This time must have been antecedent to that arrangement by

ὑγιὴς δὲ γενόμενος, καὶ προσποιησάμενος ξύλινον πόδα, κατεστήκεε ἐκ τῆς ἰθείης Λακεδαιμονίοισι πολέμιος· οὐ μέντοι γε ἐς τέλος οἱ συνήνεικε τὸ ἔχθος τὸ ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους συγκεκυρημένον· ἥλω γὰρ μαντευόμενος ἐν Ζακύνθῳ ὑπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀπέθανε. ὁ μέν νυν θάνατος ὁ Ἡγησιστράτου ὕστερον ἐγένετο τῶν Πλαταιϊκῶν· τότε δ' ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ Μαρδονίῳ μεμισθωμένος οὐκ ὀλίγου, ἐθύετό τε καὶ προεθυμέετο κατά τε τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων[107] καὶ κατὰ τὸ κέρδος.

38 Ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐκαλλιέρεε ὥστε μάχεσθαι, οὔτε αὐτοῖσι Πέρσῃσι, οὔτε τοῖσι μετ' ἐκείνων ἐοῦσι Ἑλλήνων· (εἶχον γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν[108] μάντιν Ἱππόμαχον, Λευκάδιον ἄνδρα·) ἐπιρρεόντων δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ γινομένων πλεύνων, Τιμηγενίδης ὁ Ἕρπυος, ἀνὴρ Θηβαῖος, συνεβούλευσε Μαρδονίῳ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος φυλάξαι, λέγων ὡς ἐπιρρέουσι οἱ Ἕλληνες αἰεὶ

Mardonius is advised to watch the passes of Cithæron,

39 ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, καὶ ὡς ἀπολάμψοιτο συχνούς. Ἡμέραι δέ σφι ἀντικατημένοισι ἤδη ἐγεγόνεσαν ὀκτώ, ὅτε ταῦτα ἐκεῖνος συνεβούλευε Μαρδονίῳ· ὁ δὲ μαθὼν τὴν παραίνεσιν εὖ ἔχουσαν, ὡς εὐφρόνη ἐγένετο, πέμπει τὴν ἵππον ἐς τὰς ἐκβολὰς τὰς Κιθαιρωνίδας, αἳ ἐπὶ Πλαταιέων φέρουσι[109]· τὰς Βοιωτοὶ μὲν Τρεῖς Κεφαλὰς καλέουσι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ Δρυὸς Κεφαλάς. πεμφθέντες δὲ οἱ ἱππόται οὐ μάτην ἀπίκοντο· ἐσβάλλοντα γὰρ ἐς τὸ πεδίον λαμβάνουσι ὑποζύγιά τε πεντακόσια, σιτία ἄγοντα ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἀνθρώπους οἳ εἵποντο τοῖσι ζεύγεσι· ἑλόντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἄγρην οἱ Πέρσαι ἀφειδέως ἐφόνευον, οὐ φειδόμενοι οὔτε ὑποζυγίου οὐδενὸς οὔτε ἀνθρώπου· ὡς δὲ ἅδην εἶχον κτείνοντες, τὰ λοιπὰ αὐτῶν ἤλαυνον περιβαλλόμενοι[110] παρά τε Μαρδόνιον καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

and eight days after the arrival of the armies in presence of each other, cuts off a convoy bringing supplies to the allies.

which the Tegeans obtained the peculiar privileges at Lacedæmon of which they boast above (§ 26), or at least antecedent to the time when they were secured and ratified by the common practice.

[107] κατά τε τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, "in accordance with his hatred of the Lacedæmonians." Compare viii. 30: κατὰ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Θεσσαλῶν.

[108] ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν, "exclusively for themselves." So above (§ 17) the commander of the Phocian contingent orders his men ἵζεσθαι ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, "to take up a position by themselves in the plain;" and the Amazons, unwilling to join the tribe of their new husbands, urge them to form a separate settlement, οἰκέωμεν ἐπ' ἡμέων αὐτέων (iv. 114).

[109] αἳ ἐπὶ Πλαταιέων φέρουσι. This pass is apparently to be looked for to the west of that which lay between Œnoe and Hysiæ, and led direct to *Thebes*. It was probably a mere mountain track, not a road, and like the packhorse routes in Switzerland.

[110] περιβαλλόμενοι, "securing them." The metaphor is apparently taken from a

40 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἑτέρας δύο ἡμέρας διέτριψαν, οὐδέτεροι βουλόμενοι μάχης ἄρξαι· μέχρι μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ ἐπήϊσαν οἱ βάρβαροι πειρώμενοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, διέβαινον δὲ οὐδέτεροι· ἡ μέντοι ἵππος ἡ Μαρδονίου αἰεὶ προσέκειτό τε καὶ ἐλύπεε τοὺς Ἕλληνας· οἱ γὰρ Θηβαῖοι, ἅτε μηδίζοντες μεγάλως, προθύμως ἔφερον τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ αἰεὶ κατηγέοντο μέχρι μάχης [111]· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου παραδεκόμενοι Πέρσαι τε καὶ Μῆδοι, μάλα ἔσκον οἳ ἀπεδείκνυντο ἀρετάς.

The next two days the Greeks are constantly galled by the enemy's cavalry.

41 Μέχρι μέν νυν τῶν δέκα ἡμερέων οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλεῦν ἐγίνετο τούτων· ὡς δὲ ἑνδεκάτη ἐγεγόνεε ἡμέρη ἀντικατημένοισι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι, οἵ τε δὴ Ἕλληνες πολλῷ πλεῦνες ἐγεγόνεσαν, καὶ Μαρδόνιος περιημέκτεε [112] τῇ ἕδρῃ, ἐνθαῦτα ἐς λόγους ἦλθον Μαρδόνιός τε ὁ Γωβρύεω καὶ Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ Φαρνάκεος [113], ὃς ἐν ὀλίγοισι Περσέων ἦν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος παρὰ Ξέρξῃ· βουλευομένων δὲ αἵδε ἦσαν αἱ γνῶμαι· ἡ μὲν Ἀρταβάζου, ὡς χρεὸν εἴη ἀναζεύξαντας τὴν ταχίστην πάντα τὸν στρατὸν [114], ἰέναι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸ Θηβαίων, ἔνθα σῖτόν τέ σφι ἐσενηνεῖχθαι πολλὸν καὶ χόρτον τοῖσι ὑποζυγίοισι· κατ' ἡσυχίην τε ἱζομένους διαπρήσσεσθαι ποιεῦντας τάδε· ἔχειν γὰρ χρυσὸν πολλὸν μὲν ἐπίσημον, πολλὸν δὲ καὶ ἄσημον, πολλὸν δὲ καὶ ἄργυρόν τε καὶ ἐκπώματα· τούτων φειδομένους μηδενὸς, διαπέμπειν ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, Ἑλλήνων δὲ μάλιστα ἐς τοὺς προεστεῶτας ἐν τῇσι πόλισι· καὶ ταχέως σφέας παραδώσειν τὴν ἐλευθερίην, μηδὲ ἀνακινδυνεύειν συμβάλλοντας [115]. τούτου μέν νυν ἡ αὐτὴ ἐγίνετο καὶ Θηβαίων γνώμη, ὡς προειδότος

On the eleventh day a dispute takes place between Mardonius and Artabazus as to the best course to pursue.

person who wraps a mantle round him. It is used above, 371: ἰδίῃ περιβαλλόμενος ἑωυτῷ κέρδεα, and viii. 8: πολλὰ μὲν ἔσωσε τῶν χρημάτων τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς περιεβάλετο.

111 κατηγέοντο μέχρι μάχης, "took the lead until it came to fighting." There is in this phrase and in the succeeding one, μάλα ἔσκον οἳ ἀπεδείκνυντο ἀρετὰς, an insinuation unfavourable to the prowess of the Thebans which bespeaks a hostile feeling towards them.

112 περιημέκτεε. See note 134 on i. 44.

113 Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ Φαρνάκεος. In the roll of the army (vii. 66) this individual is represented as the commander of the Parthians and Chorasmians,—names which do not appear in the list of troops brought into line at Platæa (ix. 30). But it is possible that a change of command had taken place when Xerxes determined upon retreating; as we find Artabazus at the head of a detachment from the 300,000 troops selected by Mardonius (viii. 126—129). It will be observed, that the system of corruption which he recommends had been tried by himself at Potidæa, and with apparent success until detected accidentally.

114 ἀναζεύξαντας τὴν ταχίστην πάντα τὸν στρατόν. See note 118 on viii. 60.

115 συμβάλλοντας. One manuscript (S) has συμβαλόντας. The sense seems rather to require κινδυνεύσειν συμβάλλοντας.

πλεῦν τι καὶ τούτου· Μαρδονίου δὲ ἰσχυροτέρη τε καὶ ἀγνωμονεστέρη, καὶ οὐδαμῶς συγγινωσκομένη· δοκέειν τε γὰρ πολλῷ κρέσσονα εἶναι τὴν σφετέρην στρατιὴν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς, συμβάλλειν τε τὴν ταχίστην[116], μηδὲ περιορᾶν συλλεγομένους ἔτι πλεῦνας τῶν συλλελεγμένων· τά τε σφάγια τὰ Ἡγησιστράτου ἐᾶν χαίρειν· μηδὲ βιάζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ νόμῳ τῷ Περσέων χρεωμένους

42 συμβάλλειν. Τούτου δὲ οὕτω δικαιεῦντος ἀντέλεγε οὐδείς, ὥστε ἐκράτεε τῇ γνώμῃ· τὸ γὰρ κράτος εἶχε τῆς στρατιῆς οὗτος ἐκ βασιλέος, ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἀρτάβαζος. μεταπεμψάμενος ὦν τοὺς ταξιάρχους τῶν τελέων καὶ τῶν μετ' ἑωυτοῦ ἐόντων Ἑλλήνων τοὺς στρατηγούς, εἰρώτα εἴ τι εἰδεῖεν λόγιον περὶ Περσέων, ὡς διαφθερέονται[117] ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι; σιγώντων δὲ τῶν ἐπικλήτων, τῶν μὲν οὐκ εἰδότων τοὺς χρησμούς, τῶν δὲ εἰδότων μὲν ἐν ἀδείῃ δὲ οὐ ποιευμένων τὸ λέγειν, αὐτὸς Μαρδόνιος ἔλεγε· "ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ὑμεῖς ἢ ἴστε οὐδέν, ἢ οὐ τολμᾶτε λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἐρέω ὡς εὖ ἐπιστάμενος· ἔστι λόγιον ὡς χρεόν ἐστι Πέρσας ἀπικομένους ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, διαρπάσαι τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαρπαγὴν[118] ἀπολέσθαι πάντας. ἡμεῖς τοίνυν, αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐπιστάμενοι, οὔτε ἴμεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦτο[119] οὔτε ἐπιχειρήσομεν διαρπάζειν· ταύτης τε εἵνεκα τῆς αἰτίης οὐκ ἀπολεόμεθα. ὥστε ὑμέων ὅσοι τυγχάνουσι εὔνοοι ἐόντες Πέρσῃσι, ἥδεσθε τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ὡς περιεσομένους ἡμέας Ἑλλήνων." ταῦτά σφι εἴπας, δεύτερα ἐσήμαινε παραρτέεσθαί τε πάντα καὶ εὐκρινέα[120] ποιέεσθαι, ὡς ἅμα ἡμέρῃ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ συμβολῆς ἐσομένης.

An oracle is said to portend destruction to Persians after sacking the temple of Delphi.

43 Τοῦτον δ' ἔγωγε τὸν χρησμὸν τὸν Μαρδόνιος εἶπε ἐς Πέρσας ἔχειν, ἐς Ἰλλυριούς τε καὶ τὸν Ἐγχέλεων στρατὸν οἶδα πεποιη-

This oracle really re-

[116] συμβάλλειν τε τὴν ταχίστην. This clause is not to be taken after δοκέειν, but after Μαρδονίου ἡ γνώμη ἦν. "The view of Mardonius was more a violent and headstrong one, and in no respect inclined to mild measures. [It was to the effect] that he thought their own force far superior to that of the Greeks, and that they should fight as soon as possible, and not look on at the assemblage of additional troops in greater numbers than were already concentrated." There seems to have been a kind of reaction in the mind of Mardonius, perhaps arising from mortification at the disappointment of his schemes; for it is plain that the policy recommended by Artabazus had been pursued by himself. (See above, notes 9 on § 3, and 34 on § 12, and 282 on viii. 136.)

[117] διαφθερέονται. This is Gaisford's reading. The MSS vary between διαφθαρέονται (which is adopted by Wesseling and Bekker), διαφθορεῦνται (the reading of S and V), and διαφθερέοντας.

[118] διαρπαγήν. One manuscript (S) has ἁρπαγήν.

[119] τοῦτο. S omits this word.

[120] εὐκρινέα. S has εὔκρινα, and P εὐρικρινέα.

μένον[121], ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐς Πέρσας. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν Βάκιδί ἐστι[122] ἐς ταύτην τὴν μάχην πεποιημένα·

lated to some *Illyrians* and *Encheles*, but there are some oracles of *Bacis* and *Musæus* which did apply to the Persians.

τὴν δ' ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι καὶ Ἀσωπῷ λεχεποίῃ
Ἑλλήνων σύνοδον, καὶ βαρβαρόφωνον ἰϋγήν·
τῇ πολλοὶ πεσέονται ὑπὲρ Λάχεσίν τε μόρον τε
τοξοφόρων Μήδων, ὅταν αἴσιμον ἦμαρ ἐπέλθῃ.

ταῦτα μὲν καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοισι ἄλλα Μουσαίου[123] ἔχοντα οἶδα ἐς Πέρσας· ὁ δὲ Θερμώδων ποταμὸς ῥέει μεταξὺ Τανάγρης τε καὶ Γλίσαντος.

44 Treachery of Alexander the Macedonian.

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπειρώτησιν τῶν χρησμῶν καὶ παραίνεσιν τὴν ἐκ Μαρδονίου, νύξ τε ἐγίνετο, καὶ ἐς φυλακὰς ἐτάσσοντο. ὡς δὲ πρόσω τῆς νυκτὸς προελήλατο, καὶ ἡσυχίη ἐδόκεε εἶναι ἀνὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἶναι ἐν ὕπνῳ, τηνικαῦτα προσελάσας ἵππῳ πρὸς τὰς φυλακὰς τὰς Ἀθηναίων Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀμύντεω, στρατηγός τε ἐὼν καὶ βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων[124], ἐδίζητο τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν· τῶν δὲ φυλάκων οἱ μὲν πλεῦνες παρέμενον, οἱ δ' ἔθεον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς· ἐλθόντες δὲ ἔλεγον, ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἥκοι ἐπ' ἵππου ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῦ Μήδων, ὃς ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν παραγυμνοῖ ἔπος, στρατηγοὺς δὲ ὀνομάζων, ἐθέλειν φησὶ ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν. Οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ ταῦτα 45
ἤκουσαν, αὐτίκα εἵποντο ἐς τὰς φυλακάς· ἀπικομένοισι δὲ ἔλεγε Ἀλέξανδρος τάδε· "ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι[125], παραθήκην ὑμῖν τὰ

121 ἐς Ἰλλυριούς τε . . . πεποιημένον. This is the application of the oracle adopted by Euripides (*Bacchæ*, 1333), who makes Dionysus prophesy to Cadmus:

πολλὰς δὲ πέρσεις ἀναρίθμῳ στρατεύματι
πόλεις· ὅταν δὲ Λοξίου χρηστήριον
διαρπάσωσι, νόστον ἄθλιον πάλιν
σχήσουσι.

122 ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν Βάκιδί ἐστι. S has τάδε μὲν instead of τὰ μὲν, and F leaves out ἐστι, which S inserts after μάχην. Gaisford prints ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν Βάκιδι ἐς ταύτην τὴν μάχην, &c., and continues the sentence on after the citation of the verses, as if πεποιημένα were to be understood after Μουσαίῳ.

123 Μουσαίου. This is a conjecture of Bekker's, the MSS all having Μουσαίῳ. For the way in which that reading is to be explained, see the last note.

124 στρατηγός τε ἐὼν καὶ βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων. Herodotus has mentioned this individual so often before, that it was scarcely necessary for the purpose of perspicuity again to describe him. Perhaps he is so described here on account of his father having recently died.

125 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. The στρατηγοί, whom Alexander named as persons whom he wished to see, are *Athenians*, possibly individuals with which he had dealings on the occasion of his embassy to Athens in the previous winter (viii. 136, *seqq.*). But still he thinks it desirable to make himself known to them at the end of his speech, as if he had been an entire stranger. Plutarch describes him as asking for *Aristides* (*Aristid.* § 15). In the course of a generation or two the celebrity of Aristides was sure to attract to him the floating traditions relative to the incidents of the war. See note 86 *a* on vi. 37.

ἔπεα τάδε τίθεμαι, ἀπόρρητα ποιεύμενος πρὸς μηδένα λέγειν ὑμέας ἄλλον ἢ Παυσανίην, μή με καὶ διαφθείρητε· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔλεγον, εἰ μὴ μεγάλως ἐκηδόμην συναπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος· αὐτός τε γὰρ Ἕλλην γένος εἰμὶ τὠρχαῖον, καὶ ἀντ' ἐλευθέρης δεδουλωμένην οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλοιμι ὁρᾶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα· λέγω δὲ ὦν, ὅτι Μαρδονίῳ τε καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ τὰ σφάγια οὐ δύναται καταθύμια γενέσθαι· πάλαι γὰρ ἂν ἐμάχεσθε· νῦν δέ οἱ δέδοκται τὰ μὲν σφάγια ἐᾶν χαίρειν, ἅμα ἡμέρῃ δὲ διαφαυσκούσῃ συμβολὴν ποιέεσθαι· καταρρώδηκε γὰρ μὴ πλεῦνες συλλεχθῆτε, ὡς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω. πρὸς ταῦτα ἑτοιμάζεσθε· ἢν δὲ ἄρα ὑπερβάληται τὴν συμβολὴν Μαρδόνιος, καὶ μὴ ποιῆται, λιπαρέετε μένοντες· ὀλίγων γάρ σφι ἡμερέων λείπεται σιτία [126]. ἢν δὲ ὑμῖν ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε κατὰ νόον τελευτήσῃ, μνησθῆναί τινα χρὴ καὶ ἐμεῦ ἐλευθερώσιος πέρι, ὃς Ἑλλήνων εἵνεκα οὕτω ἔργον παράβολον ἔργασμαι ὑπὸ προθυμίης, ἐθέλων ὑμῖν δηλῶσαι τὴν διάνοιαν τὴν Μαρδονίου, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιπέσωσι ὑμῖν οἱ βάρβαροι μὴ προσδεκομένοισί κω. εἰμὶ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών." ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἴπας, ἀπήλαυνε ὀπίσω ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ τάξιν.

46 Οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας, ἔλεγον Παυσανίῃ τάπερ ἤκουσαν Ἀλεξάνδρου· ὁ δὲ τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ καταρρωδήσας τοὺς Πέρσας [127], ἔλεγε τάδε· "ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ἐς ἠῶ ἡ συμβολὴ γίνεται, ὑμέας μὲν χρεόν ἐστι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους στῆναι κατὰ τοὺς Πέρσας, ἡμέας δὲ κατὰ τοὺς Βοιωτούς τε καὶ τοὺς κατ' ὑμέας τεταγμένους Ἑλλήνων, τῶνδε εἵνεκα· ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε τοὺς Μήδους καὶ τὴν μάχην αὐτῶν, ἐν Μαραθῶνι μαχεσάμενοι· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄπειροί τέ εἰμεν καὶ ἀδαέες τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν. Σπαρτιητέων γὰρ οὐδεὶς πεπείρηται Μήδων· ἡμεῖς δὲ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἔμπειροί εἰμεν. ἀλλ' ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὅπλα χρεόν ἐστι ἰέναι ὑμέας μὲν ἐς τόδε τὸ κέρας, ἡμέας δὲ ἐς τὸ εὐώνυμον." πρὸς δὲ ταῦτα εἶπαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τάδε· "καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν πάλαι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ἐπεί τε εἴδομεν κατ' ὑμέας τασσομένους τοὺς Πέρσας,

Dread of being opposed to the Persians induces Pausanias to attempt an alteration in his line,

[126] ὀλίγων γάρ σφι ἡμερέων λείπεται σιτία. This statement is not at all easy to reconcile with the argument of Artabazus (§ 41), that they should fall back on *Thebes*, where there were ample supplies both for horse and man. There can be no question that, with the superiority in cavalry possessed by the Persians, it would have been perfectly easy to maintain an uninterrupted communication between Thebes and the army in camp.

[127] καταρρωδήσας τοὺς Πέρσας. See note 158 on § 60, below.

ἐν νόῳ ἐγένετο εἰπεῖν ταῦτα τάπερ ὑμεῖς φθάντες προφέρετε· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀρρωδέομεν μὴ ὑμῖν οὐκ ἡδέες γένωνται οἱ λόγοι· ἐπεὶ δ' ὦν αὐτοὶ ἐμνήσθητε, καὶ ἡδομένοισι ἡμῖν οἱ λόγοι γεγόνασι[128]· καὶ ἑτοῖμοί εἰμεν ποιέειν ταῦτα." Ὡς δ' ἤρεσκε ἀμφοτέροισι ταῦτα, 47
ἠώς τε διέφαινε καὶ διαλλάσσοντο τὰς τάξις[129]· γνόντες δὲ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ τὸ ποιεύμενον, ἐξαγορεύουσι Μαρδονίῳ· ὁ δ' ἐπεί τε ἤκουσε, αὐτίκα μετιστάναι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπειρᾶτο, παράγων τοὺς Πέρσας κατὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ὡς δὲ ἔμαθε τοῦτο τοιοῦτο γινόμενον ὁ Παυσανίης, γνοὺς ὅτι οὐ λανθάνει, ὀπίσω ἦγε τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας· ὡς δ' αὔτως καὶ ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου.

which the enemy foil by a corresponding movement, and he resumes his first dispositions, and they theirs.

48 Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστησαν ἐς τὰς ἀρχαίας τάξις, πέμψας ὁ Μαρδόνιος κήρυκα ἐς τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας ἔλεγε τάδε· "ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὑμεῖς δὴ λέγεσθε εἶναι ἄνδρες ἄριστοι ὑπὸ τῶν τῆδε ἀνθρώπων, ἐκπαγλεομένων ὡς οὔτε φεύγετε ἐκ πολέμου οὔτε τάξιν ἐκλείπετε, μένοντές τε ἢ ἀπόλλυτε τοὺς ἐναντίους ἢ αὐτοὶ ἀπόλλυσθε. τῶν δ' ἄρ' ἦν οὐδὲν ἀληθές. πρὶν γὰρ ἢ συμμῖξαι ἡμέας ἐς χειρῶν τε νόμον ἀπικέσθαι, καὶ δὴ φεύγοντας καὶ στάσιν[130] ἐκλείποντας ὑμέας εἴδομεν, ἐν Ἀθηναίοισί τε τὴν πρόπειραν ποιευμένους, αὐτούς τε ἀντία δούλων τῶν ἡμετέρων τασσομένους· ταῦτα οὐδαμῶς ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργα· ἀλλὰ πλεῖστον δὴ ἐν ὑμῖν ἐψεύσθημεν. προσδεκόμενοι γὰρ κατὰ κλέος, ὡς δὴ πέμψετε ἐς ἡμέας κήρυκα προκαλεύμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι μούνοισι Πέρσῃσι μάχεσθαι, ἄρτιοι ἐόντες ποιέειν ταῦτα, οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο λέγοντας ὑμέας εὕρομεν, ἀλλὰ πτώσσοντας μᾶλλον. νῦν ὦν ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ὑμεῖς ἤρξατε τούτου τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἄρχομεν, τί δὴ οὐ πρὸ μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑμεῖς, ἐπεί τε δεδόξωσθε[131] εἶναι ἄριστοι, πρὸ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἡμεῖς[132], ἴσοι πρὸς ἴσους ἀριθμὸν μαχεσόμεθα; καὶ ἢν μὲν δοκέῃ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους μάχεσθαι, οἱ δ' ὦν μετέπειτα μαχέσθων ὕστεροι· εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ δοκέοι, ἀλλ' ἡμέας μούνους ἀποχρᾶν, ἡμεῖς δὲ διαμαχεσόμεθα·

Mardonius upbraids the Spartans with cowardice in consequence of this manœuvre.

128 ἡδομένοισι ἡμῖν οἱ λόγοι γεγόνασι. See note 23 on viii. 10.

129 ἠώς τε διέφαινε καὶ διαλλάσσοντο τὰς τάξις, "with the very break of day they changed their respective positions." See note 551 on vii. 218.

130 στάσιν. S and V have τάξιν.

131 δεδόξωσθε. See note 370 on vii. 135.

132 πρὸ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἡμεῖς. The phrase βάρβαροι, applied by the invaders to their own troops, plainly shows the Hellenic origin of this challenge of Mardonius. See note 126 on i. 37, note 104 on iii. 36, and note 243 on v. 91.

ὁκότεροι δ' ἂν ἡμέων νικήσωσι, τούτους τῷ ἅπαντι στρατοπέδῳ νικᾶν."

49 Ὁ μὲν, ταῦτα εἴπας τε καὶ ἐπισχὼν χρόνον, ὥς οἱ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ὑπεκρίνετο, ἀπαλλάσσετο ὀπίσω· ἀπελθὼν δὲ ἐσήμαινε Μαρδονίῳ τὰ καταλαβόντα· ὁ δὲ περιχαρὴς γενόμενος καὶ ἐπαρθεὶς ψυχρῇ νίκῃ[133], ἐπῆκε τὴν ἵππον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας· ὡς δὲ ἐπήλασαν οἱ ἱππόται, ἐσινέοντο πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἐσακοντίζοντές τε καὶ τοξεύοντες, ὥστε ἱπποτοξόται τε ἐόντες καὶ προσφέρεσθαι ἄποροι[134]· τήν τε κρήνην τὴν Γαργαφίην[135], ἀπ' ἧς ὑδρεύετο πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν, συνετάραξαν καὶ συνέχωσαν. ἦσαν μὲν ὦν κατὰ τὴν κρήνην Λακεδαιμόνιοι τεταγμένοι μοῦνοι· τοῖσι δὲ ἄλλοισι Ἕλλησι ἡ μὲν κρήνη πρόσω ἐγίνετο, ὡς ἕκαστοι ἔτυχον τεταγμένοι, ὁ δὲ Ἀσωπὸς ἀγχοῦ· ἐρυκόμενοι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ, οὕτω δὴ ἐπὶ τὴν κρήνην ἐφοίτεον· ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ γάρ σφι οὐκ ἐξῆν ὕδωρ φορέεσθαι, ὑπό τε τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τοξευμάτων.

He attacks the whole line of the allies with his cavalry, and destroys the Gargaphian fountain, from whence the whole army was supplied with water.

50 Τούτου δὲ τοιούτου γινομένου, οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοὶ, ἅτε τοῦ τε ὕδατος στερηθείσης τῆς στρατιῆς καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου ταρασσομένης, συνελέχθησαν περὶ αὐτῶν τε τούτων καὶ ἄλλων, ἐλθόντες παρὰ Παυσανίην ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας· ἄλλα γὰρ, τούτων τοιούτων ἐόντων, μᾶλλόν σφεας ἐπελύπεε· οὔτε γὰρ σιτία εἶχον ἔτι, οἵ τέ σφεων ὀπέωνες ἀποπεμφθέντες ἐς Πελοπόννησον ὡς ἐπισιτιεύμενοι, ἀποκεκλέατο ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου, οὐ δυνάμενοι ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

The allies resolve to move to "the island," ten *stades* off, in the course of the next night.

51 Βουλευομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι ἔδοξε, ἢν ὑπερβάλωνται κείνην τὴν ἡμέρην οἱ Πέρσαι συμβολὴν μὴ ποιεύμενοι, ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἰέναι· ἡ δέ ἐστι ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ καὶ τῆς κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης, ἐπ' ᾗ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο τότε, δέκα σταδίους ἀπέχουσα, πρὸ τῆς Πλαταιέων πόλιος. νῆσος δὲ οὕτω ἂν εἴη ἐν ἠπείρῳ· σχιζόμενος ὁ ποταμὸς ἄνωθεν ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος ῥέει κάτω ἐς τὸ πεδίον, διέχων ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὰ ῥέεθρα ὅσονπερ

"The island" is formed by two branches of a river named *Oëroë*.

133 περιχαρὴς γενόμενος καὶ ἐπαρθεὶς ψυχρῇ νίκῃ. That this is a Hellenic view of Mardonius's sentiments, and can have no foundation of truth, seems perfectly certain. See the contemptuous way in which he speaks of the want of strategical skill among the Greeks (vii. 9). He was not likely to have his spirits elevated on finding that he was opposed by as good a general as himself, and one who did not intend to give up the advantages of a strong position. With the expression ψυχρῇ νίκῃ compare ψυχρὴ ἐπικουρίη, vi. 108.

134 προσφέρεσθαι ἄποροι. Not "unable to engage in close fight," but "impossible to bring to close fight." Compare ἄποροι προσμίσγειν, which is said of the Scythians (iv. 46) from the same cause.

135 Γαργαφίην. See above, note 64 on § 25.

τρία στάδια· καὶ ἔπειτα συμμίσγει ἐς τὠυτό· οὔνομα δέ οἱ Ὠερόη· θυγατέρα δὲ ταύτην λέγουσι εἶναι Ἀσωποῦ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι[136]. ἐς τοῦτον δὴ τὸν χῶρον ἐβουλεύσαντο μεταναστῆναι, ἵνα καὶ ὕδατι ἔχωσι χρᾶσθαι ἀφθόνῳ καὶ οἱ ἱππέες σφέας μὴ σινοίατο, ὥσπερ κατ' ἰθὺ ἐόντων[137]· μετακινέεσθαί τε ἐδόκεε τότε ἐπεὰν τῆς νυκτὸς ᾖ δευτέρη φυλακή[138], ὡς ἂν μὴ ἰδοίατο οἱ Πέρσαι ἐξορμεωμένους, καί σφεας ἑπόμενοι ταράσσοιεν οἱ ἱππόται. ἀπικομένων δὲ ἐς τὸν χῶρον τοῦτον τὸν δὴ ἡ Ἀσωπὶς Ὠερόη περισχίζεται ῥέουσα ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος, ὑπὸ τὴν νύκτα ταύτην ἐδόκεε τοὺς ἡμίσεας ἀποστέλλειν τοῦ στρατοπέδου πρὸς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα, ὡς ἀναλάβοιεν τοὺς ὀπέωνας τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ σιτία οἰχομένους· ἦσαν γὰρ ἐν τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι ἀπολελαμμένοι[139].

52 Ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι, κείνην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην πᾶσαν, προσκειμένης τῆς ἵππου, εἶχον πόνον ἄτρυτον· ὡς δὲ ἥ τε ἡμέρη ἔληγε καὶ οἱ ἱππέες ἐπέπαυντο, νυκτὸς δὴ γενομένης καὶ ἐούσης τῆς ὥρης ἐς τὴν συνέκειτό σφι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, ἐνθαῦτα ἀερθέντες οἱ πολλοὶ ἀπαλλάσσοντο· ἐς μὲν τὸν χῶρον ἐς τὸν συνέκειτο οὐκ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες, οἱ δέ, ὡς ἐκινήθησαν, ἔφευγον ἄσμενοι τὴν ἵππον πρὸς τὴν Πλαταιέων πόλιν, φεύγοντες δὲ ἀπικνέονται ἐπὶ τὸ Ἡραῖον[140]· τὸ δὲ πρὸ τῆς πόλιός ἐστι τῆς Πλαταιέων, εἴκοσι

On the army getting into motion at night, the greater part retreat as far as the *Heræum* at Platæa, twenty *stades* from the Gargaphian fountain.

136 θυγατέρα δὲ ταύτην λέγουσι εἶναι Ἀσωποῦ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι. See note 353 on vii. 129. This stream appears to have been crossed by the road running from Platæa to Thebes, but at what distance from Platæa does not appear. (PAUSANIAS, ix. 4. 4.) See COLONEL SQUIRE quoted in note 64, above.

137 ὥσπερ κατ' ἰθὺ ἐόντων, "as they did, while they were directly exposed to them."

138 δευτέρη φυλακή. The Greeks divided the interval of time between sunset and sunrise, not, like the Romans, into four parts, but into three. The second watch would therefore, at this time of the year, commence nearly two hours before midnight.

139 ἦσαν γὰρ ἐν τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι ἀπολελαμμένοι, "for they had been blocked up in Cithæron." The convoy in question had apparently intended to enter Bœotia by the way of Œnoe, but was unable to descend into the plain for fear of the enemy's cavalry.

140 ἐπὶ τὸ Ἡραῖον. The deity in this temple was called Ἥρα τελεία or Ἥρα νυμφευομένη. She was a θεὸς γαμήλιος, and a festival called *Dædala* was celebrated by the Platæans in her honour every seventh year, or oftener. Every sixtieth year there was a grander celebration, in which were associated together with Platæa, Coronea, Thespia, Tanagra, Chæronea, Orchomenus, Lebadea, and Thebes, and other smaller townships. Fourteen images of oak, attired as brides, were drawn in chariots along the banks of the Asopus, and from thence to the summit of Cithæron. There an altar was built up of square logs of wood like masonry, and heaped with fascines, and, a bull being sacrificed to Zeus and a cow to Here, by each of the townships taking part in the ceremony, the victims were burnt together with the wooden brides upon it. The altar itself at last taking fire, the whole produced a bonfire seen far and wide. (PAUSANIAS, ix. 3. 9.) It is this Here, whose temple was enriched,

σταδίους ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης ἀπέχον· ἀπικόμενοι δὲ
53 ἔθεντο πρὸ τοῦ ἱροῦ τὰ ὅπλα. Καὶ οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸ Ἡραῖον ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο· Παυσανίης δὲ ὁρέων σφέας ἀπαλλασσομένους ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, παρήγγελλε καὶ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι, ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὅπλα ἰέναι κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς προϊόντας· νομίσας αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸν χῶρον ἰέναι ἐς τὸν συνεθήκαντο· ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἄρτιοι ἦσαν τῶν ταξιαρχέων πείθεσθαι Παυσανίῃ· Ἀμομφάρετος δὲ ὁ Πολιάδεω, λοχηγέων τοῦ Πιτανητέων λόχου [141], οὐκ ἔφη τοὺς ξείνους φεύξεσθαι, οὐδὲ ἑκὼν εἶναι αἰσχυνέειν τὴν Σπάρτην· ἐθώμαζέ τε ὁρέων τὸ ποιεύμενον, ἅτε οὐ παραγενόμενος τῷ προτέρῳ λόγῳ· ὁ δὲ Παυσανίης τε καὶ ὁ Εὐρυάναξ δεινὸν μὲν ἐποιεῦντο τὸ μὴ πείθεσθαι ἐκεῖνον σφίσι, δεινότερον δὲ ἔτι, κεῖνου ταῦτα νενωμένου, ἀπολιπεῖν τὸν λόχον τὸν Πιτανήτην, μή, ἢν ἀπολίπωσι ποιεῦντες τὰ συνεθήκαντο τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἕλλησι, ἀπόληται ὑπολειφθεὶς αὐτός τε Ἀμομφάρετος καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ· ταῦτα λογιζόμενοι ἀτρέμας εἶχον τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Λακωνικόν, καὶ ἐπειρῶντο πείθοντές μιν ὡς οὐ χρεὸν εἴη ταῦτα ποιέειν.

On Pausanias ordering the Lacedæmonians to move, Amompharetus, commander of the Pitanate battalion, refuses to stir.

Pausanias halts the Lacedæmonians to avoid sacrificing him.

54 Καὶ οἱ μὲν παρηγόρεον Ἀμομφάρετον, μοῦνον Λακεδαιμονίων τε καὶ Τεγεητέων λελειμμένον. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐποίευν τοιάδε· εἶχον ἀτρέμας σφέας αὐτοὺς ἵνα ἐτάχθησαν, ἐπιστάμενοι τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φρονήματα, ὡς ἄλλα φρονεόντων καὶ ἄλλα λεγόντων [142]. ὡς δὲ ἐκινήθη τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἔπεμπον σφέων ἱππέα

The Athenians do not move as agreed upon from distrust of the Lacedæmonians.

and added to with the spoils of Platæa, when the Spartans and Thebans destroyed the town in the third year of the Peloponnesian war. (Thucydides, iii. 64.)

[141] τοῦ Πιτανητέων λόχου. See note 136 upon vi. 57. It is scarcely useful to speculate much upon the cause of Herodotus's error with regard to this battalion's name. Possibly the story of Amompharetus, a Spartan of the old school, may be derived from the same source as that of Archias and Lycopas, the two brave soldiers who fell at Samos. This last was told to Herodotus (or his informant) by an individual who resided at Pitana (iii. 55). Now if this person himself served under Amompharetus at Platæa, and the battalion contained others from the same deme; he would, in speaking of Amompharetus, very naturally use such an expression as "*our* colonel,"—which might no less naturally be interpreted as in the text, by any one who assumed that the Lacedæmonian army was organized as an aggregate of local militia.

[142] ἐπιστάμενοι τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φρονήματα, ὡς ἄλλα φρονεόντων καὶ ἄλλα λεγόντων. The attribution of treachery to the Lacedæmonians was a popular topic at Athens. Euripides:

> Σπάρτης ἔνοικοι, δόλια βουλευτήρια,
> ψευδῶν ἄνακτες, μηχανορράφοι κακῶν,
> ἑλικτά, κοὐδὲν ὑγιὲς ἀλλὰ πᾶν πέριξ
> φρονοῦντες.—(*Andromache*, 446.)

Aristophanes doubtless spoke the current sentiments of his countrymen in the person of Hierocles:

> συνθήκας πεποίησθ', ἄνδρες χαροποῖσι
> πιθήκοις, &c.—(*Peace*, 1065,)

and where he describes the Lacedæmonians as persons οἷσιν οὔτε βωμός, οὔτε πίστις, οὔθ' ὅρκος μένει. But history

ὀψόμενόν τε εἰ πορεύεσθαι ἐπιχειρέοιεν οἱ Σπαρτιῆται, εἴτε καὶ
τὸ παράπαν μὴ διανοεῦνται ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι· ἐπείρεσθαί τε Παυ-
σανίην τὸ χρεὸν εἴη ποιέειν; Ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ὁ κῆρυξ ἐς τοὺς 55
Λακεδαιμονίους, ὥρα τέ σφεας κατὰ χώρην τεταγμένους, καὶ ἐς
νείκεα ἀπιγμένους αὐτῶν τοὺς πρώτους· ὡς γὰρ δὴ παρηγορέοντο
τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον ὅ τε Εὐρυάναξ καὶ ὁ Παυσανίης μὴ κινδυνεύειν
μένοντας μούνους Λακεδαιμονίων, οὔ κως ἔπειθον· ἐς ὃ ἐς νείκεά
τε συμπεσόντες ἀπικέατο, καὶ ὁ κῆρυξ τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρίστατό
σφι ἀπιγμένος· νεικέων δὲ ὁ Ἀμομφάρετος, λαμβάνει πέτρον
ἀμφοτέρῃσι τῇσι χερσὶ, καὶ τιθεὶς πρὸ ποδῶν τῶν Παυσανίεω,
ταύτῃ τῇ ψήφῳ ψηφίζεσθαι ἔφη μὴ φεύγειν τοὺς ξείνους· ξείνους
λέγων τοὺς βαρβάρους[143]. ὁ δὲ μαινόμενον καὶ οὐ φρενήρεα
καλέων ἐκεῖνον, πρός τε τὸν Ἀθηναίων κήρυκα ἐπειρωτῶντα τὰ
ἐντεταλμένα, λέγειν ὁ Παυσανίης ἐκέλευε τὰ παρεόντα σφι πρή-
γματα, ἐχρήϊζέ τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων προσχωρῆσαί τε πρὸς ἑωυ-
τοὺς[144], καὶ ποιέειν περὶ τῆς ἀπόδου τάπερ ἂν καὶ σφεῖς. Καὶ 56
ὁ μὲν ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. τοὺς δὲ ἐπεὶ ἀνακρινο- At daybreak Pausanias

does not bear out the charge of any especial bad faith on the part of the nation, in the proper sense of the word. No doubt the predominance of one party or the other in the government of Sparta produced a corresponding variation in the external policy of the country. A Spartan statesman had, in his foreign as well as his domestic policy, constantly to steer between Scylla and Charybdis, to avoid on the one hand the danger of alienating the Achæan population, and on the other that of endangering the Cadmeo-dorian supremacy; and a course so fettered would always, when seen from without, assume a tortuous appearance. The light in which the Romans viewed Carthage, and that in which the continental nations of modern Europe are apt to view Great Britain, furnish something of a parallel. Napoleon, had he invaded this country, would doubtless have complained of treachery, on finding that he was not joined by the whigs. In the text, the charge against the Lacedæmonians is made to cover the fault of obstinacy or unskilfulness committed by the Athenians, who did not obey the orders of the general commanding.

143 *ξείνους λέγων τοὺς βαρβάρους.* The peculiarity of the Lacedæmonians to use the term *ξεῖνοι* where others would say *βάρβαροι*, has been remarked above (§ 11). It would be a mistake however to infer any especial mildness of feeling towards the foreigner from this circumstance. The Latin word "*hostis*" at one time was used in the sense of "peregrinus," that which was in later times called "hostis" being denoted by the word "perduellis." (Festus v. *Hostis.*) This circumstance is thus commented on by Cicero: "Equidem illud etiam animadverto, quod, qui proprio nomine *perduellis* esset, is *Hostis* vocaretur, *lenitate verbi tristitiam rei mitigante.* 'Hostis' enim apud majores nostros is dicebatur quem nunc 'peregrinum' dicimus." (*De officiis*, i. 12.) But the real state of the case is, that both *ξεῖνος* in Greek and 'hostis' in Latin originally meant "an alien;" and from the foreigner being in most instances an enemy, came to involve from the very beginning the idea of hostility. The process of association is exactly the same as that which produced the use of the English word "unkindness,"—originally the feeling towards those who are not of the same *kin* or *kind*, i. e. *ἀλλοφύλους*.

144 *προσχωρῆσαι πρὸς ἑωυτούς*, "to close up to his own division."

moves on, expecting that the abandonment of Amompharetus will put an end to his perverseness.

μένους πρὸς ἑωυτοὺς ἠὼς κατελάμβανε, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ κατήμενος[145] ὁ Παυσανίης, οὐ δοκέων τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον λείψεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστειχόντων, (τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο,) σημήνας ἀπῆγε διὰ τῶν κολωνῶν τοὺς λοιποὺς πάντας· εἵποντο δὲ καὶ Τεγεῆται. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ταχθέντες ἤϊσαν τὰ ἔμπαλιν ἢ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν τε ὄχθων ἀντείχοντο καὶ τῆς ὑπωρείης τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος, φοβεόμενοι τὴν ἵππον· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ, κάτω τραφθέντες ἐς τὸ πεδίον.

57 Ἀμομφάρετος δὲ, ἀρχήν τε οὐδαμὰ δοκέων Παυσανίην τολμήσειν σφέας ἀπολιπεῖν, περιείχετο αὐτοῦ μένοντας μὴ ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν· προτερεόντων[146] δὲ τῶν σὺν Παυσανίῃ, καταδόξας αὐτοὺς ἰθέῃ τέχνῃ[147] ἀπολιπεῖν αὐτὸν, ἀναλαβόντα τὸν λόχον τὰ ὅπλα ἦγε βάδην πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στῖφος· τὸ δὲ, ἀπελθὸν ὅσον τε δέκα στάδια, ἀνέμενε τὸν Ἀμομφαρέτου λόχον, περὶ ποταμὸν Μολόεντα[148] ἱδρυμένον Ἀργιόπιόν τε χῶρον καλεόμενον, τῇ καὶ Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινίης ἱρὸν ἧσται[149]· ἀνέμενε δὲ τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ἵνα, ἢν μὴ ἀπολίπῃ τὸν χῶρον ἐν τῷ ἐτετάχατο ὁ Ἀμομφάρετός τε καὶ ὁ λόχος, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ μένωσι, βοηθέοι ὀπίσω παρ' ἐκείνους. καὶ οἵ τε ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον παρεγίνοντό σφι καὶ ἡ ἵππος ἡ τῶν βαρβάρων προσέκειτο πᾶσα[150]· οἱ γὰρ ἱππόται ἐποίευν οἷον καὶ

After proceeding ten *stades*, he halts in the vicinity of the river *Moloeis*, in a place called *Argiopium*, where a temple of the Eleusinian Demeter stood.

[145] κατήμενος. See note 225 on iii. 83.

[146] προτερεόντων. This is the unanimous reading of the MSS here; although in § 66, below, some have προτερεύων.

[147] ἰθέῃ τέχνῃ, "plainly," *i. e.* without any attempt to disguise the matter.

[148] Μολόεντα. One manuscript (K) has Μολέοντα, and another (S) Μοόεντα.

[149] τῇ καὶ Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινίης ἱρὸν ἧσται. Herodotus makes no mention of the story connected with this temple, which PLUTARCH relates (*Aristid.*, § 11). The Athenians were promised victory by the Delphic oracle, on condition of their previously offering prayers to Zeus, the Cithæronian Here, Pan, and the nymphs called *Sphragitides*, of sacrificing to Androcrates and certain other local heroes, and also fighting the battle *in their own territory in the plain of the Eleusinian Demeter and Core.* They were puzzled at this, as the oracle seemed to fix upon two distinct localities; when Arimnestus, the Platæan commander, had a dream, which induced him to take counsel with some of the oldest and most experienced of his countrymen. After consultation with them, it was *found out* that there was an extremely ancient temple dedicated to the Eleusinian Demeter and Core near Hysiæ, under the flanks of Cithæron. On arriving there, it appeared that the site was most favourable for infantry to resist cavalry in, and just by was a chapel of the hero Androcrates. To conform to the oracle the better, the Platæans decided on throwing down the landmarks between their own territory and Attica. THIRLWALL (*History of Greece*, ii. p. 334) regards this story as "perhaps an Athenian or Platæan tradition, not generally current." It appears to me to be a story of a later time than that of Herodotus, and such seems to be the opinion of Thirlwall with regard to the latter part of it.

[150] καὶ οἵ τε ἀμφὶ τὸν . . . προσέκειτο πᾶσα. Translate, "and exactly as Amom-

ἐώθεσαν ποιέειν αἰεί· ἰδόντες δὲ τὸν χῶρον κεινὸν ἐν τῷ ἐτετάχατο οἱ Ἕλληνες τῇσι προτέρῃσι ἡμέρῃσι, ἤλαυνον τοὺς ἵππους αἰεὶ τὸ πρόσω· καὶ ἅμα καταλαβόντες προσεκέατό σφι.

Μαρδόνιος δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀποιχομένους ὑπὸ 58
νύκτα, εἶδέ τε τὸν χῶρον ἐρῆμον, καλέσας τὸν Ληρισσαῖον Θώρηκα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφεοὺς αὐτοῦ Εὐρύπυλον καὶ Θρασυδήϊον, ἔλεγε· "ὦ παῖδες Ἀλεύεω, ἔτι τί λέξετε, τάδε ὁρέοντες ἐρῆμα; ὑμεῖς γὰρ οἱ πλησιόχωροι ἐλέγετε Λακεδαιμονίους οὐ φεύγειν ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ ἄνδρας εἶναι τὰ πολέμια πρώτους· τοὺς πρότερόν τε μετισταμένους ἐκ τῆς τάξιος εἴδετε, νῦν τε ὑπὸ τὴν παροιχομένην νύκτα καὶ οἱ πάντες ὁρέομεν διαδράντας· διέδεξάν τε, ἐπεί σφεας ἔδεε πρὸς τοὺς ἀψευδέως ἀρίστους ἀνθρώπων μάχῃ διακριθῆναι, ὅτι οὐδένες ἄρα ἐόντες[151] ἐν οὐδαμοῖσι ἐοῦσι Ἕλλησι ἐναπεδεικνύατο[152]. καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν ἐοῦσι Περσέων ἀπείροισι πολλή ἔκ γε ἐμεῦ ἐγίνετο συγγνώμη, ἐπαινεόντων τούτους τοῖσί τι καὶ συνηδέατε[153]· Ἀρταβάζου δὲ θῶμα καὶ μᾶλλον ἐποιεύμην, τὸ καὶ καταρρωδῆσαι Λακεδαιμονίους, καταρρωδήσαντά τε ἀποδέξασθαι γνώμην δειλοτάτην, ὡς χρεὸν εἴη ἀναζεύξαντας τὸ στρατόπεδον[154] ἰέναι ἐς τὸ Θηβαίων ἄστυ πολιορκησομένους· τὴν ἔτι πρὸς ἐμεῦ βασιλεὺς πεύσεται. καὶ τούτων μὲν ἑτέρωθι ἔσται λόγος· νῦν δὲ ἐκείνοισι ταῦτα ποιεῦσι οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτέα ἐστί· ἀλλὰ διωκτέοι εἰσὶ ἐς ὃ καταλαμφθέντες δώσουσι ἡμῖν τῶν δὴ ἐποίησαν Πέρσας πάντων δίκας."

Speech of Mardonius to the Aleuadæ on discovering that the Lacedæmonians had moved.

Ταῦτα εἴπας ἦγε τοὺς Πέρσας δρόμῳ, δια- 59
βάντας τὸν Ἀσωπὸν, κατὰ στίβον τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὡς δὴ ἀποδιδρησκόντων· ἐπεῖχέ τε ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ Τεγεήτας μούνους· Ἀθηναίους γὰρ τραπομένους ἐς τὸ πεδίον ὑπὸ τῶν ὄχθων οὐ κατώρα· Πέρσας δὲ ὁρέοντες ὡρμημένους διώκειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν τελέων ἄρχοντες, αὐτίκα πάντες

He crosses the Asopus and presses onward after the Lacedæmonians and Tegeans.

pharetus's troops effected a junction with them, the whole cavalry of the barbarians charged." For the construction, see note 551 on vii. 218.

151 ὅτι οὐδένες ἄρα ἐόντες, "that being, after all, *nobodies*." Compare Sophocles, *Aj.* 1135: οὐ γὰρ ἠξίου τοὺς μηδένας.

152 ἐναπεδεικνύατο. This is the reading of all the MSS; but in i. 176 they all agree in the form ἀπεδείκνυντο.

153 συνηδέατε. The MSS vary between συνηδέαται and συνῃδέαται. But ε and αι are continually interchanged by the copyists, having been for several centuries pronounced alike in modern Greece. The word in the text is regularly derived from συνήδεα, a familiar variation of συνῄδειν, the præterperfect of σύνοιδα.

154 ἀναζεύξαντας τὸ στρατόπεδον. See note 118 on viii. 60.

ἦραν τὰ σημήϊα, καὶ ἐδίωκον ὡς ποδῶν ἕκαστος[155] εἶχον, οὔτε κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ κοσμηθέντες οὔτε τάξι· καὶ οὗτοι μὲν βοῇ τε καὶ ὁμίλῳ ἐπήϊσαν, ὡς ἀναρπασόμενοι[156] τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

60 Παυσανίης δὲ, ὡς προσέκειτο ἡ ἵππος, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἱππέα λέγει τάδε· "ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀγῶνος μεγίστου προκειμένου ἐλευθέρην εἶναι ἢ δεδουλωμένην τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προδεδόμεθα ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἡμεῖς τε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὑπὸ τὴν παροιχομένην νύκτα διαδράντων· νῦν ὦν δέδοκται τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ποιητέον ἡμῖν[157]· ἀμυνομένους γὰρ τῇ δυνάμεθα ἄριστα περιστέλλειν ἀλλήλους· εἰ μέν νυν ἐς ὑμέας ὥρμησε ἀρχὴν ἡ ἵππος, χρῆν δὲ ἡμέας τε καὶ τοὺς μετ᾽ ἡμέων τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐ προδιδόντας Τεγεήτας βοηθέειν ὑμῖν· νῦν δὲ, ἐς ἡμέας γὰρ ἅπασα κεχώρηκε, δίκαιοί ἐστε ὑμεῖς πρὸς τὴν πιεζομένην μάλιστα τῶν μοιρέων ἀμυνέοντες ἰέναι. εἰ δ᾽ ἄρα αὐτοὺς ὑμέας καταλελάβηκε ἀδύνατόν τι βοηθέειν, ὑμεῖς δ᾽ ἡμῖν τοὺς τοξότας ἀποπέμψαντες χάριν θέσθε. συνοίδαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν ὑπὸ τὸν παρεόντα τόνδε πόλεμον ἐοῦσι πολλὸν προθυμοτάτοισι[158], ὥστε καὶ ταῦτα ἐσακούειν."

Pausanias sends to the Athenians for support,

61 Ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς ἐπύθοντο, ὡρμέατο βοηθέειν, καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐπαμύνειν· καί σφι ἤδη στείχουσι ἐπιτίθενται οἱ ἀντιταχθέντες Ἑλλήνων· τῶν μετὰ βασιλέος γενομένων, ὥστε μηκέτι δύνασθαι βοηθῆσαι· τὸ γὰρ προσκείμενόν σφεας ἐλύπεε. οὕτω δὴ μουνωθέντες Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Τεγεῆται, ἐόντες σὺν ψιλοῖσι ἀριθμὸν οἱ μὲν πεντακισμύριοι,

but the attack of the Thebans and other Greeks in the Persian service prevents them from affording it.

155 ἕκαστος. A, B, F, have ἕκαστοι. But the singular is found in i. 169: ἄνδρες ἐγένοντο ἀγαθοὶ περὶ τῆς ἑωυτοῦ ἕκαστος μαχόμενοι.

156 ἀναρπασόμενοι. S and V have ἁρπασόμενοι. But all the rest have the compound, which, in viii. 28, is the unanimous reading of all the MSS.

157 τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ποιητέον. This is the reading of S. The other MSS, which Gaisford follows, have τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν τὸ ποιητέον, which not impossibly may be a union of two alternative readings,—τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν and τὸ ποιητέον.

158 συνοίδαμεν ὑμῖν . . . ἐοῦσι πολλὸν προθυμοτάτοισι. Compare v. 91: συγγινώσκομεν αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν οὐ ποιήσασι ὀρθῶς. This tribute of praise to the Athenians for their general conduct throughout the war, coming in the midst of an urgent despatch from a Lacedæmonian commander on the field of battle, bespeaks, like many other features in the narrative of the campaign, an Athenian authority. It is quite of a piece with the representation (§ 46, above) that from terror of the Persians Pausanias wished to change his position so as to get the Athenians opposed to them,—an arrangement which would have been tantamount to conceding them the post of honour in the whole allied army. The hostile feeling of the narrator (or rather his authority) shows itself by the remark (§ 54, above): ἐπιστάμενοι τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φρονήματα, ὡς ἄλλα φρονεόντων καὶ ἄλλα λεγόντων.

Τεγεῆται δὲ τρισχίλιοι[159]· οὗτοι γὰρ οὐδαμὰ ἀπεσχίζοντο ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων· ἐσφαγιάζοντο ὡς συμβαλέοντες Μαρδονίῳ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ τῇ παρεούσῃ. καὶ οὐ γάρ σφι ἐγίνετο τὰ σφάγια χρηστά, ἔπιπτόν τε αὐτῶν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ πολλοὶ καὶ πολλῷ πλεῦνες ἐτρωματίζοντο· φράξαντες γὰρ τὰ γέρρα[160] οἱ Πέρσαι, ἀπίεσαν τῶν τοξευμάτων πολλὰ ἀφειδέως οὕτω, ὥστε πιεζομένων τῶν Σπαρτιητέων καὶ τῶν σφαγίων οὐ γινομένων, ἀποβλέψαντα τὸν Παυσανίην πρὸς τὸ Ἡραῖον τὸ Πλαταιέων ἐπικαλέσασθαι τὴν θεὸν, χρηΐζοντα μηδαμῶς σφέας ψευσθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος[161].

62 *A general action begins.*

Ταῦτα δ' ἔτι τούτου ἐπικαλευμένου, προεξαναστάντες πρότεροι οἱ Τεγεῆται ἐχώρεον ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους· καὶ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι αὐτίκα μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν τὴν Παυσανίεω ἐγίνετο θυομένοισι τὰ σφάγια χρηστά. ὡς δὲ χρόνῳ κοτὲ ἐγένετο, ἐχώρεον καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀντίοι τὰ τόξα μετέντες. ἐγίνετο δὲ πρῶτον περὶ τὰ γέρρα μάχη· ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεπτώκεε,

159 *ἰόντες σὺν ψιλοῖσι . . . τρισχίλιοι.* These numbers would be thus made up:

Spartan hoplites	5,000	(§ 28, above)
Light troops attached to them	35,000	
Lacedæmonian hoplites (picked periœcians)	5,000	(§ 11, above)
Light troops attached to them	5,000	(§ 29, above)
Tegean hoplites	1,500	(§ 28, above)
Light troops attached to them	1,500	(§ 29, above)
	53,000	

160 *φράξαντες τὰ γέρρα.* This expression is well elucidated by the sculptures of Nimroud. The shield used in some cases is so large as to cover the whole body, and to be carried by a second warrior who attends the archer. Sometimes two archers are represented with one oblong shield between them. In sieges this is sometimes furnished with a square projection like a roof at right angles to the body of the shield, which served as a partial defence of the head against missiles discharged from the walls by the defenders. (LAYARD, *Nineveh*, ii. p. 345.) These last seem to be the *γέρρα* of the text. Fixed in the ground they formed a palisade (see below, § 99), from which the short spear carried by the archer projected in front. Behind this he discharged his *reed* arrows from a *long* bow (vii. 61).

161 *ψευσθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος.* The *hope* which Pausanias prayed might not be frustrated, apparently was that the whole army of the enemy might be brought to action at close quarters. The important thing for the allies was, to neutralize the power of the enemy's cavalry, especially the horse-archers. Now the retreat of the allied force had done much towards this. The Persian army imagining their opponents in full flight, followed them in a disorderly manner, *ὡς ποδῶν ἕκαστος εἶχον* (§ 59). When the whole had crossed the Asopus, the space between the Lacedæmonian line and the enemy must have been so narrowed, that such manœuvres on the part of the cavalry as had been so effective the day before, were out of the question. But instead of coming to the charge, as seemed certain, the Persians pitch their shields in the ground and begin a galling fire of arrows. It appeared, for the moment, as if the advantage gained was again to be lost, and the hope of a decisive engagement frustrated. The problem for Pausanias was to keep his troops perfectly in hand, without any show of a disposition to attack, until the onset of the enemy became so general, that they no longer would have it in their power to avoid a pitched battle.

ἤδη ἐγίνετο μάχη ἰσχυρὴ παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Δημήτριον, καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλὸν, ἐς ὃ ἀπίκοντο ἐς ὠθισμόν· τὰ γὰρ δόρατα ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι κατέκλων οἱ βάρβαροι. λήματι μέν νυν καὶ ῥώμῃ οὐκ ἕσσονες ἦσαν οἱ Πέρσαι· ἄνοπλοι δὲ ἐόντες, καὶ πρὸς ἀνεπιστήμονες ἦσαν, καὶ οὐκ ὅμοιοι τοῖσι ἐναντίοισι σοφίην· προεξαΐσσοντες δὲ κατ' ἕνα, καὶ δέκα, καὶ πλεῦνές τε καὶ ἐλάσσονες συστρεφόμενοι, ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας, καὶ διεφθείροντο.

63 Τῇ δὲ ἐτύγχανε αὐτὸς ἐὼν Μαρδόνιος, ἀπ' ἵππου τε μαχόμενος λευκοῦ, ἔχων τε περὶ ἑωυτὸν λογάδας Περσέων τοὺς ἀρίστους χιλίους, ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐπίεσαν. ὅσον μέν νυν χρόνον Μαρδόνιος περιῆν, οἱ δὲ ἀντεῖχον καὶ ἀμυνόμενοι κατέβαλλον πολλοὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων· ὡς δὲ Μαρδόνιος ἀπέθανε, καὶ τὸ περὶ ἐκεῖνον τεταγμένον, ἐὸν ἰσχυρότατον, ἔπεσε, οὕτω δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐτράποντο καὶ εἶξαν τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι· πλεῖστον γάρ σφεας ἐδηλέετο ἡ ἐσθής, ἐρῆμος ἐοῦσα ὅπλων· πρὸς γὰρ ὁπλίτας ἐόντες γυμνῆτες ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῦντο.

Mardonius is slain by one *Aeimnestus*, a person of note in Sparta,

64 Ἐνθαῦτα ἥ τε δίκη τοῦ φόνου τοῦ Λεωνίδεω, κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον[162], τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτῃσι ἐκ Μαρδονίου ἐπιτελέετο· καὶ νίκην ἀναιρέεται καλλίστην ἁπασέων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Παυσανίης ὁ Κλεομβρότου τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδεω· τῶν δὲ κατύπερθέ οἱ προγόνων τὰ οὐνόματα εἴρηται[163] ἐς Λεωνίδην· ὡυτοὶ γάρ σφι τυγχάνουσι ἐόντες. ἀποθνήσκει δὲ Μαρδόνιος ὑπὸ Ἀειμνήστου[164], ἀνδρὸς ἐν Σπάρτῃ λογίμου· ὃς χρόνῳ ὕστερον μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ ἔχων ἄνδρας τριηκοσίους συνέβαλε ἐν Στενυκλήρῳ[165], πολέμου ἐόντος, Μεσση-

162 *κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον.* This is the oracle from Delphi, spoken of above (viii. 114).

163 *τῶν δὲ κατύπερθε οἱ προγόνων τὰ οὐνόματα εἴρηται.* See above, vii. 204.

164 *ὑπὸ Ἀειμνήστου.* Plutarch (*De oraculorum defectu*, § 5) says that Mardonius was killed by a blow with a stone,—a fate which had been foretold by the vision which his emissary had in the cave of Trophonius. If killed by *a stone*, however, he would hardly have fallen by the hand of any Spartan of consideration. Plutarch (l. c.) makes the name of the individual who slew Mardonius to be *Arimnestus*, which is the reading of S, *d*, and Valla in this passage. See note 183 on § 72, below. It is observable that Thucydides (iii. 52) speaks of a *Platæan* named *Lacon*, a son of one Aeimnestus. This goes somewhat to confirm the reading in the text. We may conceive the words ἀνδρὸς ἐν Σπάρτῃ λογίμου not to mean a *Spartan* of consideration, but a foreigner (perhaps a Platæan citizen) of great influence in Sparta, like the Tegean Chileus (above, § 9). If he were in such a position, it is not unnatural that he should call his son *Lacon*, on the same principle that the son of Archias of Pitana was named *Samius* (iii. 55).

165 *ἐν Στενυκλήρῳ.* The engagement in which Aeimnestus was slain doubtless took place in the third Messenian war, of which see note 101 on § 35, above. From the way it is mentioned, one may conceive

νίοισι πᾶσι· καὶ αὐτός τε ἀπέθανε καὶ οἱ τριηκόσιοι. Ἐν δὲ 65
Πλαταιῇσι οἱ Πέρσαι ὡς ἐτράποντο ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἔφευγον οὐδένα κόσμον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἑωυτῶν, καὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ξύλινον[166] τὸ ἐποιήσαντο ἐν μοίρῃ τῇ Θηβαΐδι. θῶμα δέ μοι ὅκως, παρὰ τῆς Δήμητρος τὸ ἄλσος μαχομένων, οὐδὲ εἷς ἐφάνη τῶν Περσέων οὔτε ἐσελθὼν ἐς τὸ τέμενος οὔτε ἐναποθανών. περί τε τὸ ἱρὸν οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐν τῷ βεβήλῳ ἔπεσον· δοκέω δέ, εἴ τι περὶ τῶν θείων πρηγμάτων δοκέειν δεῖ, ἡ θεὸς αὐτή σφεας οὐκ ἐδέξατο, ἐμπρήσαντας τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι ἀνακτόριον[167]. αὕτη μέν νυν ἡ μάχη ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο.

and the Persian army totally routed.

Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος αὐτίκα τε οὐκ ἀρέσκετο κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς 66
λειπομένου Μαρδονίου ἀπὸ βασιλέος, καὶ τότε πολλὰ ἀπαγορεύων οὐδὲν ἤνυε, συμβάλλειν οὐκ ἐῶν· ἐποίησέ τε αὐτὸς τοιάδε, ὡς οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τοῖσι πρήγμασι τοῖσι ἐκ Μαρδονίου ποιευμένοισι· τῶν ἐστρατήγεε ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος· εἶχε δὲ δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγην, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τέσσερας μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων[168] περὶ ἑωυτόν· τούτους, ὅκως ἡ συμβολὴ ἐγίνετο, εὖ ἐξεπιστάμενος τὰ ἔμελλε ἀποβήσεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης, ἦγε κατηρτημένους[169], παραγγείλας κατὰ τὠυτὸ

Artabazus carries off his division of 40,000 men into Phocis.

Aeimnestus surprised by a sudden revolt, and cut off before relief could reach him. The name Stenyclerus of itself would indicate a naturally strong position; and no doubt Aeimnestus commanded the garrison which was intended to maintain military possession of the country. Stenyclerus was in the centre of Messenia, and was on that account, according to EPHORUS, selected by Cresphontes as the seat of his government (*ap. Strabon.* viii. c. 4, p. 183). Ithome was the acropolis of it, as the Acrocorinthus was of Corinth; and Demetrius Phalereus compared the hold upon the Peloponnese which was secured by the possession of these two points, to the mastery over a bull which is obtained by getting hold of his two horns. (STRABO, l. c.)

166 ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ξύλινον, "into the log-fort," the fortified camp, which Mardonius is spoken of as designing to construct, above, § 15.

167 ἀνακτόριον. Gaisford adopts this form, but the MSS are equally divided between it and ἀνάκτορον. It is originally, not the whole temple, but that part which constituted the *sanctuary*, where the sacred images were kept. A portion of the temple at *Celeæ* (five *stades* from Phlius), in which orgies exactly similar to those at Eleusis were celebrated every three years, was likewise called by the name ἀνάκτορον (PAUSANIAS, ii. 14. 4), and this is probably the reason why Herodotus uses the qualificatory words: τὸ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι. EURIPIDES applies the term ἀνάκτορον to the fane of Apollo at Delphi (*Andromache*, 1157), to that of Artemis in Tauri (*Iph. Taur.* 41 and 66), and to those of the local Trojan deities (*Troad.* 15).

168 ἐς τέσσαρας μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων. See note 251 on viii. 129.

169 ἦγε κατηρτημένους. The MSS vary between ἦγε and ἤϊε, and κατηρτισμένος and κατηρτημένος or κατηρτημένως. Gaisford prints ἤϊε κατηρτισμένος. I should translate, "led out in marching order." The great mass of the army had rushed to battle in a tumultuary manner, on seeing the Lacedæmonians retreating before the Persians. Artabazus seems to have kept his corps back until they had put on what answered to the *kit* of the modern soldier,—a very reasonable precaution even in the event of the allies being beaten, as he would then have been prepared to fol-

ἰέναι πάντας τῇ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐξηγέηται, ὅκως ἂν αὐτὸν ὁρέωσι σπουδῆς ἔχοντα[170]. ταῦτα παραγγείλας, ὡς ἐς μάχην ἦγε δῆθεν τὸν στρατόν[171]· προτερέων δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ[172], ὥρα καὶ δὴ φεύγοντας τοὺς Πέρσας· οὕτω δὲ οὐκέτι τὸν αὐτὸν κόσμον κατηγέετο, ἀλλὰ τὴν ταχίστην ἐτρόχαζε φεύγων, οὔτε ἐς τὸ ξύλινον οὔτε ἐς τὸ Θηβαίων τεῖχος, ἀλλ' ἐς Φωκέας, ἐθέλων ὡς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀπικέσθαι· καὶ δὴ οὗτοι μὲν ταύτῃ ἐτράποντο.

67 *Of all the Greeks in the Persian army the Bœotians alone made a stout resistance.*

Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τῶν μετὰ βασιλέος ἐθελοκακεόντων, Βοιωτοὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ἐμαχέσαντο χρόνον ἐπὶ συχνόν· οἱ γὰρ μηδίζοντες τῶν Θηβαίων[173], οὗτοι εἶχον προθυμίην οὐκ ὀλίγην, μαχεόμενοί τε καὶ οὐκ ἐθελοκακέοντες οὕτω ὥστε τριηκόσιοι αὐτῶν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ ἄριστοι ἐνθαῦτα ἔπεσον ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων· ὡς δὲ ἐτράποντο καὶ οὗτοι, ἔφευγον ἐς τὰς Θήβας οὐκ ᾗπερ οἱ Πέρσαι· καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ὁ πᾶς ὅμιλος οὔτε διαμαχεσάμενος οὐδενὶ οὔτε τι ἀποδεξάμενος ἔφευγον.

68 *The Persian force appears to have been the only part of the invading army to be relied on.*

Δηλοῖ[174] τε ἐμοὶ ὅτι πάντα τὰ πρήγματα τῶν βαρβάρων ἤρτηντο ἐκ Περσέων, εἰ καὶ τότε οὗτοι πρὶν ἢ καὶ συμμῖξαι τοῖσι πολεμίοισι ἔφευγον, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ὥρων. οὕτω τε πάντες ἔφευγον, πλὴν τῆς ἵππου τῆς τε ἄλλης καὶ τῆς Βοιωτίης· αὕτη δὲ τοσαῦτα προσωφέλεε τοὺς φεύγοντας, αἰεί τε πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἄγχιστα ἐοῦσα ἀπείργουσά τε τοὺς φιλίους

low them up. There is no reason to suppose that he foresaw the *defeat* of his own party, still less that he contributed to it by deserting them, although it is very natural that this would be the Hellenic interpretation of his proceeding. At the Persian court his reputation, which had been high before, was raised by his conduct at Platæa,—that is, doubtless, by the skill with which he brought off his division (viii. 126).

[170] *ὅκως ἂν αὐτὸν ὁρέωσι σπουδῆς ἔχοντα.* Compare *ὡς ποδῶν εἶχον τάχιστα* (vi. 116); *ὡς ποδῶν εἶχον* (above, § 59); *ὡς τάχεος εἶχε ἕκαστος* (viii. 107).

[171] *ὡς ἐς μάχην ἦγε δῆθεν τὸν στρατόν.* He led the troops out *professedly* (*δῆθεν*) to battle. Compare vi. 1: *ὡς οὐδὲν δῆθεν τῶν παρεόντων πρηγμάτων ἐπιστάμενος*, "as if, *forsooth*, he was entirely ignorant of the things going on."

[172] *προτερέων δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ.* See note 146 on § 57, above.

[173] *οἱ γὰρ μηδίζοντες τῶν Θηβαίων*, "for the Median party in Thebes." There appears to have been an oligarchy established in Thebes at this time, whose sentiments were opposed to those of the commonalty. PAUSANIAS (ix. 6. 1) speaks of it as if it had been an inroad upon the ancient constitution (*ἡ πάτριος πολιτεία*); but this can scarcely be true, if he means that there was ever a democracy in Thebes before the times of the Persian invasion. It is very likely, however, that the government had gradually become confined to a few powerful families, in the sequel of that policy of centralization which had been pursued for some time past, and which alienated Platæa and Hysiæ from the Bœotian confederacy.

[174] *δηλοῖ.* This word is not to be taken as an impersonal verb. Its real nominative is the sentence, *τὸ τότε τούτους φεύγειν*, gathered by inference from the words *εἰ καὶ τότε ἔφευγον.* Translate, "and if these even then took to flight (as they did) before crossing swords with the enemy, because they saw the Persians also doing so, it proves to me, &c."

φεύγοντας ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Οἱ μὲν δὴ νικῶντες εἵποντο, τοὺς Ξέρξεω διώκοντές τε καὶ φονεύοντες· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ γινομένῳ φόβῳ ἀγγέλλεται τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἕλλησι τοῖσι τεταγμένοισι περὶ τὸ Ἡραῖον καὶ ἀπογενομένοισι τῆς μάχης, ὅτι μάχη τε γέγονε καὶ νικῷεν οἱ μετὰ Παυσανίεω· οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα, οὐδένα κόσμον ταχθέντες, οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Κορινθίους ἐτράποντο διὰ τῆς ὑπωρέης καὶ τῶν κολωνῶν τὴν φέρουσαν· ἄνω, ἰθὺ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Δήμητρος· οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μεγαρέας τε καὶ Φλιασίους διὰ τοῦ πεδίου τὴν λειοτάτην τῶν ὁδῶν· ἐπεί τε δὲ ἀγχοῦ τῶν πολεμίων ἐγίνοντο οἱ Μεγαρέες καὶ Φλιάσιοι, ἀπιδόντες σφέας οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππόται ἐπειγομένους οὐδένα κόσμον, ἤλαυνον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἵππους· τῶν ἱππάρχεε Ἀσωπόδωρος ὁ Τιμάνδρου· ἐσπεσόντες δὲ κατεστόρεσαν αὐτῶν ἑξακοσίους, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς κατήραξαν διώκοντες ἐς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα. 69

Of the Greeks not actually engaged in the battle, the Megarians and Phliasians suffered much from the Theban cavalry.

70 Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἀπώλοντο· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὅμιλος, ὡς κατέφυγον ἐς τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος, ἔφθησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πύργους ἀναβάντες πρὶν ἢ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπικέσθαι· ἀναβάντες δὲ ἐφράξαντο ὡς ἠδυνέατο ἄριστα τὸ τεῖχος· προσελθόντων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, κατεστήκεέ σφι τειχομαχίη ἐρρωμενεστέρη· ἕως μὲν γὰρ ἀπῆσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, οἱ δ' ἠμύνοντο καὶ πολλῷ πλέον εἶχον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὥστε οὐκ ἐπισταμένων τειχομαχέειν[175]· ὡς δέ σφι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι προσῆλθον, οὕτω δὴ ἰσχυρὴ ἐγίνετο τειχομαχίη καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν. τέλος δὲ, ἀρετῇ τε καὶ λιπαρίῃ ἐπέβησαν Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ τείχεος, καὶ ἤριπον· τῇ δὴ ἐσεχέοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες. πρῶτοι δὲ ἐσῆλθον Τεγεῆται ἐς τὸ τεῖχος· καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν Μαρδονίου οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ διαρπάσαντες, τά τε ἄλλα ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν φάτνην τῶν ἵππων ἐοῦσαν χαλκέην πᾶσαν καὶ θέης ἀξίην. τὴν μέν νυν φάτνην ταύτην τὴν Μαρδονίου ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀλέης Ἀθηναίης[176] Τεγεῆται· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐς τὠυτὸ, ὅσαπερ ἔλαβον, ἐσήνεικαν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι οὐδὲν ἔτι στῖφος ἐποιήσαντο πεσόντος τοῦ τείχεος, οὔτε τις αὐτῶν ἀλκῆς ἐμέμνητο· ἀλύκταζόν[177] τε οἷα ἐν ὀλίγῳ χώρῳ πεφοβημένοι

The Persians retreat to the fortified camp and defend themselves successfully against the Lacedæmonians, until the arrival of the Athenians, who make a breach in the wall, by which first the Tegeans and afterwards all the rest pour in.

175 ὥστε οὐκ ἐπισταμένων τειχομαχέειν. Schweighäuser expresses surprise that they should not have set fire to the log-fort. It was doubtless constructed of perfectly green wood.

176 Ἀλέης Ἀθηναίης. Of the temple of this deity, see note 221 on i. 66.

177 ἀλύκταζον. The form ἀλαλύκτημαι (as from a present ἀλυκτέω) occurs in the *Iliad*, x. 94, where the Scholiast explains it by the word τεθορύβημαι.

τε καὶ πολλαὶ μυριάδες κατειλημέναι[178] ἀνθρώπων· παρῆν τε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι φονεύειν οὕτω, ὥστε τριήκοντα μυριάδων στρατοῦ, καταδεουσέων τεσσέρων τὰς ἔχων Ἀρτάβαζος ἔφευγε, τῶν λοιπῶν μηδὲ τρεῖς χιλιάδας περιγενέσθαι· Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀπέθανον οἱ πάντες ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ εἷς καὶ ἐννενήκοντα, Τεγεητέων δὲ ἑκκαίδεκα, Ἀθηναίων δὲ δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα[179].

71 Ἠρίστευσε δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων, πεζὸς μὲν ὁ Περσέων, ἵππος δὲ ἡ Σακέων· ἀνὴρ δὲ λέγεται Μαρδόνιος· Ἑλλήνων δέ, ἀγαθῶν γενομένων καὶ Τεγεητέων καὶ Ἀθηναίων, ὑπερεβάλοντο ἀρετῇ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· ἄλλῳ μὲν οὐδενὶ ἔχω ἀποσημήνασθαι, (ἅπαντες γὰρ οὗτοι τοὺς κατ' ἑωυτοὺς ἐνίκων,) ὅτι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρότερον προσενείχθησαν, καὶ τούτων ἐκράτησαν. καὶ ἄριστος ἐγένετο μακρῷ Ἀριστόδημος κατὰ γνώμας τὰς ἡμετέρας· ὃς ἐκ Θερμοπυλέων μοῦνος τῶν τριηκοσίων σωθείς, εἶχε ὄνειδος καὶ ἀτιμίην[180]· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἠρίστευσαν Ποσειδώνιός τε καὶ Φιλοκύων καὶ Ἀμομφάρετος ὁ Σπαρτιήτης· καίτοι, γενομένης λέσχης[181] ὃς

Among the enemy the Persian infantry, the Sacan cavalry, and, as an individual, Mardonius, most distinguished themselves. Among the allies the bravest man was Aristode-

[178] *κατειλημέναι.* This is a conjecture of Schweighäuser's, but undoubtedly a true one. Of the word εἰλέω (to crush) and its derivatives, see the excellent article in BUTTMANN's *Lexilogus*.

[179] *Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης . . . . πεντήκοντα.* By the way in which these numbers are mentioned, one may expect that the loss sustained by the corps of 5000 Lacedæmonian periœcians, and by the light-armed troops, which together amounted to 74,500 (above, § 29), is not taken into account. The public monuments gave 1360 as the whole number slain on the side of the allies. (PLUTARCH, *Aristid.* § 19.) Herodotus only mentions 759, including the 600 Megarians and Phliasians cut down by the Theban cavalry (above, § 69). According to CLIDEMUS, all the Athenians who fell belonged to the tribe *Æantis*. The numbers of the enemy slain are quite incredible. The whole number of the allied force under arms, including the light troops, was, according to Herodotus's highest statement, 108,200, and the number of the enemy destroyed more than 267,000, giving a proportion of between two and three for every man engaged on the side of the victors. It is a curious circumstance that this was almost exactly the case at Meanee, where nearly 6000 Beloochees were killed and disabled by Sir Charles Napier's little army of 2000. But the destructive power of the British artillery, which is described on the latter occasion as "blowing the enemy away by twenties at a time," prevents the two examples from being at all parallel. Besides, of the whole army of the confederates, only the Lacedæmonians, Tegeans, Athenians, and perhaps the Platæans, amounting on the whole to only 71,200, were actually engaged. And it must not be forgotten, that the 300,000 do not include either the Greeks in the Persian service (estimated by Herodotus at 50,000, § 32) or the cavalry. All the killed and disabled from these, therefore, would have to be added to the above number. But in fact the numbers of the Persian army, if not of both, obviously rest upon very loose *data*. See above, note 92 on § 32.

[180] *εἶχε ὄνειδος καὶ ἀτιμίην.* See above, vii. 231.

[181] *γενομένης λέσχης,* "on a discussion having taken place." The word λέσχη originally signified nothing more than a seat in a warm situation, defended either by its situation or by artificial means from the cold winds, and consequently offering an agreeable place of resort, especially to the aged, in a country where so much time was habitually past out of doors, and where fires, except for purposes of utility, were unknown. As civilization advanced,

γένοιτο αὐτῶν ἄριστος [182], ἔγνωσαν οἱ παραγενόμενοι Σπαρτιητέων, Ἀριστόδημον μὲν βουλόμενον φανερῶς ἀποθανεῖν ἐκ τῆς παρεούσης οἱ αἰτίης, λυσσῶντά τε καὶ ἐκλιπόντα τὴν τάξιν ἔργα ἀποδέξασθαι μεγάλα· Ποσειδώνιον δὲ, οὐ βουλόμενον ἀποθνήσκειν, ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ἀγαθόν· τοσούτῳ τοῦτον εἶναι ἀμείνω. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ φθόνῳ ἂν εἴποιεν· οὗτοι δὲ τοὺς κατέλεξα πάντες, πλὴν Ἀριστοδήμου, τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ τίμιοι ἐγένοντο· Ἀριστόδημος δὲ, βουλόμενος ἀποθανεῖν διὰ τὴν προειρημένην αἰτίην, οὐκ ἐτιμήθη.

mus in the author's opinion, but the Spartans placed three others before him.

Οὗτοι μὲν τῶν ἐν Πλαταιῇσι ὀνομαστότατοι ἐγένοντο· Καλλικράτης γὰρ ἔξω τῆς μάχης ἀπέθανε, ἐλθὼν ἀνὴρ κάλλιστος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν τότε Ἑλλήνων, οὐ μόνον αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμονίων 72

Anecdote of Callicrates, the handsome Spartan.

the sunny bench or sunny walk became in some cases a stately building, something like a cloister. Such was the *Lesche* at Delphi (PAUSANIAS, x. 25, seqq.), ornamented by the paintings of Polygnotus, which, it is calculated, occupied a length of ninety or one hundred feet of wall. But in general the Leschæ were smaller. An extant example of one probably is the semicircular high-backed stone seat in the old ἀγορὰ at Pompeii, calculated to hold ten or a dozen persons. From their object it is very natural that they should have been dedicated to Apollo (CLEANTHES *ap. Photium*, v. λέσχη), who indeed is said in some places to have been invoked under the appellation λέσχης ὅρειος. (*Id. ib.*)

From their facing the south for warmth, the epithet ἐπαλὴς (which is only a Doric form of ἐφήλιος) seems to have been currently applied to them. HESIOD (ἔργ. 491) couples χάλκειον θῶκον καὶ ἐπαλέα λέσχην together, as the places haunted by the idle in the winter for the warmth which might be obtained there. They are found in a similar combination in the *Odyssey*, xviii. 329:

οὐδ' ἐθέλεις εὕδειν χαλκήϊον ἐς δόμον ἐλθὼν
ἠέ που ἐς λέσχην.

It is plain that, resorted to in the first instance for the sake of the animal enjoyment of warmth, they would necessarily become places for gossip and chit-chat, especially as they were frequented most of all by the aged, whose chilled blood most required the comfort they furnished, and who, while sitting idle in them, would delight in talking over the wonders of their youth. Accordingly at Athens it is said that the number of *Leschæ* amounted to no less than 360. (SCHOL. *ad Hesiod.* ἔργ. 491.) They formed in fact the substitute for the coffee-houses and clubs of modern times. PERSIUS (v. 177) recommends a bountiful largess to the ambitious ædile, that the "aprici senes" may recollect his exhibition of the Floralia. In modern times the analogous motive held out would be, that the entertainment might become "club-talk" (περιλεσχήνευτον).

From this use of the λέσχαι the several secondary senses in which the word is employed derive themselves most readily. The *company* gathered within the seat would naturally, after the analogy of the English "club," be called by the same name as the *place* of their gathering. This is the use of the word in ÆSCHYLUS (*Eumenid.* 365), where the Erinyes describe their exclusion from the circle of the Olympian gods by the words: Ζεὺς γὰρ αἱματοσταγὲς ἀξιόμισον ἔθνος τόδε λέσχας ἃς ἀπηξιώσατο. The several senses of "a meeting for the purpose of conversation,"—"the conversation held in such a meeting,"—and "*the kind of* conversation held in such meetings" (*i. e.* gossip),—are familiar to every one, and require no particular illustration.

[182] ὃς γένοιτο αὐτῶν ἄριστος. The more correct expression would have been, τίς γένοιτο αὐτῶν ἄριστος. But the text is defended by vi. 124: ὃς μέντοι ἦν ὁ ἀναδέξας οὐκ ἔχω προσωτέρω εἰπεῖν, and vi. 37: πλανωμένων δὲ τῶν Λαμψακηνῶν ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι, τὸ θέλει τὸ ἔπος εἶναι.

ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων· ὃς, ἐπειδὴ ἐσφαγιάζετο Παυσανίης, κατήμενος ἐν τῇ τάξι ἐτρωματίσθη τοξεύματι τὰ πλευρά· καὶ δὴ οἱ μὲν ἐμάχοντο, ὁ δ᾽ ἐξενηνεγμένος ἐδυσθανάτεέ τε καὶ ἔλεγε πρὸς Ἀρίμνηστον[183], ἄνδρα Πλαταιέα, οὐ μέλειν οἱ ὅτι πρὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀποθνήσκει, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι οὐκ ἐχρήσατο τῇ χερὶ, καὶ ὅτι οὐδέν ἐστί οἱ ἀποδεδεγμένον ἔργον ἑωυτοῦ ἄξιον, προθυμευμένου ἀποδέξασθαι.

73 Ἀθηναίων δὲ λέγεται εὐδοκιμῆσαι Σωφάνης ὁ Εὐτυχίδεω, ἐκ δήμου Δεκελεῆθεν, Δεκελέων δὲ τῶν ποτὲ ἐργασαμένων ἔργον χρήσιμον ἐς τὸν πάντα χρόνον, ὡς αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι· ὡς γὰρ δὴ τὸ πάλαι κατὰ Ἑλένης κομιδὴν Τυνδαρίδαι ἐσέβαλον ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν σὺν στρατοῦ πλήθεϊ, καὶ ἀνίστασαν τοὺς δήμους, οὐκ εἰδότες ἵνα ὑπεξέκειτο ἡ Ἑλένη, τότε λέγουσι τοὺς Δεκελέας, οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν Δέκελον ἀχθόμενόν τε τῇ Θησέος ὕβρι, καὶ δειμαίνοντα περὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἀθηναίων χώρῃ, ἐξηγησάμενόν σφι τὸ πᾶν πρῆγμα, κατηγήσασθαι ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀφίδνας· τὰς δὴ Τιτακὸς, ἐὼν αὐτόχθων, καταπροδιδοῖ Τυνδαρίδῃσι· τοῖσι δὲ Δεκελεῦσι ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου ἀτελείη τε καὶ προεδρίη διατελέει ἐς τόδε αἰεὶ ἔτι ἐοῦσα, οὕτω ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ὕστερον πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι τούτων γενόμενον Ἀθηναίοισί τε καὶ Πελοποννησίοισι, σινεομένων τὴν ἄλλην Ἀττικὴν Λακεδαιμονίων, Δεκελέης

74 ἀποσχέσθαι[184]. Τούτου τοῦ δήμου ἐὼν ὁ Σωφάνης καὶ ἀριστεύσας τότε Ἀθηναίων, διξοὺς λόγους λεγομένους ἔχει· τὸν μέν, ὡς

Among the Athenians the most distinguished was Sophanes of Decelea. Mythical anecdote of the Deceleans.

183 Ἀρίμνηστον. So Gaisford prints on the authority of the manuscripts M, P, K, F. Others, including S and V, have Ἀείμνηστον. In § 64, above, where the majority have Ἀειμνήστου, S, *d*, and PLUTARCH have Ἀριμνήστου. PAUSANIAS was told that *Arimnestus* was the leader of the Platæans, both at the battle of Platæa and that of Marathon. His statue stood at the feet of an image of *Athene Areia*, in the temple which was built with the spoils which fell to the share of the Platæans at the battle of Marathon (ix. 4. 2). When the Platæans made their defence against the charge of the Thebans after the capture of their town, one Lacon, the son of an *Aeimnestus*, was their spokesman. This Lacon was the Lacedæmonian consul (πρόξενος) at Platæa. (THUCYDIDES, iii. 52.) All the MSS of Thucydides have Ἀειμνήστου.

184 Δεκελέης ἀποσχέσθαι. THUCYDIDES, in describing the invasion under king Archidamus, says that the Spartans, after failing in their hope to bring the Athenians to a general action by devastating the region of Acharnæ, proceeded to lay waste *some other* demes between the ranges of Parne and Brilessus (ii. 23). But although Decelea lay in this direction, the phrase of Thucydides, so far from contradicting Herodotus (as some have supposed), rather indirectly confirms it. And the community of religious traditions, indicated by the story about Helen, suggests that it was not merely the position of Decelea which pointed it out as a favourable site for an ἐπιτειχισμὸς against Athens. Perhaps the population of it was cognate with the Achæan element at Lacedæmon.

ἐκ τοῦ ζωστῆρος τοῦ θώρηκος ἐφόρεε χαλκέῃ ἁλύσι δεδεμένην ἄγκυραν σιδηρέην· τὴν, ὅκως πελάσειε ἀπικνεόμενος τοῖσι πολεμίοισι, βαλλέσκετο, ἵνα δή μιν οἱ πολέμιοι ἐκπίπτοντες ἐκ τῆς τάξιος μετακινῆσαι μὴ δυναίατο· γινομένης δὲ φυγῆς τῶν ἐναντίων, δέδοκτο τὴν ἄγκυραν ἀναλαβόντα οὕτω διώκειν· οὗτος μὲν οὕτω λέγεται· ὁ δ' ἕτερος τῶν λόγων, τῷ πρότερον λεχθέντι ἀμφισβατέων[185] λέγεται, ὡς ἐπ' ἀσπίδος αἰεὶ περιθεούσης καὶ οὐδαμὰ ἀτρεμιζούσης ἐφόρεε ἐπίσημον ἄγκυραν, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ θώρηκος δεδεμένην σιδηρέην. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερον Σωφάνεϊ λαμ- 75
πρὸν ἔργον ἐξεργασμένον, ὅτι περικατημένων Ἀθηναίων Αἴγιναν, Εὐρυβάτην τὸν Ἀργεῖον[186] ἄνδρα πεντάεθλον ἐκ προκλήσιος ἐφόνευσε. αὐτὸν δὲ Σωφάνεα χρόνῳ ὕστερον τούτων κατέλαβε, ἄνδρα γενόμενον ἀγαθὸν, Ἀθηναίων στρατηγέοντα ἅμα Λεάγρῳ τῷ Γλαύκωνος, ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Ἠδωνῶν[187] ἐν Δάτῳ περὶ τῶν μετάλλων τῶν χρυσέων μαχεόμενον.

Ὡς δὲ τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι κατέστρωντο[188] οἱ βάρ- 76
βαροι, ἐνθαῦτά σφι ἐπῆλθε γυνὴ αὐτόμολος· ἣ ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθε ἀπολωλότας τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ νικῶντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἐοῦσα παλλακὴ Φαρανδάτεος[189] τοῦ Τεάσπιος, ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω, κοσμη-

Anecdote of a *Coan* lady, daughter of Hegetorides, who had been forced

[185] ἀμφισβατέων. This is the reading of Gaisford, following M, P, K, and F; and it is defended by the analogy of ἀμφισβασίῃ in viii. 81, which Gaisford has restored on the authority of the three last-mentioned manuscripts, and which can hardly be other than the true reading. S, V, *d*, have ἀμφισβητέων. See note 41 on iv. 14.

[186] Εὐρυβάτην τὸν Ἀργεῖον. The incident of the death of this individual is related above (vi. 92), where see note 209. In this passage Valla's version and the manuscripts S and V have Εὐρυβιάδην instead of Εὐρυβάτην, but in vi. 92, they are unanimous in favour of the reading in the text. On the assumption, therefore, that the two stories of the death of Sophanes's opponent proceed from the same source, the reading Εὐρυβάτην is certainly the preferable one. This assumption, however, is not to be regarded as an altogether unquestionable one. See note 387 on iv. 150.

[187] ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Ἠδωνῶν. The settlers in the expedition referred to fell in a sudden attack upon them by the Edonians, after they had succeeded in getting all the land as far as Drabescus into their hands. Their confusion was said to have been augmented by a thunderstorm, which scattered bolts among them. (PAUSANIAS, i. 29. 5.) This is said to have happened at the time when Lysicrates was archon at Athens, *i. e.* in the year 453-2 B.C. It is not, however, mentioned by Thucydides in his short summary of the events between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars; perhaps because the expedition was of the nature of a bucaniering attempt, and produced no important political results. *A Glaucon* son of *a Leagrus* commanded the small Athenian squadron which interfered in the naval engagement between the Corinthians and Corcyræans just before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war. (THUCYDIDES, i. 51.)

[188] κατέστρωντο. See above, note 110 on viii. 53.

[189] Φαρανδάτεος. So Gaisford prints from the majority of MSS. But S and V have Φαρναδάτεος. The individual, however, is doubtless the same as the commander of the Mares and Colchians (vii.

into the harem of Pharandates.

σαμένη χρυσῷ πολλῷ καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ αἱ ἀμφίπολοι, καὶ ἐσθῆτι τῇ καλλίστῃ τῶν παρεουσέων, καταβᾶσα ἐκ τῆς ἁρμαμάξης, ἐχώρεε ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔτι ἐν τῇσι φονῇσι ἐόντας· ὁρῶσα δὲ πάντα ἐκεῖνα διέποντα Παυσανίην, πρότερόν τε τὸ οὔνομα ἐξεπισταμένη καὶ τὴν πάτρην, ὥστε πολλάκις ἀκούσασα, ἔγνω τε τὸν Παυσανίην καὶ λαβομένη τῶν γουνάτων ἔλεγε τάδε· "ὦ βασιλεῦ Σπάρτης [190], ῥῦσαί με τὴν ἱκέτιν αἰχμαλώτου δουλοσύνης· σὺ γὰρ καὶ ἐς τόδε ὤνησας, τούσδε ἀπολέσας τοὺς οὔτε δαιμόνων οὔτε θεῶν ὄπιν [191] ἔχοντας. εἰμὶ δὲ γένος μὲν Κῴη, θυγάτηρ δὲ Ἡγητορίδεω τοῦ Ἀνταγόρεω· βίῃ δέ με λαβὼν ἐν Κῷ εἶχε ὁ Πέρσης." ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται τοῖσδε· "γύναι, θάρσει, καὶ ὡς ἱκέτις, καὶ εἰ δὴ πρὸς τούτῳ τυγχάνεις ἀληθέα λέγουσα, καὶ εἶς θυγάτηρ Ἡγητορίδεω τοῦ Κῴου, ὃς ἐμοὶ ξεῖνος μάλιστα τυγχάνει ἐὼν τῶν περὶ κείνους τοὺς χώρους οἰκημένων." ταῦτα εἴπας, τότε μὲν ἐπέτρεψε τῶν ἐφόρων τοῖσι παρεοῦσι, ὕστερον δὲ ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Αἴγιναν, ἐς τὴν αὐτὴ ἤθελε ἀπικέσθαι.

77 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἄπιξιν τῆς γυναικὸς, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπίκοντο Μαντινέες ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοισι [192]. μαθόντες δὲ ὅτι ὕστεροι ἥκουσι τῆς συμβολῆς, συμφορὴν ἐποιεῦντο μεγάλην, ἄξιοί τε ἔφασαν εἶναι σφέας ζημιῶσαι· πυνθανόμενοι δὲ τοὺς Μήδους τοὺς μετὰ Ἀρταβάζου φεύγοντας, τούτους ἐδίωκον μέχρι Θεσσαλίης· (Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐκ ἔων φεύγοντας διώκειν [193].) οἱ δὲ ἀναχωρήσαντες ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῶν, τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς στρατιῆς ἐδίωξαν ἐκ τῆς γῆς. μετὰ δὲ Μαντινέας ἧκον Ἠλεῖοι· καὶ ὡσαύτως οἱ Ἠλεῖοι τοῖσι Μαντινεῦσι συμφορὴν ποιησάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο· ἀπελθόντες δὲ καὶ οὗτοι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐδίωξαν. τὰ κατὰ Μαντινέας μὲν καὶ Ἠλείους τοσαῦτα.

The *Mantineans* and *Eleans* arrive after the termination of the battle.

79), who in all the MSS is called either Φαρανδάτης or Φερενδάτης.

190 ὦ βασιλεῦ Σπάρτης. Pausanias was not really *king* of Sparta, but guardian of the king Plistarchus, the young son of Leonidas (§ 10, above). But there seems no reason to suppose that the Coan lady forgot this fact in her joy at her deliverance. Pausanias was to all practical purposes during the campaign king of the Spartans, and would naturally be addressed by the title of highest honour, where the object was to conciliate his favour.

191 ὄπιν. See note 303 on viii. 143.

192 ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοισι, "after all was done." So above: ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοισι ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον (viii. 94).

193 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐκ ἔων φεύγοντας διώκειν. These words are not (I apprehend) to be translated as if the Lacedæmonians hindered the Mantineans from pursuing the retreating enemy, but merely to be considered in the light of a statement of their own habitual practice. "The Lacedæmonians forbade the pursuing of a retreating force."

Ἐν δὲ Πλαταιῇσι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Αἰγινητέων ἦν Λάμπων ὁ Πύθεω[194], Αἰγινητέων τὰ πρῶτα[195], ὃς ἀνοσιώτατον ἔχων λόγον ἵκετο[196] πρὸς Παυσανίην. ἀπικόμενος δὲ, σπουδῇ ἔλεγε τάδε· "ὦ παῖ Κλεομβρότου, ἔργον ἔργασταί τοι ὑπερφυὲς μέγαθός τε καὶ κάλλος· καὶ τοὶ θεὸς παρέδωκε, ῥυσάμενον τὴν Ἑλλάδα κλέος καταθέσθαι μέγιστον Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. σὺ δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοισι ποίησον, ὅκως λόγος τέ σε ἔχῃ ἔτι μέζων, καί τις ὕστερον φυλάσσηται τῶν βαρβάρων μὴ ὑπάρχειν ἔργα ἀτάσθαλα ποιέων ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. Λεωνίδεω γὰρ ἀποθανόντος ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι, Μαρδόνιός τε καὶ Ξέρξης ἀποταμόντες τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνεσταύρωσαν· τῷ σὺ τὴν ὁμοίην ἀποδιδοὺς, ἔπαινον ἕξεις πρῶτα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων Σπαρτιητέων, αὖτις δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων· Μαρδόνιον γὰρ ἀνασκολοπίσας, τετιμώρησαι ἐς πάτρων τὸν σὸν Λεωνίδην." 78

Anecdote of the brutality of Lampon the Æginetan,

Ὁ μὲν δοκέων χαρίζεσθαι ἔλεγε τάδε· ὁ δ' ἀνταμείβετο τοῖσδε· "ὦ ξεῖνε Αἰγινῆτα, τὸ μὲν εὐνοεῖν τε καὶ προορᾶν ἄγαμαι σεῦ· γνώμης μέντοι ἡμάρτηκας χρηστῆς· ἐξάρας γάρ με ὑψοῦ καὶ τὴν πάτρην καὶ τὸ ἔργον, ἐς τὸ μηδὲν κατέβαλες παραινέων νεκρῷ λυμαίνεσθαι καὶ, ἢν ταῦτα ποιέω, φὰς ἄμεινόν με ἀκούσεσθαι· τὰ πρέπει μᾶλλον βαρβάροισι ποιέειν, ἤπερ Ἕλλησι· καὶ ἐκείνοισι δὲ ἐπιφθονέομεν. ἐγὼ δ' ὦν τούτου εἵνεκα μήτε Αἰγινήτῃσι ἅδοιμι, μήτε τοῖσι ταῦτα ἀρέσκεται· ἀποχρᾷ δ' ἐμοὶ, Σπαρτιήτῃσι ἀρεσκόμενον ὅσια μὲν ποιέειν, ὅσια δὲ καὶ λέγειν· Λεωνίδῃ δὲ, τῷ με κελεύεις τιμωρῆσαι, φημὶ μεγάλως τετιμωρῆσθαι· ψυχῇσί τε τῇσι τῶνδε ἀναριθμήτοισι τετίμηται αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι τελευτήσαντες. σὺ μέντοι ἔτι ἔχων λόγον τοιόνδε μήτε προσέλθῃς ἔμοιγε, μήτε συμβουλεύσῃς· χάριν ἴσθι τε ἐὼν ἀπαθής." ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἀπαλλάσσετο. 79

and the magnanimity of Pausanias.

194 Λάμπων ὁ Πύθεω. It has been thought probable that the Pytheas, whose son makes the disreputable proposal in the text, is identical with the Pytheas whose gallantry excited the admiration of his captors (vii. 181), and who was retaken by an Æginetan galley at Salamis (viii. 92). But if the father had been treated in so honourable a manner, it is unlikely that the son, however intense his hatred of Persia, should indulge in an unworthy insult of the body of Mardonius. And it is also unlikely, had he done so, that the writer would have omitted to compare his conduct towards that general with the conduct of the Persians towards his own father.

195 τὰ πρῶτα. This is the reading of the best MSS, and is printed by Gaisford. The old editions have τὰ πρῶτα φέρων.

196 ἵκετο. This is the reading of S and V. Gaisford, with the majority of the MSS, adopts ἴετο.

80 Πανσανίης δὲ κήρυγμα ποιησάμενος μήδενα ἅπτεσθαι τῆς ληΐης, συγκομίζειν ἐκέλευε τοὺς εἵλωτας τὰ χρήματα· οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον σκιδνάμενοι εὕρισκον σκηνὰς κατεσκευασμένας χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους καὶ ἐπαργύρους, κρητῆράς τε χρυσέους, καὶ φιάλας τε καὶ ἄλλα ἐκπώματα· σάκκους τε ἐπ' ἁμαξέων εὕρισκον, ἐν τοῖσι λέβητες ἐφαίνοντο ἐνεόντες χρύσεοί τε καὶ ἀργύρεοι· ἀπό τε τῶν κειμένων νεκρῶν ἐσκύλευον ψέλιά τε καὶ στρεπτοὺς[197], καὶ τοὺς ἀκινάκεας, ἐόντας χρυσέους· ἐπεὶ ἐσθῆτός γε ποικίλης λόγος ἐγίνετο οὐδὲ εἷς. ἐνθαῦτα πολλὰ μὲν κλέπτοντες ἐπώλεον πρὸς τοὺς Αἰγινήτας οἱ εἵλωτες, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπεδείκνυσαν, ὅσα αὐτέων οὐκ οἷά τε ἦν κρύψαι· ὥστε Αἰγινήτῃσι οἱ μεγάλοι πλοῦτοι ἀρχὴν ἐνθεῦτεν ἐγένοντο, οἳ τὸν χρυσὸν, ἅτε ἐόντα χαλκὸν δῆθεν[198], παρὰ τῶν εἱλωτέων ὠνέοντο.

81 Συμφορήσαντες δὲ τὰ χρήματα, καὶ δεκάτην ἐξελόντες τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεῷ, ἀπ' ἧς ὁ τρίπους ὁ χρύσεος ἀνετέθη, ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ τρικαρήνου ὄφιος τοῦ χαλκέου[199] ἐπεστεὼς ἄγχιστα τοῦ βωμοῦ· καὶ τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ θεῷ ἐξελόντες, ἀπ' ἧς δεκάπηχυν χάλκεον Δία[200] ἀνέθηκαν· καὶ τῷ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ θεῷ, ἀπ' ἧς ἑπτάπηχυς χάλκεος Ποσειδέων ἐξεγένετο· ταῦτα ἐξελόντες, τὰ λοιπὰ διαιρέοντο, καὶ ἔλαβον ἕκαστοι τῶν ἄξιοι ἦσαν, καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς τῶν Περσέων, καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν, καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον, καὶ ἄλλα χρήματά τε καὶ ὑποζύγια. ὅσα μέν νυν ἐξαίρετα τοῖσι ἀριστεύσασι αὐτέων ἐν Πλαταιῇσι ἐδόθη, οὐ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν· δοκέω δ' ἔγωγε καὶ

197 *ψέλιά τε καὶ στρεπτούς.* See above, note 226 on viii. 113. The *acinaces* probably was gold hilted.

198 *ἅτε ἐόντα χαλκὸν δῆθεν.* Larcher quotes as a parallel the case of the Swiss, who, after the battle of Granson, took the silver plate of the Duke of Burgundy, which fell into their hands, for tin, and sold his largest diamond, imagining it to be glass, for a florin.

199 *ὄφιος τοῦ χαλκέου.* PAUSANIAS (x. 13. 9) says the serpent remained, but that all of the offering which was of gold had gone in the sacred war. He mentions it next in order to the second group described in note 57 on viii. 27, so that it seems probable that that group also stood near the altar, and is different from the one mentioned by Herodotus as *οἱ μεγάλοι ἀνδριάντες οἱ περὶ τὸν τρίποδα συνεστεῶτες.* The brazen serpent was removed by Constantine, together with many other of the relics and offerings at Delphi, and it stands to this day in the Hippodrome at Constantinople. It is described as being about fourteen feet high, and as not being really a three-headed serpent, but three serpents, whose bodies interlaced together form the shaft of a very rapidly diminishing column. Judging however from the figure of it (which is given, from Wheler and Spon's drawing, in the *Dictionary of Greek and Latin Antiquities*), it presented to *the eye of a spectator* the appearance of a *single* three-headed serpent coiled closely round a conical pillar; and it seems not impossible that such was the original idea of the artist, the cone being intended for the *ὀμφαλὸς γῆς.* See note 367 on i. 105.

200 *δεκάπηχυν χάλκεον Δία.* See above, note 78 on § 28.

τούτοισι δοθῆναι· Παυσανίῃ δὲ πάντα δέκα[201] ἐξαιρέθη τε καὶ ἐδόθη, γυναῖκες, ἵπποι, τάλαντα, κάμηλοι, ὡς δὲ αὔτως καὶ τὰ ἄλλα χρήματα. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε γενέσθαι· ὡς Ξέρξης φεύ- 82
γων ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Μαρδονίῳ τὴν κατασκευὴν[202] καταλίποι τὴν ἑωυτοῦ· Παυσανίην ὦν, ὁρέοντα τὴν Μαρδονίου κατασκευὴν χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ παραπετάσμασι ποικίλοισι κατασκευασμένην, κελεῦσαι τούς τε ἀρτοκόπους[203] καὶ τοὺς ὀψοποιοὺς κατὰ ταὐτὰ καθὼς Μαρδονίῳ δεῖπνον παρασκευάζειν· ὡς δὲ κελευόμενοι οὗτοι ἐποίευν ταῦτα, ἐνθαῦτα τὸν Παυσανίην, ἰδόντα κλίνας τε χρυσέας καὶ ἀργυρέας εὖ ἐστρωμένας, καὶ τραπέζας τε χρυσέας καὶ ἀργυρέας[204], καὶ παρασκευὴν μεγαλοπρεπέα τοῦ δείπνου, ἐκπλαγέντα τὰ προκείμενα ἀγαθὰ, κελεῦσαι ἐπὶ γέλωτι τοὺς ἑωυτοῦ διηκόνους[205] παρασκευάσαι Λακωνικὸν δεῖπνον· ὡς δὲ τῆς θοίνης ποιηθείσης ἦν πολλὸν τὸ μέσον[206], τὸν Παυσανίην γελάσαντα μεταπέμψασθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς στρατηγούς· συνελθόντων δὲ τουτέων, εἰπεῖν τὸν Παυσανίην, δεικνύντα ἐς ἑκατέρην τοῦ δείπνου τὴν παρασκευήν[207]· "ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, τῶνδε εἵνεκα ἐγὼ ὑμέας συνήγαγον, βουλόμενος ὑμῖν τοῦδε τοῦ Μήδων ἡγεμόνος τὴν ἀφροσύνην δεῖξαι· ὃς τοιήνδε δίαιταν ἔχων, ἦλθε ἐς ἡμέας οὕτω ὀϊζυρὴν[208] ἔχοντας ἀπαιρησόμενος·" ταῦτα μὲν Παυσανίην λέγεται εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Ὑστέρῳ 83
μέντοι χρόνῳ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν Πλαταιέων εὗρον συχνοὶ θήκας χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χρημάτων. ἐφάνη δὲ καὶ τόδε ὕστερον ἔτι τούτων, τῶν νεκρῶν περιψιλωθέντων τὰς σάρκας· συνεφόρεον γὰρ τὰ ὀστέα οἱ Πλαταιέες ἐς ἕνα χῶρον· εὑρέθη κεφαλὴ οὐκ ἔχουσα ῥαφὴν οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλὰ ἐξ ἑνὸς ἐοῦσα

Anecdote illustrating the contrast between Persian luxury and Spartan homeliness.

Much buried gold and silver was afterwards dug up by some of the Platæans. Also some re-

[201] πάντα δέκα, "ten of every article." See note 213 on iii. 74.

[202] κατασκευήν. ATHENÆUS (iv. p. 138) quotes this passage with the variation of παρασκευήν.

[203] ἀρτοκόπους. ATHENÆUS has ἀρτοποιούς. It is certainly not impossible that in the uncial MSS the two words should be interchanged; but see note 163 on i. 51.

[204] εὖ ἐστρωμένας . . . ἀργυρέας. The manuscript S leaves out this clause, obviously owing to an ocular error on the part of the transcriber. ATHENÆUS leaves out the word εὖ.

[205] τοὺς ἑωυτοῦ διηκόνους. ATHENÆUS has the dative: τοῖς ἑωυτοῦ διακόνοις.

[206] ὡς δὲ τῆς θοίνης ποιηθείσης ἦν πολλὸν τὸ μέσον. Compare i. 125: οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν πολλὸν εἶναι αὐτῶν τὸ μέσον.

[207] δεικνύντα ἐς ἑκατέρην τοῦ δείπνου τὴν παρασκευήν. S and V omit ἐς, and F, *a*, *f* the article before παρασκευήν. ATHENÆUS cites the passage: ἐπιδείξας ἑκατέρου τῶν δείπνων τὴν παρασκευήν.

[208] ἐς ἡμέας οὕτω ὀϊζυρήν. ATHENÆUS has ὡς ἡμᾶς οὕτω ταλαίπωρον.

markable bones. ὀστέου· ἐφάνη δὲ καὶ γνάθος καὶ τὸ ἄνω τῆς γνάθου, ἔχουσα ὀδόντας μουνοφυέας ἐξ ἑνὸς ὀστέου πάντας[209], τούς τε ὀδόντας καὶ τοὺς γομφίους· καὶ πενταπήχεος ἀνδρὸς ὀστέα ἐφάνη.

84 The body of Mardonius was secretly buried. Ἐπεί τε δὲ Μαρδονίου δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ὁ νεκρὸς ἠφάνιστο· ὑπ' ὅτευ μὲν ἀνθρώπων, τὸ ἀτρεκὲς οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν· πολλοὺς δέ τινας ἤδη καὶ παντοδαποὺς ἤκουσα θάψαι Μαρδόνιον, καὶ δῶρα μεγάλα οἶδα λαβόντας πολλοὺς παρὰ Ἀρτόντεω[210] τοῦ Μαρδονίου παιδὸς διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον. ὅστις μέντοι ἦν αὐτῶν ὁ ὑπελόμενός τε καὶ θάψας τὸν νεκρὸν τὸν Μαρδονίου, οὐ δύναμαι ἀτρεκέως πυθέσθαι· ἔχει δέ τινα φάτιν καὶ Διονυσοφάνης[211], ἀνὴρ Ἐφέσιος, θάψαι Μαρδόνιον. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἐτάφη.

85 Tombs of the several Hellenic states on the field of Platæa. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὡς ἐν Πλαταιῇσι τὴν ληίην διείλοντο, ἔθαπτον τοὺς ἑωυτῶν χωρὶς ἕκαστοι[212]. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν τριξὰς ἐποιήσαντο θήκας· ἔνθα μὲν τοὺς ἰρένας[213] ἔθαψαν, τῶν καὶ Ποσειδώνιος καὶ Ἀμομφάρετος ἦσαν καὶ Φιλοκύων τε καὶ Καλλικράτης. ἐν μὲν δὴ ἑνὶ τῶν τάφων ἦσαν οἱ ἰρένες· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ οἱ ἄλλοι Σπαρτιῆται· ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ, οἱ εἵλωτες. οὗτοι μὲν οὕτω ἔθαπτον. Τεγεῆται δὲ χωρὶς πάντας ἁλέας· καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς ἑωυτῶν ὁμοῦ· καὶ Μεγαρέες τε καὶ Φλιάσιοι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου διαφθαρέντας[214].

209 *ἔχουσα ὀδόντας μουνοφυέας ἐξ ἑνὸς ὀστέου πάντας.* Larcher mentions several instances recorded by the ancients of this peculiarity,—among others, Pyrrhus king of Epirus, and a son of Prusias, king of Bithynia.

210 *Ἀρτόντεω.* The MSS are unanimous in this form here. But see note 353 on iii. 128, and note 219 on vii. 67.

211 *ἔχει δέ τινα φάτιν καὶ Διονυσοφάνης.* See note 10 on vii. 3.

212 *ἔθαπτον τοὺς ἑωυτῶν χωρὶς ἕκαστοι.* Pausanias, in describing the barrows of the dead, says that there are separate tombs for those of the Athenians and those of the Lacedæmonians who fell, but that the rest of the Greeks were buried together, and that an altar of *Zeus Eleutherius* stands not far from this last mound. It seems not impossible that the mounds he saw were the *three* Lacedæmonian barrows, and that he mistook that of the helots (which would naturally be much the largest) for the common sepulchre of all the Greeks. Epitaphs, said to be by Simonides, were upon the other two (ix. 1. 5).

213 *τοὺς ἰρένας.* This is a conjecture of Valcknaer's, which is adopted by Schaefer and Gaisford. The MSS have *ἱρέας*. *Iren* or *Eiren* was the phrase applied at Sparta to denote a youth in the first two years after the termination of boyhood. (Plutarch, *Lycurg.* § 17.) The eldest boys were called *μελλείρενες*. If, however, Amompharetus was only of the age of nineteen or twenty, it seems strange that he should be in command of a *lochus* (§ 53, above). I should almost be inclined to suspect that the whole clause, *τῶν καὶ Ποσειδώνιος . . . ἦσαν οἱ ἰρένες*, is an addition of later times, when perhaps the additional feature of being in the bloom of youth had been added to the personal qualities of the Spartan hero. If we suppose him in command only of a battalion of youths like himself, this could hardly have been called by a local name. See above, note 141 on § 53.

214 *τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου διαφθαρέντας.* These are the six hundred slain by the Theban cavalry who covered the retreat of the Persians to their fortified camp. See above, § 69.

τούτων μὲν δὴ πάντων πλήρεες ἐγένοντο οἱ τάφοι· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὅσοι καὶ φαίνονται ἐν Πλαταιῇσι ἐόντες τάφοι, τούτους δὲ, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἐπαισχυνομένους τῇ ἀπεστύϊ [215] τῆς μάχης, ἑκάστους χώματα χῶσαι κεινὰ [216], τῶν ἐπιγινομένων εἵνεκεν ἀνθρώπων. ἐπεὶ καὶ Αἰγινητέων ἐσκὲ αὐτόθι καλεόμενος τάφος, τὸν ἐγὼ ἀκούω καὶ δέκα ἔτεσι ὕστερον μετὰ ταῦτα, δεηθέντων τῶν Αἰγινητέων, χῶσαι Κλεάδην τὸν Αὐτοδίκου ἄνδρα Πλαταιέα, πρόξεινον ἐόντα αὐτῶν.

Cenotaphs afterwards made.

Ὡς δ' ἄρα ἔθαψαν τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐν Πλαταιῇσι οἱ Ἕλληνες, 86
αὐτίκα βουλευομένοισί σφι ἐδόκεε στρατεύεσθαι [217] ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας, καὶ ἐξαιτέειν αὐτῶν τοὺς μηδίσαντας [218]· ἐν πρώτοισι δὲ αὐτῶν Τιμηγενίδην καὶ Ἀτταγῖνον, οἳ ἀρχηγέται ἀνὰ πρώτους ἦσαν· ἢν δὲ μὴ ἐκδιδῶσι, μὴ ἀπανίστασθαι ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος πρότερον ἢ ἐξέλωσι· ὡς δέ σφι ταῦτα ἔδοξε, οὕτω δὴ ἑνδεκάτῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τῆς συμβολῆς ἀπικόμενοι ἐπολιόρκεον Θηβαίους, κελεύοντες ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς ἄνδρας· οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων ἐκδιδόναι, τήν τε γῆν αὐτῶν ἔταμνον καὶ προσέβαλλον πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος. Καὶ οὐ γὰρ 87
ἐπαύοντο σινεόμενοι, εἰκοστῇ ἡμέρῃ ἔλεξε τοῖσι Θηβαίοισι Τιμηγενίδης τάδε· "ἄνδρες Θηβαῖοι, ἐπειδὴ οὕτω δέδοκται τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, μὴ πρότερον ἀπαναστῆναι πολιορκέοντας ἢ ἐξέλωσι Θήβας, ἢ ἡμέας αὐτοῖσι παραδῶτε, νῦν ὦν ἡμέων εἵνεκα γῆ ἡ Βοιωτίη πλέω μὴ ἀναπλήσῃ· ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν χρημάτων χρηΐζοντες πρόσχημα ἡμέας ἐξαιτέονται, χρήματά σφι δῶμεν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ·

Eleven days after the battle the allies invest *Thebes*, and demand to have the Persian partizans given up to them, especially Attaginus and Timagenides.

[215] ἀπεστύϊ. Gaisford has ἀπεστοῖ. See note on i. 85. The word in the text is adopted from the conjecture of Valckenaer. The Ionic dialect is especially partial to forms in υς. Thus Herodotus uses κτιστὺς below, § 97; ληιστὺς above, v. 6; καταπλαστὺς, iv. 75. Hesychius interprets the word ἀπεστὺς by ἀποχώρησις.

[216] ἑκάστους χώματα κεινά. This assertion seems quite incompatible with the existence of the names of the cities thus disparaged upon the base of the brazen statue of Zeus Eleutherius. See above, note 78 on § 28. But the account which Plutarch (*Aristides*, § 21) gives of the discussions which followed the battle shows how very much statements varied. He makes all the Greeks resign their pretensions to credit in favour of the Platæans,—of whom Herodotus makes no mention whatever,—and says that an annual congress of the Greeks was held at Platæa in memory of the battle,—of which there is no trace elsewhere. But Plutarch is no doubt following the local traditions prevalent at Platæa in his own time, and these would naturally be shaped to the glorification of Platæans. There was a festival held on the spot on the third day of Boedromion, which was considered to be the day on which the battle had been fought. For *Cleades*, the reputed builder of the Æginetan cenotaph, the manuscripts M, K, P, F, *b* have *Aleades*.

[217] στρατεύεσθαι. So Gaisford prints from the majority of MSS. M, P, and F have στρατεύειν.

[218] τοὺς μηδίσαντας. See note 44 on § 16, above.

σὺν γὰρ τῷ κοινῷ καὶ ἐμηδίσαμεν[219], οὐδὲ μοῦνοι ἡμέες· εἰ δὲ ἡμέων ἀληθέως δεόμενοι πολιορκέουσι, ἡμεῖς ἡμέας αὐτοὺς ἐς ἀντιλογίην[220] παρέξομεν." κάρτα τε ἔδοξε εὖ λέγειν, καὶ ἐς καιρόν· αὐτίκα τε ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο πρὸς Παυσανίην οἱ Θηβαῖοι,

88 θέλοντες ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς ἄνδρας. Ὡς δὲ ὡμολόγησαν ἐπὶ τούτοισι, Ἀτταγῖνος μὲν ἐκδιδρήσκει ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος· παῖδας δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀπαχθέντας Παυσανίης ἀπέλυσε τῆς αἰτίης, φὰς τοῦ μηδισμοῦ παῖδας οὐδὲν εἶναι μεταιτίους· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐξέδοσαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, οἱ μὲν ἐδόκεον ἀντιλογίης τε κυρήσειν, καὶ δὴ χρήμασι ἐπεποίθεσαν διωθέεσθαι· ὁ δὲ ὡς παρέλαβε, αὐτὰ ταῦτα ὑπονοέων, τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν τῶν συμμάχων ἅπασαν ἀπῆκε, καὶ ἐκείνους ἀγαγὼν ἐς Κόρινθον διέφθειρε[221]. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι καὶ Θήβῃσι γενόμενα.

Attaginus escapes, but the rest are put to death by Pausanias.

89 Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος, φεύγων ἐκ Πλαταιέων καὶ δὴ καὶ πρόσω ἐγίνετο· ἀπικόμενον δέ μιν οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ παρὰ σφέας ἐπί τε ξείνια ἐκάλεον, καὶ ἀνειρώτευν περὶ τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς ἄλλης, οὐδὲν ἐπιστάμενοι τῶν ἐν Πλαταιῇσι γενομένων· ὁ δὲ Ἀρτάβαζος, γνοὺς ὅτι εἰ ἐθέλοι σφι πᾶσαν τὴν ἀληθηΐην τῶν ἀγώνων εἰπεῖν, αὐτός τε κινδυνεύσει ἀπολέσθαι καὶ ὁ μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατός· ἐπιθήσεσθαι γάρ οἱ πάντα τινὰ οἴετο πυνθανόμενον τὰ γεγονότα· ταῦτα ἐκλογιζόμενος, οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς Φωκέας ἐξαγόρευε οὐδὲν, πρός τε τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἔλεγε τάδε· "ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Θεσσαλοὶ, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, ἐπείγομαί τε κατὰ τὴν ταχίστην ἐλῶν ἐς Θρηΐκην, καὶ σπουδὴν ἔχω πεμφθεὶς κατά τι πρῆγμα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μετὰ τῶνδε· αὐτὸς δὲ ὑμῖν Μαρδόνιος καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ, οὗτος κατὰ πόδας ἐμεῦ ἐλαύνων προσδόκιμός ἐστι· τοῦτον καὶ

Anecdote of the hurried retreat of Artabazus through Thrace to *Byzantium*.

219 *σὺν γὰρ τῷ κοινῷ καὶ ἐμηδίσαμεν.* See above, note 173 on § 67.

220 *ἐς ἀντιλογίην.* This phrase, which is repeated in the next section, is a very peculiar one, and is not similarly used, so far as I am aware, in any other writer. *ἀντιλογίη* appears to be 'the pleadings on each side.' Translate *ἡμεῖς ἡμέας αὐτοὺς ἐς ἀντιλογίην παρέξομεν*: "we will give ourselves up to be tried."

221 *ἐκείνους ἀγαγὼν ἐς Κόρινθον διέφθειρε.* Thirlwall designates this act as "the first indication that appears of the imperious character of Pausanias." I should be more inclined to explain it by the supposition, that even at this time Pausanias had been intriguing with Persia, and that he put the Theban oligarchs to death in order to conceal the evidence which they might have given against him, had they been brought to trial. (See notes 8, 24, and 34, above.) His dismissal of the allies before destroying the accused is a very striking feature in the story; and so is the liberation of Attaginus's children, the father being himself at large, and therefore formidable.

ξεινίζετε καὶ εὖ ποιεῦντες φαίνεσθε· οὐ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐς χρόνον ταῦτα ποιεῦσι μεταμελήσει." ταῦτα δὲ εἴπας, ἀπέλαυνε σπουδῇ τὴν στρατιὴν διὰ Θεσσαλίης τε καὶ Μακεδονίης ἰθὺ τῆς Θρηΐκης, ὡς ἀληθέως ἐπειγόμενος, καὶ τὴν μεσόγαιαν τάμνων τῆς ὁδοῦ· καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς Βυζάντιον, καταλιπὼν τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ συχνοὺς ὑπὸ Θρηΐκων τε κατακοπέντας[222] κατ' ὁδὸν, καὶ λιμῷ συστάντας καὶ καμάτῳ· ἐκ Βυζαντίου δὲ διέβη πλοίοισι. οὗτος μὲν οὕτω ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

90 Τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ἡμέρης τῆσπερ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι τὸ τρῶμα ἐγένετο, συνεκύρησε γενέσθαι καὶ ἐν Μυκάλῃ τῆς Ἰωνίης. ἐπεὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐν τῇ Δήλῳ κατέατο οἱ Ἕλληνες οἱ ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ ἅμα Λευτυχίδῃ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ ἀπικόμενοι, ἦλθόν σφι ἄγγελοι ἀπὸ Σάμου Λάμπων τε Θρασυκλέος καὶ Ἀθηναγόρης Ἀρχεστρατίδεω καὶ Ἡγησίστρατος Ἀρισταγόρεω, πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Σαμίων λάθρῃ τῶν τε Περσέων καὶ τοῦ τυράννου Θεομήστορος τοῦ Ἀνδροδάμαντος[223], τὸν κατέστησαν Σάμου τύραννον οἱ Πέρσαι· ἐπελθόντων δέ σφεων ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, ἔλεγε Ἡγησίστρατος πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα· ὡς ἢν μοῦνον ἴδωνται αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἴωνες ἀποστήσονται ἀπὸ Περσέων, καὶ ὡς οἱ βάρβαροι οὐκ ὑπομενέουσι· ἢν δὲ καὶ ἄρα ὑπομείνωσι, οὐκ ἑτέρην ἄγρην τοιαύτην εὑρεῖν ἂν αὐτούς·

Engagement at *Mycale* in Ionia on the same day as the battle of Platæa.

Overtures from *Samos* are made to the allied fleet stationed at *Delos*.

222 ὑπὸ Θρηΐκων τε κατακοπέντας. In the time of DEMOSTHENES it seems to have been the common belief that the calamity referred to in the text was due not to the Thracians, but the Macedonians. He says: Περδίκκᾳ τῷ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βαρβάρου ποτ' ἐπιστρατείαν βασιλεύοντι Μακεδονίας, τοὺς ἀναχωροῦντας ἐκ Πλαταιῶν τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπὸ τῆς ἥττης διαφθείραντι καὶ τέλειον τἀτύχημα ποιήσαντι τῷ βασιλεῖ, οὐκ ἐψηφίσαντο [οἱ ὑμέτεροι πρόγονοι]· ἀγώγιμον εἶναι, ἐάν τις ἀποκτείνῃ Περδίκκαν· ἀλλὰ πολιτείαν ἔδωκαν μόνον (*c. Aristocrat.* p. 687). But it appears that Alexander, the father of this Perdiccas, was still alive in B.C. 463, at the time when Cimon recovered Thasos; for PLUTARCH speaks of a suspicion which attached to Cimon of having been influenced by him to the detriment of Athenian interests. (*Cimon*, § 14.) To hypothesize a regency of Perdiccas during the life-time of his father is a less satisfactory way of explaining the variation, than to account for it by the ordinary phenomenon, observable in every country, of the inaccuracy of popular traditions with regard to dates and persons. (See note 213 on i. 63, and 247, *a*, on vi. 108.) Nothing is more likely than that Alexander himself should have acted treacherously towards his Persian patron when he found him decidedly the weaker of the two contending parties. (See the provision he makes for such a contingency, above, § 45.) The ethnical affinity of the Thracians with the Macedonian commonalty, and the indefiniteness of the boundary between the two countries (see above, note 45 on v. 17; note 349 on vii. 127; and note 277 on viii. 136), would readily lead to the confusion of the two nations in common estimation.

223 Θεομήστορος τοῦ Ἀνδροδάμαντος. See note 170 on viii. 85, above. The manuscripts M, K have Θεομήτορος, and S, Θεομνήτορος, but obviously from an error of transcription. In viii. 85 there is no corresponding variation.

θεούς τε κοινοὺς ἀνακαλέων, προέτρεπε αὐτοὺς ῥύσασθαι ἄνδρας Ἕλληνας ἐκ δουλοσύνης καὶ ἀπαμῦναι τὸν βάρβαρον· εὐπετές τε αὐτοῖσι, ἔφη, ταῦτα γίνεσθαι· τάς τε γὰρ νέας αὐτῶν κακῶς πλέειν[224] *καὶ οὐκ ἀξιομάχους κείνοισι εἶναι· αὐτοί τε, εἴ τι ὑποπτεύουσι μὴ δόλῳ αὐτοὺς προάγοιεν, ἑτοῖμοι εἶναι ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ*
91 *τῇσι ἐκείνων ἀγόμενοι ὅμηροι εἶναι. Ὡς δὲ πολλὸς ἦν λισσόμενος*[225] *ὁ ξεῖνος ὁ Σάμιος, εἴρετο Λευτυχίδης, εἴτε κληδόνος εἵνεκεν θέλων πυθέσθαι, εἴτε καὶ κατὰ συντυχίην θεοῦ ποιεῦντος· "ὦ ξεῖνε Σάμιε, τί τοι τὸ οὔνομα;" ὁ δὲ εἶπε· "Ἡγησίστρατος." ὁ δὲ ὑπαρπάσας τὸν ἐπίλοιπον λόγον, εἴ τινα ὅρμητο λέγειν ὁ Ἡγησίστρατος, εἶπε· "δέκομαι τὸν οἰωνὸν, τὸν Ἡγησίστρατον*[226]*, ὦ ξεῖνε Σάμιε· σὺ δὲ ἡμῖν ποίεε ὅκως αὐτός τε δοὺς πίστιν ἀποπλεύσεαι, καὶ οἱ σὺν σοὶ ἐόντες οἵδε, ἦ μὲν Σαμίους ἡμῖν προ-*

Leotychides complies with the application, and sails in the company of *Hegesistratus*, one of the Samian commissioners.

92 *θύμους ἔσεσθαι συμμάχους." Ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἠγόρευε καὶ τὸ ἔργον προσῆγε*[227]*· αὐτίκα γὰρ οἱ Σάμιοι πίστιν τε καὶ ὅρκια ἐποιεῦντο συμμαχίης πέρι πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας· ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες, οἱ μὲν ἀπέπλεον· μετὰ σφέων γὰρ ἐκέλευε πλέειν τὸν Ἡγησίστρατον*[228]*, οἰωνὸν τὸ οὔνομα ποιεύμενος*[229]*· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐπισχόντες ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην, τῇ ὑστεραίῃ ἐκαλλιερέοντο, μαντευομένου σφι*

[224] *τάς τε γὰρ νέας αὐτῶν κακῶς πλέειν.* The greater part of the ships which the Persians had with them were probably those which had not been in the brunt of the battle at Salamis, of which Artemisia speaks so contemptuously: *Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ Κύπριοι καὶ Κίλικες καὶ Πάμφυλοι, τῶν ὄφελός ἐστι οὐδέν* (viii. 68). It must be remembered that the estimate of their powers was made by Asiatic Greeks, who would be strongly prejudiced against them.

[225] *ὡς δὲ πολλὸς ἦν λισσόμενος.* See note 346 on i. 98.

[226] *δέκομαι τὸν οἰωνὸν, τὸν Ἡγησίστρατον.* Valcknaer would exclude the words *τὸν Ἡγησίστρατον* as a gloss. I should be rather disposed to do so with *τὸν οἰωνὸν*, if anything. But the two may well stand together. See note 285 on viii. 137, and compare ARISTOPHANES, *Plut.* 63: *δέχου τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν ὄρνιν τοῦ θεοῦ.*

[227] *προσῆγε.* The manuscript S has *προῆγεν.* If *προσῆγε* be retained, the words *τὸ ἔργον προσῆγε* must mean "acted thereupon."

[228] *τὸν Ἡγησίστρατον.* These words do not exist in S and V.

[229] *μετὰ σφέων γὰρ ἐκέλευε . . . οὔνομα ποιεύμενος.* The name Hegesistratus was not merely lucky in itself, but even more so as suggesting *ἡγήτωρ στρατοῦ*, the title under which Apollo was worshipped in the *Carnea*, the festival in which the successful invasion of the Peloponnese was commemorated. Hegesistratus would be, in a manner, considered as an *avatar* of the tutelary deity sent for this special occasion. Hence the point made by the Spartan king not to let him add the name of his father, which he would naturally have done. (See note 265 on viii. 132.) CICERO tells a story of L. Æmilius Paullus, who, on going home from the senate-house just after having been appointed to conduct the war against the Macedonian king Perseus, found his little daughter in tears for the loss of her lap-dog. He kissed her and asked the reason. "Father," she said, "*Persa is dead.*" "Tum ille *arctius* puellam complexus, 'accipio,' inquit, 'mea filia, omen.'" (*De Divinatione*, i. 46.)

Δηϊφόνου τοῦ Εὐηνίου, ἀνδρὸς Ἀπολλωνιήτεω, Ἀπολλωνίης δὲ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ[230]· τοῦ τὸν πατέρα κατέλαβε Εὐήνιον πρῆγμα τοιόνδε· Ἔστι ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίῃ ταύτῃ ἱρὰ ἡλίου πρόβατα, τὰ τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας βόσκεται παρὰ ποταμὸν, ὃς ἐκ Λάκμωνος οὔρεος ῥέει διὰ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίης χώρης ἐς θάλασσαν, παρ' Ὤρικον λιμένα· τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἀραιρημένοι ἄνδρες οἱ πλούτῳ τε καὶ γένεϊ δοκιμώτατοι τῶν ἀστῶν, οὗτοι φυλάσσουσι ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστος· περὶ πολλοῦ γὰρ δὴ ποιεῦνται Ἀπολλωνιῆται τὰ πρόβατα ταῦτα, ἐκ θεοπροπίου τινός· ἐν δὲ ἄντρῳ αὐλίζονται, ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος ἑκάς. ἔνθα δὴ τότε ὁ Εὐήνιος οὗτος ἀραιρημένος ἐφύλασσε· καί κοτε αὐτοῦ κατακοιμήσαντος τὴν φυλακὴν[231], παρελθόντες λύκοι ἐς τὸ ἄντρον διέφθειραν τῶν προβάτων ὡς ἑξήκοντα· ὁ δὲ ὡς ἐπήϊσε[232], εἶχε σιγῇ καὶ ἔφραζε οὐδενὶ, ἐν νόῳ ἔχων ἀντικαταστήσειν ἄλλα πριάμενος· καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἔλαθε τοὺς Ἀπολλωνιήτας ταῦτα γενόμενα, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπύθοντο, ὑπαγαγόντες μιν ὑπὸ δικαστήριον[233] κατέκριναν, ὡς τὴν φυλακὴν κατακοιμήσαντα, τῆς ὄψιος στερηθῆναι· ἐπεί τε δὲ τὸν Εὐήνιον ἐξετύφλωσαν, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα οὔτε πρόβατά σφι ἔτικτε οὔτε γῆ ἔφερε ὁμοίως καρπόν· πρόφαντα[234] δέ σφι ἔν τε Δωδώνῃ καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐγίνετο, ἐπεί τε ἐπειρώτευν τοὺς προφήτας τὸ αἴτιον τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ, οἱ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἔφραζον, ὅτι ἀδίκως τὸν φύλακον τῶν ἱρῶν προβάτων Εὐήνιον τῆς ὄψιος ἐστέρησαν· αὐτοὶ[235] γὰρ ἐπορμῆσαι τοὺς λύκους· οὐ πρότερόν τε παύσεσθαι τιμωρέοντες ἐκείνῳ, πρὶν ἢ δίκας δῶσι τῶν ἐποίησαν ταύτας τὰς ἂν αὐτὸς ἕληται καὶ δικαιοῖ[236]· τούτων δὲ τελεομένων,

93 Anecdote of Evenius, father of the seer of the allies, Deiphonus, of Apollonia.

230 Ἀπολλωνίης δὲ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ. This clause is quite necessary to distinguish the town from the other of the same name in the Euxine,—which was probably more familiar to Herodotus than this. See iv. 90.

231 κατακοιμήσαντος τὴν φυλακήν. This appears to be the reading of all the MSS except one (S), in which the word κατακοιμίσαντος is written, although corrected by the same copyist. But XENOPHON uses the expression κατακοιμίζειν τὸ χρησιμώτατον τῆς ἡμέρας (*Memorab.* ii. 1. 30); and the very phrase κατακοιμίζειν τὴν φυλακὴν is used in the sense of "to fall asleep" in ÆLIAN several times. If, therefore, there were the sanction of MSS, I should think κατακοιμίσαντος the better reading.

232 ἐπήϊσε. This is the aorist from ἐπαΐω. "But he, as he perceived it."

233 ὑπαγαγόντες μιν ὑπὸ δικαστήριον. The common expression would be ὑπάγειν ἐς δίκην or ἐς δικαστήριον. But the expression in the text is used elsewhere by Herodotus. See vi. 72; also ὑπὸ τοὺς ἐφόρους, vi. 82; ὑπὸ τὸν δῆμον, vi. 136.

234 πρόφαντα. The manuscripts S and V have πρόβατα, probably originating in a marginal gloss.

235 αὐτοί. This word apparently refers to the θεοὶ in Dodona and Delphi, gathered by inference from the word προφήτας.

236 καὶ δικαιοῖ. I suspect these words to be an alternative reading to ἕληται, taken into the text from the margin.

αὐτοὶ δώσειν Εὐηνίῳ δόσιν τοιαύτην τὴν πολλούς μιν μακαριεῖν
94 *ἀνθρώπων ἔχοντα. Τὰ μὲν χρηστήρια ταῦτά σφι ἐχρήσθη· οἱ δὲ Ἀπολλωνιῆται ἀπόρρητα ποιησάμενοι, προέθεσαν τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνδράσι διαπρῆξαι· οἱ δέ σφι διέπρηξαν ὧδε· κατημένου Εὐηνίου ἐν θώκῳ, ἐλθόντες οἱ παρίζοντο καὶ λόγους ἄλλους ἐποιεῦντο, ἐς ὃ κατέβαινον συλλυπεύμενοι τῷ πάθεϊ*[237]*· ταύτῃ δὲ ὑπάγοντες εἰρώτεον τίνα δίκην ἂν ἕλοιτο, εἰ ἐθέλοιεν Ἀπολλωνιῆται δίκας ὑποστῆναι δώσειν τῶν ἐποίησαν; ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀκηκοὼς τὸ θεοπρόπιον, εἵλετο εἴπας· εἴ τίς οἱ δοίη ἀγροὺς τῶν ἀστῶν, ὀνομάσας τοῖσι ἠπίστατο εἶναι καλλίστους δύο κλήρους τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίῃ, καὶ οἴκησιν πρὸς τούτοισι, τὴν ᾔδεε καλλίστην ἐοῦσαν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλι· τούτων δὲ, ἔφη, ἐπήβολος γενόμενος τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀμήνιτος εἶναι, καὶ δίκην οἱ ταύτην ἀποχρᾶν γενομένην. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε, οἱ δὲ πάρεδροι εἶπαν ὑπολαβόντες· "Εὐήνιε, ταύτην δίκην Ἀπολλωνιῆται τῆς ἐκτυφλώσιος ἐκτίνουσί τοι κατὰ θεοπρόπια τὰ γενόμενα." ὁ μὲν δὴ πρὸς ταῦτα δεινὰ ἐποιέετο, ἐνθεῦτεν πυθόμενος τὸν πάντα λόγον, ὡς ἐξαπατηθείς· οἱ δὲ, πριάμενοι παρὰ τῶν ἐκτημένων, διδοῦσί οἱ τὰ εἵλετο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα ἔμφυτον μαντικὴν εἶχε, ὥστε καὶ οὐνομαστὸς γενέσθαι.*

95 *Τούτου δὴ ὁ Δηΐφονος ἐὼν παῖς τοῦ Εὐηνίου, ἀγόντων Κορινθίων, ἐμαντεύετο τῇ στρατιῇ. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τόδε ἤκουσα, ὡς ὁ Δηΐφονος ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Εὐηνίου*[238] *οὐνόματος, ἐξελάμβανε*[239]
96 *ἐπιὼν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔργα, οὐκ ἐὼν Εὐηνίου παῖς. Τοῖσι δὲ Ἕλλησι ὡς ἐκαλλιέρησε, ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας ἐκ τῆς Δήλου πρὸς τὴν Σάμιον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο τῆς Σαμίης πρὸς Καλάμοισι*[240],

The allies sail from Delos to Samos,

[237] *ἐς ὃ κατέβαινον συλλυπεύμενοι τῷ πάθεϊ*, "until at last they ended with expressing sympathy with his calamity." For the explanation of the phrase *καταβαίνειν*, see note 316 on i. 90.

[238] *ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Εὐηνίου.* Compare iii. 63: *ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Σμέρδιος οὐνόματος.*

[239] *ἐξελάμβανε.* This expression is a very singular one, and perhaps best to be understood by remembering that it is the correlative term of *ἐκδοῦναι*. It is used in that sense by PLUTARCH, of a painter who contracted to execute a drawing: *ἐκλαβὼν γὰρ ἵππον ἀλινδούμενον γράψαι*, and *ἐκλαβὼν παρὰ τῆς πόλεως πίνακα γράψαι μάχης ἑτέρας* (*Pelopidas*, § 25); and so it is by BASIL, in reference to the parable in *Matth. Evang.* xxi. 33: *τῶν γεωργῶν τῶν ἐκλαβόντων μὲν τὸν ἀμπελῶνα, τοὺς δὲ καρποὺς μὴ ἀποδιδόντων.* Deiphonus seems to have travelled over Greece, and to have been consulted on special cases where there was a need for the exercise of his art. In fact he was a travelling fortune-teller.

[240] *πρὸς Καλάμοισι.* This is a conjectural emendation of Wesseling's. The MSS have *ἐν Καλαμίσοισι*, except S, which has *Λαμίοισι*. The name would

οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ ὁρμισάμενοι κατὰ τὸ Ἡραῖον τὸ ταύτῃ, παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς ναυμαχίην· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πυθόμενοί σφεας προσπλέειν, ἀνῆγον καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὴν ἤπειρον τὰς νέας τὰς ἄλλας, τὰς δὲ Φοινίκων ἀπῆκαν ἀποπλέειν· βουλευομένοισι γάρ σφι ἐδόκεε ναυμαχίην μὴ ποιέεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ὦν ἐδόκεον ὅμοιοι εἶναι· ἐς δὲ τὴν ἤπειρον ἀπέπλεον, ὅκως ἔωσι ὑπὸ τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν τὸν σφέτερον ἐόντα ἐν τῇ Μυκάλῃ· ὃς, κελεύσαντος Ξέρξεω, καταλελειμμένος τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ, Ἰωνίην ἐφύλασσε· τοῦ πλῆθος μὲν ἦν ἓξ μυριάδες· ἐστρατήγεε δὲ αὐτοῦ Τιγράνης, κάλλεΐ τε καὶ μεγάθεϊ ὑπερφέρων Περσέων. ὑπὸ τοῦτον μὲν δὴ τὸν στρατὸν ἐβουλεύσαντο καταφυγόντες οἱ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατηγοὶ [241] ἀνειρύσαι τὰς νέας, καὶ περιβαλέσθαι ἕρκος, ἔρυμα τῶν νεῶν καὶ σφέων αὐτῶν κρησφύγετον. Ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι ἀνήγοντο· ἀπικόμενοι δὲ 97 παρὰ τὸ τῶν Ποτνιέων ἱρὸν τῆς Μυκάλης ἐς Γαίσωνά τε καὶ Σκολοπόεντα, τῇ Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινίης ἐστὶν ἱρὸν, τὸ Φίλιστος ὁ Πασικλέος ἱδρύσατο Νείλεῳ τῷ Κόδρου ἐπισπόμενος ἐπὶ Μιλήτου κτιστὺν, ἐνθαῦτα τάς τε νέας ἀνείρυσαν καὶ περιεβάλοντο ἕρκος καὶ λίθων καὶ ξύλων, δένδρεα ἐκκόψαντες ἥμερα, καὶ σκόλοπας περὶ τὸ ἕρκος κατέπηξαν· καὶ παρεσκευάδατο ὡς πολιορκησόμενοι καὶ ὡς νικήσοντες, ἐπ' ἀμφότερα· ἐπιλεγόμενοι γὰρ παρεσκευάζοντο [242].

where they find that the Persian fleet has gone to Mycale, to be under the protection of the land force under Tigranes, commanding in Ionia.

A fortified camp protects their gallies, which are drawn up on the shore.

Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὡς ἐπύθοντο οἰχωκότας τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐς τὴν 98 ἤπειρον, ἤχθοντο ὡς ἐκπεφευγότων· ἐν ἀπορίῃ τε εἴχοντο ὅ τι ποιέωσι, εἴτε ἀπαλλάσσωνται ὀπίσω εἴτε καταπλέωσι ἐπ' Ἑλλησπόντου· τέλος δ' ἔδοξε τούτων μὲν μηδέτερα ποιέειν, ἐπιπλέειν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἤπειρον· παρασκευασάμενοι ὦν ἐς ναυμαχίην καὶ ἀποβάθρας [243] καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσων ἔδεε, ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τῆς Μυκάλης. ἐπεὶ

On the arrival of the allied fleet, Leotychides endeavours to excite the Ionians in the enemy's

seem to indicate the marshy nature of the site; and it is at first sight strange that the Heræum should have been built in such a situation. But perhaps it occupied the spot on which the first settlers located themselves, who, if a half commercial, half piratical race, as in such times was to be expected, would be more likely to remain in the marshes than to occupy the interior. Alexis of Samos mentions a temple of Aphrodite at Samos, called by some Aphrodite ἐν Καλάμοις, and by others Aphrodite ἐν Ἑλειατικοῖς (*ap. Athenæum*, xii. p. 572). He is no doubt speaking of the same locality as Herodotus. It seems not at all improbable that the Samian *Here* absorbed into her ritual both that of the Artemisium and that of the Aphrodisium. See note 143 on iii. 48.

241 οἱ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατηγοί. These words are omitted in S.

242 ἐπιλεγόμενοι γὰρ παρεσκευάζοντο, "for they made their preparations at their leisure." The meaning of ἐπιλέγεσθαι is "to think and talk any matter over."

243 ἀποβάθρας. These are the *gang-*

army to revolt, δὲ ἀγχοῦ τε ἐγίνοντο τοῦ στρατοπέδου, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐφαίνετό σφι ἐπαναγόμενος, ἀλλὰ ὥρων νέας ἀνελκυσμένας ἔσω τοῦ τείχεος, πολλὸν δὲ πεζὸν παρακεκριμένον παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν[244], ἐνθαῦτα πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῇ νηῒ παραπλέων, ἐγχρίμψας[245] τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τὰ μάλιστα Λευτυχίδης, ὑπὸ κήρυκος προηγόρευε τοῖσι Ἴωσι λέγων· "ἄνδρες Ἴωνες ὅσοι ὑμέων τυγχάνουσι ἐπακούοντες, μάθετε τὰ λέγω· πάντως γὰρ οὐδὲν συνήσουσι Πέρσαι τῶν ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ἐντέλλομαι· ἐπεὰν συμμίσγωμεν, μεμνῆσθαί τινα χρὴ ἐλευθερίης μὲν πάντων πρῶτον, μετὰ δὲ, τοῦ συνθήματος Ἥβης· καὶ τάδε ἴστω καὶ ὁ μὴ ἐσακούσας ὑμέων πρὸς τοῦ ἐπακούσαντος." ὡυτὸς δὴ οὗτος ἐὼν τυγχάνει νόος τοῦ πρήγματος καὶ ὁ Θεμιστοκλέος ὁ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ[246]· ἢ γὰρ δὴ λαθόντα τὰ ῥήματα τοὺς βαρβάρους ἔμελλε τοὺς Ἴωνας πείσειν, ἢ ἔπειτα ἀνενειχθέντα ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, ποιήσειν ἀπίστους [τοῖσι Ἕλλησι[247]].

99 and then debarks his troops and prepares to attack the camp. The Persians, distrusting the Samians, disarm them, but put the Milesians in an im- Λευτυχίδεω δὲ ταῦτα ὑποθεμένου, δεύτερα δὴ τάδε ἐποίευν οἱ Ἕλληνες· προσχόντες τὰς νέας, ἀπέβησαν ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν· καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐτάσσοντο· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὡς εἶδον τοὺς Ἕλληνας παρασκευαζομένους ἐς μάχην, καὶ τοῖσι Ἴωσι παραινέσαντας, τοῦτο μὲν ὑπονοήσαντες τοὺς Σαμίους τὰ Ἑλλήνων φρονέειν, ἀπαιρέονται τὰ ὅπλα· οἱ γὰρ ὦν Σάμιοι, ἀπικομένων Ἀθηναίων αἰχμαλώτων ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, τοὺς ἔλαβον ἀνὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν λελειμμένους οἱ Ξέρξεω, τούτους λυσάμενοι πάντας ἀποπέμπουσι ἐποδιάσαντες ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας· τῶν εἵνεκεν οὐκ ἥκιστα ὑποψίην εἶχον, πεντακοσίας κεφαλὰς τῶν Ξέρξεω πολεμίων λυσάμενοι· τοῦτο δὲ

boards, which were laid out from a vessel's side to the shore to enable a landing to be effected. It was while passing along one of these, in order to get ashore at Pylos, that Brasidas received a blow which caused himself to fall backwards into the galley, while his shield dropped into the sea and so came into the hands of the enemy. (THUCYDIDES, iv. 12.) The same, or a similar, machine would probably be used to facilitate boarding when two ships engaged out at sea happened to fall foul of one another.

244 πολλὸν δὲ πεζὸν παρακεκριμένον παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν, "and a numerous land force which had been brought into position along the line of coast." See note 140, *a*, on viii. 70.

245 ἐγχρίμψας. Several MSS have the form ἐγχρίψας, but in ii. 60 all but S have ἐγχρίμψαντες, which by inadvertence I have omitted to substitute for Gaisford's reading. Still nothing can be more uncertain than Herodotus's use of such forms; for S is one of the MSS which in *this* passage have ἐγχρίμψας. The verb is active, and ναῦν or some such word is to be supplied. See ii. 60.

246 ὁ Θεμιστοκλέος ὁ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ. See above, viii. 22.

247 [τοῖσι Ἕλλησι]. These words seem to have been a gloss from the hand of a scholiast who imagined the word ἀπίστους to be used in an active sense, and to refer to βαρβάρους instead of Ἴωνας. They however are in all the MSS, and are retained by Gaisford without suspicion.

τὰς διόδους τὰς ἐς τὰς κορυφὰς τῆς Μυκάλης φερούσας προστάσσουσι τοῖσι Μιλησίοισι[248] φυλάσσειν, ὡς ἐπισταμένοισι δῆθεν μάλιστα τὴν χώρην· ἐποίευν δὲ τούτου εἵνεκεν, ἵνα ἐκτὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔωσι· τούτους μὲν Ἰώνων, τοῖσι καὶ κατεδόκεον νεοχμὸν ἄν τι ποιέειν δυνάμιος ἐπιλαβομένοισι, τρόποισι τοιούτοισι προεφυλάσσοντο οἱ Πέρσαι· αὐτοὶ δὲ συνεφόρησαν τὰ γέρρα ἕρκος εἶναί σφι. portant place.

Ὡς δὲ ἄρα παρεσκευάδατο[249] τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, προσήϊσαν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους· ἰοῦσι δέ σφι φήμη τε ἐσέπτατο ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον πᾶν, καὶ κηρυκήϊον ἐφάνη ἐπὶ τῆς κυματωγῆς κείμενον[250]. ἡ δὲ φήμη διῆλθέ σφι ὧδε, ὡς οἱ Ἕλληνες τὴν Μαρδονίου στρατιὴν νικῷεν ἐν Βοιωτοῖσι μαχόμενοι. δῆλα δὴ πολλοῖσι τεκμηρίοισί ἐστι τὰ θεῖα τῶν πρηγμάτων, εἰ καὶ τότε τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης συμπιπτούσης τοῦ τε ἐν Πλαταιῇσι καὶ τοῦ ἐν Μυκάλῃ μέλλοντος ἔσεσθαι τρώματος, φήμη τοῖσι Ἕλλησι τοῖσι ταύτῃ ἐσαπίκετο, ὥστε θαρσῆσαί τε τὴν στρατιὴν πολλῷ μᾶλλον, καὶ ἐθέλειν προθυμότερον κινδυνεύειν. 100 On commencing the attack a rumour flies through the army that Mardonius is beaten.

Καὶ τόδε ἕτερον συνέπεσε γενόμενον, 101

[248] τοῖσι Μιλησίοισι. It does not clearly appear from the narrative of Herodotus who these Milesians were. After the suppression of the Ionian revolt, which had been caused by the intrigues of Histiæus, Miletus was taken, and the surviving population transported to the islands in the Erythræan sea. The *Persians themselves* (Herodotus says) occupied the plain, and the highlands were given to a Carian population. (See note 54 on vi. 20.) But when the new settlement of Ionia was made by Darius (vi. 42), it is not unlikely that the cultivators of the soil for the Persian conquerors were allowed to acquire a beneficial interest in it, and that these are the "Milesians" referred to in the text. The conquerors would certainly not cultivate the soil for themselves, and the easiest method of deriving benefit from it would be to leave it in the hands of the natives, exacting in return a certain proportion of the produce. Probably at the time the arrangement was made, the periœcians found their situation improved, and were well disposed to support their new masters against their old. But after twelve or thirteen years had passed, the old hardships would be forgotten; and they would be glad of an opportunity to get rid of the burdens which were still imposed upon them, and convert their tenancy into an absolute possession,—which of course would result from the expulsion of the Persians. Hence perhaps we may account both for the confidence placed in them, and for their abuse of it.

[249] παρεσκευάδατο. As this is the plural form, Bekker conjectures παρεσκεύαστο. I should be more disposed to expunge the words τοῖσι Ἕλλησι. These may have been placed in the margin as a gloss of σφι, and from thence have been inserted in a wrong place of the text.

[250] ἰοῦσι δέ σφι . . . ἐπὶ τῆς κυματωγῆς κείμενον, "and as they advanced not only had they a rumour spread suddenly among the whole force, but there appeared on the edge of the beach a herald's staff lying." DIODORUS makes Leotychides put a herald with a very loud voice into the galley which he sent along the line of the barbarian encampment, and order him to declare that the allies, having defeated Mardonius at Platæa, are come to Asia to liberate the Greeks of that continent. This conversion of the omen into a premeditated stratagem, is of a piece with his version of the escape of Sesostris. See note 301 on ii. 107.

Another strange coincidence occurred in the fact that both battles took place in the vicinity of a fane of *Demeter.*

Δήμητρος τεμένεα Ἐλευσινίης παρὰ ἀμφοτέρας τὰς συμβολὰς εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐν τῇ Πλαταιΐδι παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Δημήτριον ἐγένετο (ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται) ἡ μάχη, καὶ ἐν Μυκάλῃ ἔμελλε ὡσαύτως ἔσεσθαι· γεγονέναι δὲ νίκην τῶν μετὰ Παυσανίεω Ἑλλήνων ὀρθῶς σφι ἡ φήμη συνέβαινε ἐλθοῦσα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι πρωῒ ἔτι τῆς ἡμέρης ἐγίνετο· τὸ δὲ ἐν Μυκάλῃ περὶ δείλην· ὅτι δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι, μηνός τε τοῦ αὐτοῦ, χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ σφι ὕστερον δῆλα ἀναμανθάνουσι ἐγίνετο. ἦν δὲ ἀρρωδίη σφι πρὶν τὴν φήμην ἐσαπικέσθαι, οὔτι περὶ σφέων αὐτῶν οὕτω, ὡς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μὴ περὶ Μαρδονίῳ πταίσῃ ἡ Ἑλλάς. ὡς μέντοι ἡ κληδὼν αὕτη σφι ἐσέπτατο, μᾶλλόν τι καὶ ταχύτερον τὴν πρόσοδον ἐποιεῦντο. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἔσπευδον ἐς τὴν μάχην, ὥς σφι καὶ αἱ νῆσοι καὶ ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος ἄεθλα προέκειτο.

102 After a very obstinate defence the enemy gives way,

Τοῖσι μέν νυν Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ τοῖσι προσεχέσι τούτοισι τεταγμένοισι, μέχρι κου τῶν ἡμισέων, ἡ ὁδὸς ἐγίνετο κατ' αἰγιαλόν τε καὶ ἄπεδον χῶρον· τοῖσι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοισι καὶ τοῖσι ἐπεξῆς τούτοισι τεταγμένοισι, κατά τε χαράδρην καὶ οὔρεα· ἐν ᾧ δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι περιήϊσαν, οὗτοι οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ ἑτέρῳ κέρεϊ ἔτι καὶ δὴ ἐμάχοντο. ἕως μέν νυν τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ὄρθια ἦν τὰ γέρρα[251], ἠμύνοντό τε καὶ οὐδὲν ἔλασσον εἶχον τῇ μάχῃ· ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν προσεχέων ὁ στρατὸς, ὅκως ἑωυτῶν γένηται[252] τὸ ἔργον καὶ μὴ Λακεδαιμονίων, παρακελευσάμενοι, ἔργου εἴχοντο προθυμότερον, ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ἑτεροιοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα[253]· διωσάμενοι γὰρ τὰ γέρρα οὗτοι, φερόμενοι ἐσέπεσον ἀλέες ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας· οἱ δὲ δεξάμενοι, καὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἀμυνόμενοι, τέλος ἔφευγον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι, (οὕτω γὰρ ἦσαν ἐπεξῆς τεταγμένοι,) συνεπισπόμενοι συνεσέπιπτον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος· ὡς δὲ καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀραίρητο, οὔτ' ἔτι πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐτράποντο οἱ βάρβαροι πρὸς φυγήν τε ὁρμέατο οἱ ἄλλοι πλὴν Περσέων· οὗτοι δὲ κατ' ὀλίγους γινόμενοι[254], ἐμάχοντο τοῖσι αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐσπίπτουσι Ἑλλήνων. καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν

[251] ὄρθια ἦν τὰ γέρρα. See note 160 on § 61, above.

[252] γένηται. So Gaisford prints on the authority of the majority of MSS. The rest have γένοιτο. See note 40 on i. 9.

[253] ἑτεροιοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα. Compare vii. 225, ἑτεροιοῦτο τὸ νεῖκος.

[254] κατ' ὀλίγους γινόμενοι, "forming into small knots."

Περσικῶν δύο μὲν ἀποφεύγουσι, δύο δὲ τελευτῶσι· Ἀρταΰντης μὲν καὶ Ἰθαμίτρης[255], τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατηγέοντες, ἀποφεύγουσι· Μαρδόντης[256] δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατηγὸς Τιγράνης[257] μαχόμενοι τελευτῶσι. Ἔτι δὲ μαχομένων τῶν Περσέων ἀπίκοντο 103
Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ συνδιεχείριζον. ἔπεσον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συχνοὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἄλλοι τε καὶ Σικυώνιοι, καὶ στρατηγὸς Περίλεως. τῶν δὲ Σαμίων οἱ στρατευόμενοι, ἐόντες τε ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ Μηδικῷ καὶ ἀπαραιρημένοι τὰ ὅπλα, ὡς εἶδον αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς γινομένην ἑτεραλκέα[258] τὴν μάχην, ἔρδον ὅσον ἠδυνέατο, προσωφελέειν ἐθέλοντες τοῖσι Ἕλλησι· Σαμίους δὲ ἰδόντες οἱ ἄλλοι Ἴωνες ἄρξαντας, οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ Περσέων ἐπέθεντο τοῖσι βαρβάροισι.

the Ionians in his army turning against him,

Μιλησίοισι δὲ προσετέτακτο μὲν τῶν Περσέων[259] τὰς διόδους 104
τηρεῖν, σωτηρίης εἵνεκά σφι ὡς, ἢν ἄρα σφέας καταλαμβάνῃ οἷά περ κατέλαβε, ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνας σώζωνται ἐς τὰς κορυφὰς τῆς Μυκάλης· ἐτάχθησαν μέν νυν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα οἱ Μιλήσιοι, τούτου τε εἵνεκεν καὶ ἵνα μὴ παρεόντες ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τι νεοχμὸν ποιέοιεν· οἱ δὲ πᾶν τὸ ἐναντίον τοῦ προστεταγμένου ἐποίεον, ἄλλας τε κατηγεόμενοί σφι ὁδοὺς φεύγουσι αἳ δὴ ἔφερον ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τέλος αὐτοί σφι ἐγίνοντο κτείνοντες πολεμιώτατοι. οὕτω δὴ τὸ δεύτερον Ἰωνίη ἀπὸ Περσέων ἀπέστη.

and the Milesians proving the deadliest foes of all.

Ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ Ἑλλήνων ἠρίστευσαν Ἀθηναῖοι· καὶ Ἀθη- 105
ναίων, Ἑρμόλυκος ὁ Εὐθύνου, ἀνὴρ παγκράτιον ἐπασκήσας· τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Ἑρμόλυκον κατέλαβε ὕστερον τούτων, πολέμου ἐόντος Ἀθηναίοισί τε καὶ Καρυστίοισι[260], ἐν Κύρνῳ τῆς Καρυστίης

Among the allies the most distinguished were the

[255] Ἰθαμίτρης. This individual was the nephew of Artayntes, and associated with him and Mardontes in the command of the fleet. (See viii. 130.)

[256] Μαρδόντης. Probably the son of Bagæus mentioned in vii. 80, and viii. 130.

[257] ὁ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατηγὸς Τιγράνης. In the roll of the grand army Tigranes is merely in command of the Medes. But we may perhaps suppose that a change of appointments took place after the arrival of Xerxes in Asia; and moreover the army at Mycale was composed almost entirely of Medes and Asiatic Greeks. (See above, § 96.)

[258] ἑτεραλκέα. S and V have ὑπεραλκέα. (See note on viii. 11.)

[259] τῶν Περσέων. It does not seem necessary either to read ἐκ τῶν Περσέων, or to consider τῶν Περσέων to be governed by the preposition πρὸς in the compound verb προσετέτακτο. It is the genitive case after διόδους. Translate, "to the Milesians orders had been given to secure the communications of the Persians."

[260] πολέμου ἐόντος Ἀθηναίοισί τε καὶ Καρυστίοισι. THUCYDIDES, in his brief summary of the events between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars, speaks of

Athenians, and of them one Hermolycus. χώρης ἀποθανόντα ἐν μάχῃ, κεῖσθαι ἐπὶ Γεραιστῷ· μετὰ δὲ Ἀθηναίους, Κορίνθιοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι ἠρίστευσαν.

106 *The allied fleet returns to Samos, and the future policy is discussed.* Ἐπεί τε δὲ κατεργάσαντο οἱ Ἕλληνες τοὺς πολλούς, τοὺς μὲν μαχομένους τοὺς δὲ καὶ φεύγοντας τῶν βαρβάρων, τὰς νέας ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἅπαν, τὴν ληΐην προεξαγαγόντες ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν· καὶ θησαυρούς τινας χρημάτων εὗρον· ἐμπρήσαντες δὲ τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τὰς νέας ἀπέπλεον. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς Σάμον οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ ἀναστάσιος τῆς Ἰωνίης, καὶ ὅπη χρεὸν εἴη τῆς Ἑλλάδος κατοικίσαι, τῆς αὐτοὶ ἐγκρατέες ἦσαν· τὴν δὲ Ἰωνίην ἀπεῖναι τοῖσι βαρβάροισι· ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἐφαίνετό σφι εἶναι ἑωυτούς τε Ἰώνων προκατῆσθαι[261] φρουρέοντας τὸν πάντα χρόνον· καὶ ἑωυτῶν μὴ προκατημένων, Ἴωνας οὐδεμίαν ἐλπίδα εἶχον χαίροντας πρὸς τῶν Περσέων ἀπαλλάξειν[262]. πρὸς ταῦτα Πελοποννησίων μὲν τοῖσι ἐν τέλεϊ ἐοῦσι ἐδόκεε τῶν μηδισάντων ἐθνέων τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τὰ ἐμπόρια ἐξαναστήσαντας, δοῦναι τὴν χώρην Ἴωσι ἐνοικῆσαι· Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ οὐκ ἐδόκεε ἀρχὴν, Ἰωνίην γενέσθαι ἀνάστατον[263], οὐδὲ Πελοποννησίοισι περὶ τῶν σφετέρων ἀποικιέων βουλεύειν· ἀντιτεινόντων δὲ τούτων *Rise of the* προθύμως, εἶξαν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι· καὶ οὕτω δὴ Σαμίους τε καὶ

this war as one in which no other of the Eubœan towns took a part, and which was terminated by a pacific arrangement. This happened after the extension of the Athenian relations to Macedonia by the occupation of Eion on the Strymon (i. 98). From the site of Carystus and the character of its population (see note 227 on vi. 99), it appears likely that outrages would be committed on Athenian trading vessels going northward through the Eubœan channel, and driven by stress of weather on the shore. In this case, satisfaction would be given by the extradition of offenders. Had it been a war of conquest of which Thucydides speaks, it could hardly have ended as it did. Themistocles had extorted money from Carystus after the battle of Salamis, and, after this, its territory had been devastated by the allies (viii. 112. 121).

261 Ἰώνων προκατῆσθαι. See note 74 on viii. 36.

262 Ἴωνας οὐδεμίαν ἐλπίδα εἶχον χαίροντας πρὸς τῶν Περσέων ἀπαλλάξειν. "They had no hope that the Ionians would be quit of the business without suffering at the hands of the Persians." The fear of the allies was, that the Ionians would be utterly exterminated by the Persians as soon as their protectors had left; but to express this directly would have shocked the feelings of a Greek, who above all things avoided words of ill omen. Hence οὐ χαίροντας, being the substituted equivalent for τὰ ἔσχατα παθόντας or some similar phrase, is put in the regimen appropriate to that.

263 Ἰωνίην γενέσθαι ἀνάστατον. Such a measure as that proposed, would, if carried out, have given the Lacedæmonians a predominance not only in the Peloponnese, but also in Bœotia and Thessaly, which would have overwhelmed all other interests. Naturally, therefore, it encountered an opposition on the part of the Athenians, which would be the more effective, as their contingent formed far the largest part of the fleet, and a refusal of their ships would have entirely baffled the project had it been resolved on.

Χίους καὶ Λεσβίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νησιώτας, οἳ ἔτυχον συστρατευόμενοι τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἐς τὸ συμμαχικὸν ἐποιήσαντο, πίστι τε καταλαβόντες καὶ ὁρκίοισι, ἐμμένειν τε καὶ μὴ ἀποστήσεσθαι· τούτους δὲ καταλαβόντες ὁρκίοισι, ἔπλεον τὰς γεφύρας λύσοντες· ἔτι γὰρ ἐδόκεον ἐντεταμένας εὑρήσειν. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐπ' Ἑλλησπόντου ἔπλεον.

permanent confederacy against Persia.

107

A small number of the Persian troops get back to Sardis, on the road to which a quarrel between Masistes and Artayntes nearly costs the former his life.

Τῶν δὲ ἀποφυγόντων βαρβάρων ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τε τῆς Μυκάλης κατειληθέντων, ἐόντων οὐ πολλῶν, ἐγίνετο κομιδὴ ἐς Σάρδις· πορευομένων δὲ, κατ' ὁδὸν Μασίστης[264] *ὁ Δαρείου παρατυχὼν τῷ πάθεϊ τῷ γεγονότι τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἀρταΰντην ἔλεγε πολλά τε καὶ κακὰ, ἄλλα τέ καὶ γυναικὸς κακίω φὰς αὐτὸν εἶναι τοιαῦτα στρατηγήσαντα, καὶ ἄξιον εἶναι παντὸς κακοῦ τὸν βασιλέος οἶκον κακώσαντα· παρὰ δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι γυναικὸς κακίω ἀκοῦσαι δέννος μέγιστός ἐστι· ὁ δὲ, ἐπεὶ πολλὰ ἤκουσε, δεινὰ ποιεύμενος, σπᾶται ἐπὶ τὸν Μασίστην τὸν ἀκινάκεα, ἀποκτεῖναι θέλων· καί μιν ἐπιθέοντα φρασθεὶς Ξειναγόρης ὁ Πρηξίλεω, ἀνὴρ Ἁλικαρνησσεὺς, ὄπισθε ἑστεὼς αὐτοῦ Ἀρταΰντεω, ἁρπάζει μέσον*[265]*, καὶ ἐξάρας παίει ἐς τὴν γῆν· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ δορυφόροι Μασίστεω προέστησαν· ὁ δὲ Ξειναγόρης ταῦτα ἐργάσατο, χάριτα αὐτῷ τε Μασίστῃ τιθέμενος*[266] *καὶ Ξέρξῃ, ἐκσώζων τὸν ἀδελφεὸν τὸν ἐκείνου· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Ξειναγόρης Κιλικίης πάσης ἦρξε, δόντος βασιλέος· τῶν δὲ κατ' ὁδὸν πορευομένων, οὐδὲν ἔτι πλέον ἐγένετο τούτων, ἀλλ' ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδις· ἐν δὲ τῇσι Σάρδισι ἐτύγχανε ἐὼν βασιλεὺς, ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἐπεί τε ἐξ Ἀθηνέων, προσπταίσας τῇ ναυμαχίῃ, φυγὼν ἀπίκετο.*

108

Anecdote of the licentious conduct of Xerxes and of the bitter spite of the sultana Amestris.

Τότε δὲ ἐν τῇσι Σάρδισι ἐὼν ἄρα ἤρα τῆς Μασίστεω γυναικὸς, ἐούσης καὶ ταύτης ἐνθαῦτα· ὡς δέ οἱ προσπέμποντι οὐκ ἐδύνατο κατεργασθῆναι, οὐδὲ βίην προσέφερε, προμηθεόμενος τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Μασίστην· τὠυτὸ δὲ τοῦτο εἶχε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα· εὖ γὰρ ἐπίστατο βίης οὐ τευξομένη· ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Ξέρξης ἐργόμενος τῶν ἄλλων, πρήσσει τὸν γάμον τοῦτον[267] *τῷ παιδὶ τῷ ἑωυτοῦ Δαρείῳ, θυγατέρα*

264 *Μασίστης*. See note 56 on § 20, above.

265 *ἁρπάζει μέσον*, "seizes him by his waist." The idiom exists also in Latin. TERENCE, *Adelph.* iii. 2. 17:

Tum autem Syrum impulsorem, vah? quibus illum lacerarem modis!
Sublimem *medium* primum *arriperem*, et capite in terram statuerem,
Ut cerebro dispergat viam.

266 *χάριτα τιθέμενος*, "putting under an obligation." See note 98 on vi. 41.

267 *πρήσσει τὸν γάμον τοῦτον*, "he makes up this match."

τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης καὶ Μασίστεω, δοκέων αὐτὴν μᾶλλον λάμψεσθαι ἢν ταῦτα ποιήσῃ, ἁρμόσας δὲ καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιήσας ἀπήλαυνε ἐς Σοῦσα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖ τε ἀπίκετο καὶ ἠγάγετο ἐς ἑωυτοῦ Δαρείῳ τὴν γυναῖκα, οὕτω δὴ τῆς Μασίστεω μὲν γυναικὸς ἐπέπαυτο, ὁ δὲ διαμειψάμενος ἤρα τε καὶ ἐτύγχανε τῆς Δαρείου μὲν γυναικὸς, Μασίστεω δὲ θυγατρός· οὔνομα δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ ταύτῃ
109 ἦν Ἀρταΰντη. Χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος, ἀνάπυστα γίνεται τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ἐξυφήνασα Ἄμηστρις, ἡ Ξέρξεω γυνὴ, φᾶρος μέγα τε καὶ ποικίλον καὶ θέης ἄξιον, διδοῖ Ξέρξῃ· ὁ δὲ ἡσθεὶς περιβάλλεταί τε καὶ ἔρχεται παρὰ τὴν Ἀρταΰντην· ἡσθεὶς δὲ καὶ ταύτῃ, ἐκέλευσε αὐτὴν αἰτῆσαι ὅ τι βούλεταί οἱ γενέσθαι ἀντὶ τῶν αὐτῷ ὑπουργημένων[268]· πάντα γὰρ τεύξεσθαι αἰτήσασαν· τῇ δὲ κακῶς γὰρ ἔδεε πανοικίῃ γενέσθαι, πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπε Ξέρξῃ· "δώσεις μοι τὸ ἄν σε αἰτήσω;" ὁ δὲ πᾶν μᾶλλον δοκέων κείνην αἰτῆσαι, ὑπισχνέετο καὶ ὤμοσε· ἡ δὲ, ὡς ὤμοσε, ἀδεῶς αἰτέει τὸ φᾶρος· Ξέρξης δὲ παντοῖος ἐγίνετο[269], οὐ βουλόμενος δοῦναι· κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν, φοβεόμενος δὲ Ἄμηστριν, μὴ καὶ πρὶν κατεικαζούσῃ τὰ γινόμενα οὕτω ἐπευρεθῇ πρήσσων[270]· ἀλλὰ πόλις τε ἐδίδου καὶ χρυσὸν ἄπλετον, καὶ στρατὸν τοῦ ἔμελλε οὐδεὶς ἄρξειν ἀλλ' ἢ ἐκείνη· Περσικὸν δὲ κάρτα ὁ στρατὸς δῶρον· ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἔπειθε, διδοῖ τὸ φᾶρος· ἡ δὲ περιχαρὴς ἐοῦσα τῷ δώρῳ, ἐφόρεέ τε καὶ ἠγάλλετο[271]· καὶ ἡ
110 Ἄμηστρις πυνθάνεταί μιν ἔχουσαν. Μαθοῦσα δὲ τὸ ποιεύμενον, τῇ μὲν γυναικὶ ταύτῃ οὐκ εἶχε ἔγκοτον· ἡ δὲ ἐλπίζουσα τὴν μητέρα αὐτῆς εἶναι αἰτίην καὶ ταῦτα ἐκείνην πρήσσειν, τῇ Μασίστεω γυναικὶ ἐβούλευε ὄλεθρον· φυλάξασα δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἑωυτῆς Ξέρξην φασιλήϊον δεῖπνον προτιθέμενον· τοῦτο δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον παρασκευάζεται ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἐν ἡμέρῃ τῇ ἐγένετο βασι-

268 οἱ γενέσθαι ἀντὶ τῶν αὐτῷ ὑπουργημένων. These words do not exist in the manuscript S, and the first not in F and *b*.

269 παντοῖος ἐγίνετο. See note 340 on iii. 124.

270 μὴ καὶ πρὶν κατεικαζούσῃ τὰ γινόμενα οὕτω ἐπευρεθῇ πρήσσων, "lest his intrigue should at last become known to her who even before had an inkling of what was going on." Several of the MSS have κατεικάζουσα, which Gaisford adopts. In that case the sentence ought to have ended, οὕτω καταλάβῃ πρήσσοντα. But wherever a sudden change of construction takes place, there is always in the older writers a motive, originating in the desire to express some shade of meaning which the sentence in its normal shape would fail to convey. Here nothing of the kind would be effected by the change, and therefore I prefer the old reading.

271 ἠγάλλετο. This is the reading of the majority of the MSS. But S, V, P, and F, which Gaisford follows, have the form ἀγάλλετο.

λεύς[272]· οὔνομα δὲ τῷ δείπνῳ τούτῳ Περσιστὶ μὲν ΤΥΚΤΑ, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν, ΤΕΛΕΙΟΝ[273]· τότε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν σμᾶται μοῦνον βασιλεὺς[274], καὶ Πέρσας δωρέεται· ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἡμέρην φυλάξασα ἡ Ἄμηστρις, χρῄζει τοῦ Ξέρξεω δοθῆναί οἱ τὴν Μασίστεω γυναῖκα· ὁ δὲ δεινόν τε καὶ ἀνάρσιον ἐποιέετο, τοῦτο μὲν ἀδελφεοῦ γυναῖκα παραδοῦναι, τοῦτο δὲ ἀναιτίην ἐοῦσαν τοῦ πρήγματος τούτου· συνῆκε γὰρ τοῦ εἵνεκεν ἐδέετο. Τέλος μέντοι, 111
κείνης τε λιπαρεούσης καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἐξεργόμενος· ὅτι ἀτυχῆσαι τὸν χρῄζοντα οὔ σφι δυνατόν ἐστι βασιληΐου δείπνου προκειμένου· κάρτα δὴ ἀέκων κατανεύει· καὶ παραδοὺς ποιέει ὧδε· τὴν μὲν κελεύει ποιέειν τὰ βούλεται, ὁ δὲ μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν ἀδελφεὸν λέγει τάδε· "Μασίστα, σὺ εἶς Δαρείου τε παῖς, καὶ ἐμὸς ἀδελφεός[275]· πρὸς δ' ἔτι τούτοισι, καὶ εἶς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός· γυναικὶ δὴ ταύτῃ τῇ νῦν συνοικέεις, μὴ συνοίκεε· ἀλλά τοι ἀντ' αὐτῆς ἐγὼ δίδωμι θυγατέρα τὴν ἐμήν· ταύτῃ συνοίκεε, τὴν δὲ νῦν ἔχεις, οὐ γὰρ δοκέει ἐμοί, μὴ ἔχε γυναῖκα." ὁ δὲ Μασίστης ἀποθωμάσας τὰ λεγόμενα, λέγει τάδε· "ὦ δέσποτα, τίνα μοι λόγον λέγεις ἄχρηστον, κελεύων με γυναῖκα, ἐκ τῆς μοι παῖδες νεηνίαι τέ εἰσι καὶ θυγατέρες, τῶν καὶ σὺ μίαν τῷ παιδὶ τῷ σεωυτοῦ ἠγάγεο γυναῖκα, αὐτή τέ μοι κατὰ νόον τυγχάνει κάρτα ἐοῦσα, ταύτην με κελεύεις μετέντα, θυγατέρα τὴν σὴν γῆμαι; ἐγὼ δέ, βασιλεῦ, μέγα μὲν ποιεῦμαι ἀξιεύμενος θυγατρὸς τῆς σῆς, ποιήσω μέντοι τούτων οὐδέτερα· σὺ δὲ μηδαμῶς βιῶ πρήγματος τοιοῦδε δεόμενος[276]· ἀλλὰ τῇ τε σῇ θυγατρὶ ἀνὴρ ἄλλος φανήσεται ἐμεῦ οὐδὲν ἥσσων, ἐμέ τε ἔα γυναικὶ τῇ ἐμῇ συνοικέειν." ὁ μὲν δὴ

[272] ἐν ἡμέρῃ τῇ ἐγένετο βασιλεύς. The natural signification of these words would be, "in the day in which he became king;" but there seems little doubt that the day in question was the monarch's birth-day, which was by far the highest feast of all among the Persians. (Above, i. 133, and DINON *ap. Athenæum*, iv. p. 147.) PLATO (*Alcibiad.* i. § 36) says that the birth-day of the reigning sovereign was observed as a festival throughout the whole of Asia. Thus too the festival in which Herod could not refuse a boon was τοῖς γενεσίοις αὐτοῦ. (*Marc. Evang.* vi 21.) But the word βασιλεὺς was commonly used without the article, just as if it were a proper name, when applied to the Persian king. (See vii. 174.) This passage, therefore, may perhaps be rendered, "on the day on which *His Majesty* was born."

[273] ΤΕΛΕΙΟΝ. When Herodotus uses this word elsewhere, he adopts the form τέλεον, after the analogy of ἐπιτήδεος, ὑπώρεος, &c., instead of the common ἐπιτήδειος, ὑπώρειος.

[274] βασιλεύς. S and V have ὁ βασιλεύς. But see note 272, above.

[275] εἷς Δαρείου τε παῖς, καὶ ἐμὸς ἀδελφεός. He was the brother of Xerxes by both father and mother (vii. 82).

[276] σὺ δὲ μηδαμῶς βιῶ πρήγματος τοιοῦδε δεόμενος, "and do thou not think of pressing thy request for such a proceeding."

τοιούτοισι ἀμείβεται· Ξέρξης δὲ θυμωθεὶς λέγει τάδε· "οὕτω τοι, Μασίστα, πέπρηκται· οὔτε γὰρ ἄν τοι δῴην θυγατέρα τὴν ἐμὴν γῆμαι, οὔτε ἐκείνῃ πλεῦνα χρόνον συνοικήσεις· ὡς μάθῃς τὰ διδόμενα δέκεσθαι." ὁ δὲ ὡς ταῦτα ἤκουσε, εἴπας τοσόνδε, ἐχώρεε ἔξω·
112 *"δέσποτα, οὐ δή κώ με ἀπώλεσας." Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ διὰ μέσου χρόνῳ ἐν τῷ Ξέρξης τῷ ἀδελφεῷ διελέγετο, ἡ Ἄμηστρις μεταπεμψαμένη τοὺς δορυφόρους τοῦ Ξέρξεω, διαλυμαίνεται τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν Μασίστεω· τούς τε μαζοὺς*[277] *ἀποταμοῦσα κυσὶ προέβαλε, καὶ ῥῖνα, καὶ ὦτα, καὶ χείλεα· καὶ γλῶσσαν ἐκταμοῦσα,*
113 *ἐς οἶκόν μιν ἀποπέμπει διαλελυμασμένην. Ὁ δὲ Μασίστης οὐδέν κω ἀκηκοὼς τούτων, ἐλπόμενος δέ τί οἱ κακὸν εἶναι, ἐσπίπτει δρόμῳ ἐς τὰ οἰκία· ἰδὼν δὲ διεφθαρμένην τὴν γυναῖκα, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα συμβουλευσάμενος τοῖσι παισί, ἐπορεύετο ἐς Βάκτρα σύν τε τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ υἱοῖσι καὶ δή κού τισι καὶ ἄλλοισι, ὡς ἀποστήσων νομὸν τὸν Βάκτριον, καὶ ποιήσων τὰ μέγιστα κακῶν βασιλέα· τάπερ ἂν καὶ ἐγένετο, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, εἴπερ ἔφθη ἀναβὰς ἐς τοὺς Βακτρίους*[278] *καὶ τοὺς Σάκας· καὶ γὰρ ἔστεργόν τέ μιν, καὶ ἦν ὕπαρχος τῶν Βακτρίων· ἀλλὰ γὰρ Ξέρξης πυθόμενος ταῦτα ἐκεῖνον πρήσσοντα, πέμψας ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρατιήν, ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ κατέκτεινε αὐτόν τε ἐκεῖνον καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν ἐκείνου*[279]. *κατὰ μὲν τὸν ἔρωτα τὸν Ξέρξεω καὶ τὸν Μασίστεω θάνατον τοσαῦτα ἐγένετο.*

Masistes is put to death by his brother.

114 *Οἱ δὲ ἐκ Μυκάλης ὁρμηθέντες Ἕλληνες ἐπ' Ἑλλησπόντου*

[277] *μαζούς.* S and V have *μαστούς.* See note 516 on iv. 202.

[278] *τοὺς Βακτρίους.* The power of the Bactrians at the time of Cyrus's accession to the throne was very great indeed. See the passage of Ctesias cited in the note 441 on i. 130. And even after the accession of Cambyses, the country seems to have been only nominally dependent upon the Median sovereign. Κῦρος δὲ *μέλλων τελευτᾷν* Καμβύσην *μὲν τὸν πρῶτον υἱὸν βασιλέα καθίστη,* Τανυοξάρκην *δὲ τὸν νεώτερον ἐπέστησε δεσπόπην* Βακτρίων *καὶ τῆς χώρας καὶ* Χοραμνίων (forte legendum Χορασμίων) *καὶ* Παρθίων *καὶ* Καρμανίων, *ἀτελεῖς ἔχειν τὰς χώρας διορισάμενος.* (Ctesias *ap. Phot. Biblioth.* p. 37.) Under such circumstances, it was not unnatural that it should have been comparatively little affected by the centralizing policy of Darius, and furnish a ready instrument to any disaffected member of the blood-royal. It should not be overlooked, that Masistes, being the son of Atossa, would have in his veins the blood of Astyages's daughter, the representative of the old Medo-magian dynasty. And his enemy *Amestris*, whether the daughter of Otanes or Onophas, comes of the stock of one of the seven conspirators who slew the Magian. (See note 192 on vii. 61.)

[279] *τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν ἐκείνου.* There is no occasion to regard the word *στρατιὴν* as a marginal gloss, or to change it into *θεραπηΐην.* As satrap of Bactria, Masistes would undoubtedly always be attended by his guards, just as an English noble before the wars of the Roses was by his retainers.

πρῶτον μὲν περὶ Λεκτὸν ὅρμεον[280], ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἀπολαμφθέντες· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς Ἄβυδον, καὶ τὰς γεφύρας εὗρον διαλελυμένας τὰς ἐδόκεον εὑρήσειν ἔτι ἐντεταμένας[281]· καὶ τούτων οὐκ ἥκιστα εἵνεκεν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀπίκοντο. τοῖσι μέν νυν ἀμφὶ Λευτυχίδεα Πελοποννησίοισι ἔδοξε ἀποπλέειν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα· Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ καὶ Ξανθίππῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ, αὐτοῦ ὑπομείναντας πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Χερσονήσου[282]. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπέπλεον· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ, ἐκ τῆς Ἀβύδου διαβάντες[283] ἐς τὴν Χερσόνησον, Σηστὸν ἐπολιόρκεον.

115 Ἐς δὲ τὴν Σηστὸν ταύτην, ὡς ἐόντος ἰσχυροτάτου τείχεος τῶν ταύτῃ[284], συνῆλθον, ὡς ἤκουσαν παρεῖναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἔκ τε τῶν ἄλλων τῶν περιοικίδων καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκ Καρδίης πόλιος[285] Οἰόβαζος[286], ἀνὴρ Πέρσης, ὃς τὰ ἐκ τῶν γεφυρέων ὅπλα ἐνθαῦτα ἦν κεκομικώς· εἶχον δὲ ταύτην ἐπιχώριοι Αἰολέες, συνῆσαν δὲ Πέρσαι τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων συχνὸς ὅμιλος.

116 Ἐτυράννευε δὲ τούτου τοῦ νομοῦ Ξέρξεω ὕπαρχος[287] Ἀρταΰκτης, ἀνὴρ μὲν Πέρσης[288], δεινὸς δὲ καὶ ἀτάσθαλος· ὃς καὶ βασιλέα ἐλαύνοντα ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐξηπάτησε, τὰ Πρωτεσίλεω τοῦ Ἰφίκλου χρήματα ἐξ Ἐλαιοῦντος[289] ὑφελόμενος[290]· ἐν γὰρ Ἐλαιοῦντι τῆς Χερσονήσου ἐστὶ Πρωτεσίλεω τάφος τε καὶ τέμενος περὶ αὐτὸν, ἔνθα ἦν χρήματα πολλὰ, καὶ φιάλαι χρύσεαι καὶ ἀργύρεαι, καὶ χαλκὸς, καὶ ἐσθὴς, καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα, τὰ Ἀρταΰκτης

The allies sail to the Hellespont, where they find the bridges destroyed. The Peloponnesians return home, but the Athenians, under *Xanthippus*, remain, and besiege *Sestos*, the strongest place in the Chersonese.

Story of *Artayctes*, the commander of the district.

280 περὶ Λεκτὸν ὅρμεον. *Lectum* is a promontory formed by one of the roots of Mount Ida running down to the sea in a direction somewhat to the south of west. It is the most western point of the continent of Asia. Under it the allied fleet would be sheltered from the force of the Etesian winds.

281 τὰς ἐδόκεον εὑρήσειν ἔτι ἐντεταμένας. See note 212 on viii. 109, above.

282 τοῖσι μέν νυν . . . τῆς Χερσονήσου. See THUCYDIDES, i. 89.

283 διαβάντες. S has διαβάλλοντες. But although this latter word is sometimes used of a transit by sea, the former seems the true reading.

284 ὡς ἐόντος ἰσχυροτάτου τείχεος τῶν ταύτῃ. Se note 76 on v. 30.

285 ἐκ Καρδίης πόλιος. See note 80 on vi. 33.

286 Οἰόβαζος. This is the name of the Persian whose sons were, according to the story in iv. 84, barbarously put to death by Darius just before his expedition into Scythia. The son of an Œobazus also has a command in the army in Xerxes's expedition (vii. 68).

287 τούτου τοῦ νομοῦ . . ὕπαρχος. For the nature of the Chersonese satrapy, see notes 64 and 76 on v. 25. 30, and 91 on vii. 22.

288 ἀνὴρ μὲν Πέρσης. His father's name was Chorasmis, or Cherasmis. See note 244 on vii. 79.

289 ἐξ Ἐλαιοῦντος. For the position of *Elæus*, see note 91 on vii. 22.

290 ὑφελόμενος. The manuscripts S and V, confirmed by Valla's translation, give the reading αἰτήσας, which some have preferred on the ground that when Artayctes was misleading Xerxes he had not as yet laid hands on the treasures of the fane. But this may possibly not have been the case; and, anyhow, the text as it stands means no more than that he both robbed Protesilaus and deceived the Persian king. Still it does not seem so likely that αἰτήσας is due to an arbitrary correction, as that this is another instance of an early variation of recensions.

ἐσύλησε, βασιλέος δόντος· λέγων δὲ τοιάδε Ξέρξεα διεβάλετο· " δέσποτα, ἔστι οἶκος ἀνδρὸς Ἕλληνος ἐνθαῦτα, ὃς ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν στρατευσάμενος, δίκης κυρήσας ἀπέθανε· τούτου μοι δὸς τὸν οἶκον, ἵνα καί τις μάθῃ ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν μὴ στρατεύεσθαι·" ταῦτα λέγων, εὐπετέως ἔμελλε ἀναπείσειν Ξέρξεα δοῦναι ἀνδρὸς οἶκον, οὐδὲν ὑποτοπηθέντα τῶν ἐκεῖνος ἐφρόνεε· ἐπὶ γῆν δὲ τὴν βασιλέος στρατεύεσθαι Πρωτεσίλεων ἔλεγε, νοέων τοιάδε· τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν νομίζουσι ἑωυτῶν εἶναι[291] Πέρσαι, καὶ τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντος· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόθη τὰ χρήματα, ἐξ Ἐλαιοῦντος ἐς Σηστὸν ἐξεφόρησε, καὶ τὸ τέμενος ἔσπειρε καὶ ἐνέμετο· αὐτός τε ὅκως ἀπίκοιτο ἐς Ἐλαιοῦντα, ἐν τῷ ἀδύτῳ γυναιξὶ ἐμίσγετο[292]. τότε δὲ ἐπολιορκέετο ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, οὔτε παρεσκευασμένος ἐς πολιορκίην οὔτε προσδεκόμενος τοὺς Ἕλληνας· ἀφυλάκτῳ[293] δέ κως αὐτῷ ἐπέπεσον.

117 *Sestos holds out till the autumn,* Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολιορκεομένοισί σφι φθινόπωρον ἐπεγίνετο, καὶ ἤσχαλλον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπό τε τῆς ἑωυτῶν ἀποδημέοντες καὶ οὐ δυνάμενοι ἐξελεῖν τὸ τεῖχος, ἐδέοντό τε τῶν στρατηγῶν ὅκως ἀπάγοιέν σφεας ὀπίσω, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν, πρὶν ἢ ἐξέλωσι ἢ τὸ Ἀθηναίων κοινόν σφεας μεταπέμψηται· οὕτω δὴ ἔστεργον τὰ παρεόντα.

118 *although suffering grievously from fa-* Οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ τείχεϊ ἐς πᾶν ἤδη κακοῦ ἀπιγμένοι ἦσαν, οὕτω ὥστε τοὺς τόνους ἕψοντες τῶν κλινέων ἐσιτέοντο· ἐπεί τε δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἔτι εἶχον,

[291] ἑωυτῶν εἶναι. The Persian kings considered themselves the representatives of the Median and Assyrian dynasties, and hence Xerxes is made to speak of Pelops as the vassal of his ancestors (vii. 11). Whether the Assyrian empire really ever extended to these parts is of little consequence. All oriental sovereigns of importance have probably regarded themselves, and been regarded by their subjects, as possessing a claim to universal dominion. PLATO, however, makes the dynasty of Priam vassals of that of Ninus (*Legg.* iii. § 6); and the name *Assaracus* (Asur-ac) is a decisive proof of some connexion of Assyria with the neighbourhood of Troy. The name of the builder of the N. W. palace in the mound of Nimroud is read *Ashur-ac-bal*, as well as *Asur-adn-bal* (Sardanapalus).

[292] ἐν τῷ ἀδύτῳ γυναιξὶ ἐμίσγετο. This is probably the Hellenic version of the fact that Artayctes converted the demesne and temple of Protesilaus into a paradise and seraglio. Such a secularisation of sacred lands would no doubt involve the destruction of many rights of the citizens of Elæus,—for the whole town belonged to the hero (PAUSANIAS, i. 34. 2),—as well as cause enormous scandal. The contrast between the reckless proceeding of Artayctes, and the tenderness of Xerxes for religious institutions of exactly the same character as the Protesilaus-worship (see vii. 43), is not to be overlooked. The women whom Artayctes *collected* (ἀγινέετο, vii. 33) in his harem probably were, as they are at the present day, Circassians; for he commanded the contingent in Xerxes's army which came from that part of the Persian king's dominions. See notes 243 on vii. 78, and 274, 275 on iii. 94.

[293] ἀφυλάκτῳ. This reading is adopted by Gaisford on the authority of S and V. The rest of the MSS have ἀφύκτως, to which a very fair sense may be given; for the main gist of the story is to show the formidable issue of the vengeance of Protesilaus. That the word ἀφύκτως should be unusual is no objection, as it is formed according to analogy.

οὕτω δὴ ὑπὸ νύκτα οἴχονται ἀποδράντες οἵ τε Πέρσαι καὶ ὁ Ἀρταΰκτης καὶ ὁ Οἰόβαζος, ὄπισθε τοῦ τείχεος καταβάντες τῇ ἦν ἐρημότατον τῶν πολεμίων· ὡς δὲ ἡμέρη ἐγένετο, οἱ Χερσονησῖται ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ἐσήμηναν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ τὰς πύλας ἄνοιξαν· τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλεῦνες ἐδίωκον, οἱ δὲ τὴν πόλιν εἶχον. Οἰόβαζον μέν νυν ἐκφυγόντα ἐς τὴν Θρηΐκην Θρήϊκες Ἀψίνθιοι[294] λαβόντες ἔθυσαν Πλειστώρῳ ἐπιχωρίῳ θεῷ, τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ· τοὺς δὲ μετ' ἐκείνου, ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ ἐφόνευσαν. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀρταΰκτην ὕστεροι[295] ὁρμηθέντες φεύγειν, καὶ ὡς κατελαμβάνοντο ὀλίγοι ἐόντες ὑπὲρ Αἰγὸς Ποταμῶν, ἀλεξόμενοι χρόνον ἐπὶ συχνὸν, οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον οἱ δὲ ζῶντες ἐλάμφθησαν. καὶ συνδήσαντές σφεας οἱ Ἕλληνες ἦγον ἐς Σηστόν· μετ' αὐτῶν δὲ καὶ Ἀρταΰκτην δεδεμένον, αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ. Καί τεῳ τῶν φυλασσόντων λέγεται ὑπὸ Χερσονησιτέων, ταρίχους ὀπτῶντι τέρας γενέσθαι τοιόνδε· οἱ τάριχοι ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ κείμενοι ἐπάλλοντό[296] τε καὶ ἤσπαιρον, ὅκως περ ἰχθύες νεοάλωτοι· καὶ οἱ μὲν περιχυθέντες ἐθώμαζον· ὁ δὲ Ἀρταΰκτης ὡς εἶδε τὸ τέρας, καλέσας τὸν ὀπτῶντα τοὺς ταρίχους ἔφη· "ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, μηδὲν φοβέο τὸ τέρας τοῦτο· οὐ γὰρ σοὶ πέφηνε· ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ σημαίνει ὁ ἐν Ἐλαιοῦντι Πρωτεσίλεως, ὅτι καὶ τεθνεὼς καὶ τάριχος ἐὼν δύναμιν πρὸς θεῶν ἔχει τὸν ἀδικέοντα τίνεσθαι· νῦν ὦν ἄποινά οἱ τάδε ἐθέλω ἐπιθεῖναι[297]· ἀντὶ μὲν χρημάτων τῶν ἔλαβον ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ, ἑκατὸν τάλαντα καταθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ· ἀντὶ δ' ἐμεωυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀποδώσω τάλαντα διηκόσια Ἀθηναίοισι, περιγενόμενος." ταῦτα ὑπισχόμενος, τὸν στρατηγὸν Ξάνθιππον οὐκ ἔπειθε· οἱ γὰρ Ἐλαιούσιοι τῷ Πρωτεσίλεῳ τιμωρέοντες ἐδέοντό μιν καταχρησθῆναι, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ταύτῃ ὁ νόος ἔφερε· ἀπαγαγόντες δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐς τὴν Ξέρξης ἔζευξε τὸν πόρον[298], (οἱ δὲ

mine, which at last compels the Persian garrison to evacuate it.

119 *They are captured or destroyed.*

120 *Singular omen which befel Artayctes, whose ransom is refused, and he himself crucified.*

294 Ἀψίνθιοι. These are perhaps the periœcians of *Ænus*. See note 81 on vi. 34, and note 183 on vii. 58.

295 ὕστεροι. S, V, and F, have ὕστερον. In the next line S alone has ὀλίγοι, and the rest ὀλίγον, which Gaisford prints.

296 ἐπάλλοντο. This word has nothing to do with ἅλλεσθαι, but is the imperfect passive of πάλλω. Compare δείματι παλλόμενοι in the oracle (vii. 140), and the word παλλομένους applied to the leaping of fish just drawn out from the water (i. 141).

297 ἄποινά οἱ τάδε ἐθέλω ἐπιθεῖναι. The more usual phrase would be ἄποινα διδόναι or ἐκτίνειν. (See vi. 79, above.) But what Artayctes is doing is to *impose* a penalty on himself for his impiety. Translate, "Now therefore I am willing to fix this satisfaction for him." He uses indeed the phrase which would be appropriate to the arbiter, not to one of the parties in the case.

298 ἐς τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐς τὴν Ξέρξης ἔζευξε τὸν πόρον. In the description which the

λέγουσι ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν τὸν ὑπὲρ Μαδύτου πόλιος,) σανίδα προσπασσαλεύσαντες, ἀνεκρέμασαν· τὸν δὲ παῖδα ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσι

121 τοῦ Ἀρταύκτεω κατέλευσαν. Ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἀπέπλεον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τά τε ἄλλα χρήματα ἄγοντες καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ ὅπλα τῶν γεφυρέων, ὡς ἀναθήσοντες ἐς τὰ ἱρά· καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο οὐδὲν ἔτι πλέον τούτων ἐγένετο.

The Athenians return home.

122 Τούτου δὲ τοῦ Ἀρταύκτεω τοῦ ἀνακρεμασθέντος προπάτωρ Ἀρτεμβάρης ἐστὶ ὁ Πέρσῃσι ἐξηγησάμενος λόγον, τὸν ἐκεῖνοι ὑπολαβόντες Κύρῳ προσήνεικαν[299], λέγοντα τάδε· "ἐπεὶ Ζεὺς Πέρσῃσι ἡγεμονίην διδοῖ, ἀνδρῶν δὲ σοί, Κῦρε, κατελὼν Ἀστυάγεα· φέρε, γῆν γὰρ ἐκτήμεθα ὀλίγην καὶ ταύτην τρηχέην, μεταναστάντες ἐκ ταύτης ἄλλην ἔχωμεν ἀμείνω. εἰσὶ δὲ πολλαὶ μὲν ἀστυγείτονες πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ ἑκαστέρω· τῶν μίαν σχόντες πλέοσι ἐσόμεθα θωμαστότεροι· οἰκὸς δὲ ἄρχοντας ἄνδρας τοιαῦτα ποιέειν· κότε γὰρ δὴ καὶ παρέξει κάλλιον, ἢ ὅτε γε ἀνθρώπων τε πολλῶν ἄρχομεν πάσης τε τῆς Ἀσίης;" Κῦρος δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας, καὶ οὐ θωμάσας τὸν λόγον, ἐκέλευε ποιέειν ταῦτα· οὕτω δὲ αὐτοῖσι παραίνεε, κελεύων παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς οὐκέτι ἄρξοντας ἀλλ' ἀρξομένους· φιλέειν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μαλακῶν χώρων μαλακοὺς ἄνδρας γίνεσθαι· οὐ γάρ τοι τῆς αὐτῆς γῆς εἶναι καρπόν τε θωμαστὸν φύειν καὶ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια· ὥστε συγγνόντες Πέρσαι οἴχοντο ἀποστάντες, ἑσσωθέντες τῇ γνώμῃ πρὸς Κύρου· ἄρχειν τε εἵλοντο λυπρὴν οἰκέοντες[300] μᾶλλον, ἢ πεδιάδα σπείροντες ἄλλοισι δουλεύειν.

Anecdote of *Artembares*, the grandfather of Artayctes.

author gives of the bridges (vii. 33), he assigns this locality to the scene of Artayctes's punishment, without mentioning any other.

[299] Κύρῳ προσήνεικαν, "attributed to Cyrus." It is the view of Artembares: ἐκ μαλακῶν χώρων μαλακοὶ ἄνδρες, which is the λόγος of the text,—the argument.

[300] ἄρχειν τε εἵλοντο λυπρὴν οἰκέοντες. The facts scarcely bear out this statement; for Cyrus, as well as Cambyses after him, appears to have made Agbatana his capital, and in fact to have placed himself in every respect in the position of the Median sovereigns whom he succeeded. (See *Excursus* on iii. 74, p. 429.) The ruffianly conduct of Artayctes is very much of a piece with the violence which is imputed to some individuals of the old Persian party. (See iii. 118, and note 435 on iv. 166.) And the opinion ascribed in the text to his grandfather is just such a one as might be expected from a man brought up under the influences of barbarism, and endeavouring to find a reasonable justification for his prepossessions.

ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ἘΝΑΤΗ.

EXCURSUS ON IX. 19.

CTESIAS AND THE BATTLE OF PLATÆA.

THE account which is given from CTESIAS of the expedition of Xerxes, while in its main features it agrees with the narrative of HERODOTUS, yet differs in some respects so remarkably from it, that it is worth while to present it in a connected form; in order to show what widely different stories had obtained currency in Greece respecting events occurring scarcely more than a generation before. It is only fair to a writer who has been somewhat unduly depreciated, to state, that there is in his account less exaggeration of numbers than in that of Herodotus, while at the same time there appears no tendency to disparage the extraordinary success of the Hellenic efforts at resistance.

According to him the whole force collected by Xerxes for the expedition consisted of 1000 triremes and 800,000 land troops, besides war-chariots. While these were crossing the bridge of boats at the Hellespont, Demaratus, the exiled king of Lacedæmon, met the invader, and endeavoured to dissuade him from directing the expedition against his native country; but whether this attempt was made by arousing Xerxes's fears or by deprecating his anger, the brief notice of the summary does not allow us to determine. At Thermopylæ the first resistance appears. Artabanus is sent on thither with an advanced body of 10,000, but effectually resisted by Leonidas. His force is doubled, and afterwards increased to as many as 50,000, but with no better success, and the attempt is given up at the time. Afterwards, however, by the agency of two Trachinians, 40,000 troops are brought into the rear of the Lacedæmonians, and the whole of them cut to pieces. After this, another army 120,000

strong, under Mardonius, is dispatched against Platæa at the instigation of the Thebans. Pausanias the Lacedæmonian meets them at the head of 300 Spartans, 1000 Lacedæmonian periœcians, and 6000 allies, totally defeats them, and compels Mardonius, who is himself wounded in the engagement, to retreat in disorder. Then follows the account of an expedition for the purpose of despoiling the temple of Apollo, headed by this same Mardonius; but his success is no greater in this instance, and he loses his life by a storm of enormous hailstones in the attempt,—an event which (Ctesias remarks) occasioned extreme grief to Xerxes.

By the way in which these events are related, one is induced to believe that, in the story of Ctesias, the main army was represented as occupying some portion of Greece north of Thermopylæ, while strong expeditionary detachments were sent forward for special purposes. After the death of Mardonius, however, Xerxes is represented as himself marching upon Athens, and burning, first the city, and afterwards, when deserted by its defenders, the acropolis also. Then, descending to the coast to the neighbourhood of the Heracleum, he attempts to carry a mole across the strait between Salamis and the main, the Athenians from the city having in the mean time taken refuge in the island and carried over to it 120 ships. It would seem as if this operation was interrupted by the aid of a subsidiary force of bowmen brought from Crete by the advice of Aristides and Themistocles. Next follows the great naval action, between more than 1000 vessels on the side of the Persians under the command of Onophas (the father, according to Ctesias, of the sultana Amestris), and 700 on that of the allies. Five hundred of the Persian gallies are destroyed; and Xerxes, under the influence of the intrigues of Aristides and Themistocles, retreats, having in the course of the expedition lost 120,000 men in battle. Once arrived in Asia, and on his march to Sardis, he sends another expedition to lay waste the temple of Apollo at Delphi, and insult the deity. Megabyzus, to whom the command is offered, declines it, and the expedition is put under the orders of an eunuch named Mataces, who, after executing his commission, returns back to Xerxes [1].

It is a singular circumstance that, in the above account, while the

[1] See note 80 on viii. 39, above.

main historical events constituting the turning points of the war, appear in nearly the same important light as in the narrative of Herodotus, their chronological arrangement is entirely different. Platæa, Thermopylæ, Salamis, and the retreat of the Persians through the intrigues of Themistocles, are with both historians the salient features of the picture; in both, too, Athens is represented as having been burnt, and a temple of Apollo attacked without success. But the prolongation of the war by Mardonius after the retreat of Xerxes is peculiar to Herodotus, being not merely unnoticed by Ctesias, but altogether incompatible with his notion of the progress of events.

Few persons will be disposed to renounce that long-standing belief as to the details of this celebrated campaign, which has grown up on the basis of the description of it by Herodotus; but nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the account of Ctesias is not only more in accordance with verisimilitude, particularly as regards the numbers attributed to the invaders, but likewise favoured to some extent, in one or two particulars, by the contemporary poet ÆSCHYLUS[2]. The precipitate retreat of the Persian king *immediately* after the battle of Salamis is a point strongly put forward by the dramatist, and is quite compatible with Ctesias's view of the attempt at forming the mole to the island, but not so with that of Herodotus. The great panic, too, which accompanied the return of the army through Thrace is difficult to understand, if their retreat was covered by an entire army under the commander-in-chief. Again, that there should be no allusion whatever in the drama to the calamity at Platæa is somewhat strange; but less so if the battle there was on the scale and at the time represented by Ctesias, than if we are guided in our estimate of it by the account of his rival. In the one case it certainly challenges attention as the first successful repulse of the invader; but after all it does no more than oppose a temporary check to his advance. He moves on, weakened indeed by losses, and discouraged by minor failures, but still on the whole quite irresistible, until he has overrun the main, and wants nothing to complete his triumph but the command of the strait of Salamis. Then, the destruction of half his fleet there, and with it the loss of the command of the sea,

[2] See ÆSCHYLUS quoted in note 191 on viii. 97, above.

becomes an overwhelming calamity, and justifies the cry of woe which Æschylus puts into his mouth on seeing the "depth of his misfortunes." Under such circumstances the Hellenic triumph at Platæa obviously bears so small a proportion to that at Salamis, that it might well pass unnoticed in a performance devoted to the magnifying the latter. But as Herodotus represents the matter, the case is altogether different. Mardonius was so formidable, that in spite of the misfortune at Salamis, he still expected to conquer Hellas[3]. The scoff of Xerxes to the Spartan herald in Thessaly shows that in the mind of the king himself this expectation amounted to an undoubting conviction[4]; and the apprehensions of the troops at Mycale are an evidence that the probability was considered a very great one even by the Greeks themselves[5]. Add to these circumstances the attempt to carry the mole across to the island of Salamis,—if we accept the time which Herodotus assigns to the operation,—and we have a state of things which would render panic on the part of the Persian army nearly inconceivable.

The movements of the Hellenic army antecedently to the battle of Platæa are, in the narrative of Herodotus, extremely difficult to understand. Mardonius appears to have occupied the whole of Attica, or at least to have had it in his power to do so. The rapid advance of the Peloponnesians takes him by surprise, and he withdraws his army into Bœotia, with apparent difficulty, by the aid of Theban guides, through the easternmost passes only of Cithæron[6]. The most direct road would have been by Œnoe and Eleutheræ to Hysiæ, which was the position really occupied by the extreme right of his army when the allies came into the presence of it[7]. It is by this road that they themselves marched, and compared with that by which Mardonius is represented as retiring, it is as the chord to the

[3] viii. 100.

[4] *ὁ δὲ γελάσας καὶ κατασχὼν πολλὸν χρόνον, ὡς οἱ ἐτύγχανε παρεστεὼς Μαρδόνιος, δεικνὺς δὲ τοῦτον εἶπε· τοιγάρ σφι Μαρδόνιος ὅδε δίκας δώσει τοιαύτας οἵας ἐκείνοισι πρέπει.* viii. 114.

[5] ix. 101. Compare the argument of Alexander on his embassy (viii. 140), *τί μαίνεσθε πόλεμον βασιλέϊ ἀνταειρόμενοι, κ.τ.λ.*, the force of which is not questioned in the reply: *καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦτό γε ἐπιστάμεθα, ὅτι πολλαπλησίη ἐστὶ τῷ Μήδῳ δύναμις ἤπερ ἡμῖν* (viii. 143).

[6] ix. 15.

[7] For the great strength of Œnoe as a position commanding the access to the Platæis from Attica, see Leake quoted in note 197 on v. 74.

arc of a segment of a circle. If then we are guided by Herodotus's description, the rapid movement of the allies must be viewed as an attempt to cut Mardonius's army in half, by an attack upon that portion of it which occupied the line of the Asopus, before the return of the remainder from Attica through the eastern passes. But it must be remembered that such a supposition implies the possession of the whole line of approach from Eleusis to Hysiæ; and that this should have been left uncovered by Mardonius seems inconceivable except upon some hypothesis to which Herodotus's narrative gives no clue, such, for instance, as the previous occupation of Œnoe by a Hellenic force, or the inability of Mardonius to hold it for want of magazines. The attempt of Pausanias however is foiled by the superiority of the enemy in cavalry; which obliges the Lacedæmonian general to halt as soon as he debouches from the passes on to the northern incline of Cithæron [8]. Unable to contend against this superiority even on the flanks of the hills, he retires to the Gargaphian spring, and the immediate vicinity of Platæa [9], where ultimately the decisive action takes place. But this site is undoubtedly one where we cannot conceive a force any thing like that mentioned by Herodotus capable of being drawn up [10]. The numbers of Ctesias, on the other hand, whatever may be his general authority, are such as occasion no difficulty.

The retirement of the allies from their first position appears to have put the debouchement of the road by Œnoe and Hysiæ into the command of the Persians; for the convoys which they eight days afterwards succeeded in cutting off were advancing not by that route, but by the *Oakheads*, a pass which must certainly be looked for to the west of it [11]. Now the maintenance in an advanced position of a sufficient force to command this road, and at the same time to keep up a continual galling attack upon Pausanias in his new station, may well have occasioned difficulty to Mardonius; and thus we may possibly understand the discussion between him and Artabazus which Herodotus mentions [12]. The numbers of the Greeks would "daily increase,"—not indeed in Pausanias's *camp*,—but on the line of Œnoe and Hysiæ, thus rendering it necessary for Mardonius to continually

[8] ix. 19, 20. [9] ix. 25. [10] ix. 28. [11] ix. 39, where see note 109. [12] ix. 41.

strengthen the detachment from the fortified camp at Scolus which masked those two burghs, and to supply it with forage and provisions. If it were in any material degree diminished, opportunity would be afforded the allies for striking a heavy blow, by a simultaneous advance of Pausanias and of the garrisons upon it. The plan of Pausanias seems to have been, to draw more and more of the enemy into this false position, and at last oblige them to fight with the Asopus at their back; that of Mardonius, so to annoy the division of Pausanias by his cavalry, as to oblige him either to retire from the north side of Cithæron, or else fight a pitched battle in order to drive the Persians from their lines, which of course could not be done without crossing the Asopus and engaging under circumstances which would have given a decided superiority to them. Artabazus appears to have thought that in this trial of patience Pausanias would be the successful party, and accordingly to have recommended Mardonius at once to withdraw his advanced division within his lines, where there would be a facility of supplying them, and within which he might remain secure to try the effect of temporising. That this advice should be in after times represented as counsel to break up the camp and retire within the *actual city walls* of Thebes is not at all surprising.

In the narrative of Ctesias, the advance of the enemy being supposed to be altogether from the north, and before a footing had been gained by him in Attica, any hypothesis to account for his non-occupation of the strongholds in it becomes unnecessary. But this advantage adds little to the presumption in favour of the correctness of the arrangement of events. Pausanias could hardly have been in command of the Lacedæmonian army during the life-time of his father Cleombrotus; and there is nothing in Ctesias contradictory to the account which Herodotus gives of the time and circumstances of Cleombrotus's death.

If the actual history of Ctesias still existed, we might perhaps be able with tolerable confidence to point out the origin of the difference between the two historians, and decide upon the exact particulars in which credence should be attached to each. But as all our knowledge is derived from an extremely meagre compilation of the work, little more can be done than to call attention to the fact of the difference between them, and to the amount of variation in the cur-

rent opinions of the day which that difference indicates. It seems not unlikely that in the times immediately following the repulse of the invaders, Salamis was the one triumph which occupied the attention of the Athenian people. The share which they had in the victory at Platæa was—as may be gathered even from Herodotus's partial narrative—a very small one indeed. On the other hand it was quite obvious to all, that at Salamis they were the saviours of Greece. Hence it would not be wonderful if at first it was the fashion to say very little at Athens about Platæa; and thus perhaps the silence of Æschylus is to be explained. The Lacedæmonians on the other hand, accustomed to look upon naval warfare with little respect, would not unnaturally regard the whole of the proceedings by land, from the occupation of Thermopylæ by Leonidas to the final defeat of the Persians by Pausanias at Platæa, as so many parts of one continued campaign, and think of the operations of the fleet both at Artemisium and Salamis as merely affairs incident to its function of flanking and supporting the army. Hence it is very conceivable that in Lacedæmonian traditions there should be a connected account of the proceedings by land, independent of any allusion to the engagement at Salamis; just as at Athens (if we may regard Æschylus as the representative of public opinion) the possession of that city was represented as the real object of the Persian invasion, and the victory of its citizens at Salamis the only important event of the war. Time, however, reducing all things to their proper position in the world's history, would soon put a stop to the prevalence of either of these exclusive views. Even the Lacedæmonians themselves were revolted by the arrogant pretension of their own king to have destroyed the common enemy; and the popular admiration of the victory at Salamis, which had led to such signal distinctions being at once conferred on Themistocles, soon produced a recognition of the services of his countrymen. On the other hand, the battle of Platæa, when its important consequences showed themselves, not only in the immediate expulsion of the Persians from the whole of Greece south of the Strymon, but eventually from almost every position on the European continent, could no longer be ignored by Athenian vanity. It had clearly been a decisive battle: this it was no use to pretend not to see. The best course then was to magnify the share which the Athenians had in it; and from this feeling sprang (I conceive) most

of the details which Herodotus has embodied in his account of the action, the very doubtful character of which, in a historical point of view, has been pointed out in several of the notes on the Ninth Book. He may throughout his account of the invasion be considered as the representative of the views current at Athens, while Ctesias may perhaps in the same way be regarded as a Lacedæmonian authority. In the original work of the latter it is indeed possible that the account of the battle of Salamis was not really chronologically displaced, but that, being related in an insulated manner, after the completion of the history of the land operations, its position in the written work led a hasty compiler to assign it to a wrong place among the actual events.

The above solution of the difficulty arising out of the variations of the two Greek historians is, undoubtedly, one which can only be regarded as a hypothetical suggestion, enabling us to understand how their differences *may* have arisen, without rashly branding either with the charge of wilful falsification. It is however an hypothesis which is entirely in accordance with the habits of the time in which the events described occurred; and it will (I believe) be received with some favour by those who have been careful to examine the nature of the authorities on which our acquaintance with the early history of Greece reposes.

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